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TORONTO

THE IDEA OF NATIONALISM

A Study in Its Origins and Background

By

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TO YETTY AND IMMANUEL

PREFACE

The age of nationalism represents the first period of universal history. What preceded it, was the long era of separate civilizations and continents among which little, if any, intercourse or contact existed. Only in the eighteenth century, through the simultaneous emergence of nationalism, democracy, and industrialism, all three closely linked in origin and continuous interaction, an ever-quickening and ever-widening process of acculturation, economic exchange, and intensification of communication started, so that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries every important movement gained world-wide character. Nationalism, arising in the eighteenth century in western Europe, has spread into the farthest corners of the earth; wherever it has gone, it has shaped human thought and society according to its image. The age of nationalism is world-wide in its manifestations; though nationalism is only one of the determining forces of the age, it is important and inclusive enough to warrant calling the era starting with Rousseau and Herder, with the American and French revolutions, the age of nationalism. The world history of these one hundred fifty years will be considered here from the point of view of the development and implications of nationalism.

Nationalism, industrialism, and democracy, though emerging as determining factors in the eighteenth century, have their roots in the past. This book deals with the roots of modern nationalism, with the long period of incubation from Ancient Times to the outbreak of the French Revolution. Another book—*The Age of Nationalism: A Study in the Growth and Fulfillment of an Idea*—will deal with the rise of nationalism from 1789 to 1832, with its growth and spread, simultaneously with democracy and industrialism, in the fast expanding world from 1832 to 1919, and its in-

tensification and transformation under the conditions of a shrinking world, conditions resulting from the very same forces of nationalism, industrialism, and democracy. Though it is always risky to apply metaphors to history, these three periods from the French Revolution on may be compared to the morning, the noontide, and the evening of the historical day of nationalism; while the present volume deals with its dawn, the early, flickering still uncertain lights preceding the day, and with the long night, from the point of view of nationalism, which in its dark womb harbored the promise of the coming morn.

The subject of nationalism has fascinated the writer for many years. He was born in the Habsburg Monarchy, a state which predated in its idea and structure the age of nationalism, and, as a result of this age, became the great laboratory and observation field for its conflicts. He grew up in Prague, the vigorous heart of Czech nationalism, an ancient city which had been for centuries the classical battleground of Germans and Slavs and where all manifestations of life, old buildings and new monuments, folklore and theaters, kept past memories ever present and fused them with the sufferings and triumphs of the living generations. Participation in the Zionist student movement and the influence of the neo-romantic nationalism of the German youth before the First World War led him to become absorbed in the study of nationalist ideologies. The war brought him to Asiatic Russia, where contact with Russian civilization and the nationality problems of the multiracial empire broadened his interest in nationalism. After 1920, years in Paris and London were followed by a long residence in Jerusalem and travels in the Near East, and the study of the national movements of western and southern Asia, their problems and conflicts. The first book which he published in 1922 was entitled *Nationalismus*; since that time several books have appeared, dealing with different aspects of nationalism; they can be regarded as what in fact they were, preliminary studies for the present book; the last chapter of *Nationalismus*, written more than twenty years ago, contained already in outline some of the main conclusions of *The Idea of Nationalism*. They were also discussed, for the last ten years, with his students in

seminars and courses given, among other institutions of learning, at Smith College and Harvard University. These years of intercourse with American academic youth are the happiest of the many years the author has spent in close contact with the subject.

History as the story of the development of the human mind and the ordering of human society is the most fascinating intellectual discipline; within its range, nationalism has had a unique appeal for the author, because closeness to national movements and sympathy with their aspirations had conditioned him to the understanding of a phenomenon, in which all the problems of recent history and of the contemporary world are focused. Many in his generation, living at one of the crucial periods of history, have gained a new understanding of the past and a new perspective on nationalism as a result of their experience. This generation has been privileged to live history on an unprecedented scale. It has learned—and is learning—much; it has paid for it. "What is the price of experience?" Blake asked. "Do men buy it for a song, or wisdom for a dance in the street? No, it is bought with the price of all that a man hath."

In this book the emphasis is not laid upon events, which are for the most part well known, nor upon the accumulation of complete evidence, which would by far exceed the spatial frame of the work, but upon their interpretation and evaluation in the chain of history. In the infinite number of occurrences, in the endless complexity of the interaction of causes and effects, personalities and conditions, passions and accidents, many tendencies and trends can be discerned which integrate history into a comprehensible pattern. Nationalism is only one of them. No historical writing can exhaust the fullness of life; if it tries to follow one of the great trends of development, it can do so even less. But if the trend is of importance for the age, it can illuminate the past, and thereby the present, with the light in which most of the pattern may find its meaning and its integration. In modern times the pattern transcends all national or geographic limitations. A study of nationalism must follow a comparative method, it cannot remain confined to one of its manifestations; only the comparison of the different nationalisms all over the earth will enable the student to see what they have in common and what

is peculiar to each, and thus allow a just evaluation. An understanding of nationalism can be gained only by a world history of the age of nationalism.

For the last twenty years more and more scholars in many countries have devoted themselves to the study of nationalism. Many valuable monographs have been the result, and the author has used most of them, grateful to his fellow workers in the field. Much spadework has been done, much still remains to be done. The present attempt at what is perhaps the first detailed history of nationalism in any language is only a link in the chain of efforts, and is naturally limited by the present state of research and the understanding of the author. "The lyf so short, the craft so long to lerne." Others will carry on, amplify, correct, and improve; future generations may view the age of nationalism in a different light. Their viewpoint will be determined by the great war in the midst of which this volume is being written, a war which is a consequence and climax of the age of nationalism and which can be seen as a struggle for its meaning.

During the years of collecting and organizing the material the author has been generously helped at various times by grants-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council and the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and by a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, to all of which he feels greatly indebted. Some sections or passages of the book have already been used in chapters of *Revolutions and Dictatorships*, and *World Order in Historical Perspective*, published by the Harvard University Press, and in an article in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. They are reprinted here by permission.

The author feels a sense of personal gratitude to his secretarial assistants of the last five years, Virginia Gott (now Mrs. James F. King), Kathleen Shedd (now Mrs. Myron Wright), Martha L. Allis (now Mrs. F. C. Cowan), Wanda Jablonski, and Laura Wells Oppenheimer (Mrs. Frederic J. Oppenheimer); their intelligent interest in the work and their efficiency have greatly helped toward finishing the writing in the midst of an active life of teaching. And finally his thanks go out to his students and colleagues, with whom he has discussed the facts and problems of nationalism, and from

whom he has received suggestions and encouragement which have had their part in the making of this book. For a work of this kind is never a monologue—it is an uninterrupted conversation with those of the past whose thoughts we study, and with those whose task it still is to build the future out of the heritage of the past. And this conversation goes on, after the work has been completed and has become, itself, part of the past.

H. K.

NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS
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CONTENTS

Preface	vii
CHAPTERS	
I. Introduction: THE NATURE OF NATIONALISM	3
II. Israel and Hellas: FROM TRIBALISM TO UNIVERSALISM	27
III. Rome and the Middle Ages: THE UNIVERSAL TRADITION	63
IV. Renaissance and Reformation: THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM	119
V. The Sovereign Nation: PRINCE AND PEOPLE	187
VI. Towards a New World: THE PROMISE OF FREE PEOPLE	263
VII. Stirrings in the Old World: THE FOLKLORE OF THE PAST	329
VIII. Stirrings in the Old World: TOWARD THE GREAT AWAKENING	455
Notes	579
Index	723

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The Nature of Nationalism

Glück der Zeit.—In zwei Beziehungen ist unsere Zeit glücklich zu preisen. In Hinsicht auf die *Vergangenheit* geniessen wir alle Kulturen und deren Hervorbringungen und nähren uns mit dem edelsten Blute aller Zeiten, wir stehen noch dem Zauber der Gewalten, aus deren Schoosse jene geboren wurden, nahe genug, um uns vorübergehend ihnen mit Lust und Schauer unterwerfen zu können: während frühere Kulturen nur sich selber zu geniessen vermochten und nicht über sich hinaussahen, vielmehr wie von einer weiter oder enger gewölbten Glocke überspannt waren, aus welcher zwar Licht auf sie herabströmte, durch welche aber kein Blick hindurchdrang. In Hinsicht auf die *Zukunft* erschliesst sich uns zum ersten Male in der Geschichte der ungeheure Weitblick menschlich-ökumenischer, die ganze bewohnte Erde umspannender Ziele. Zugleich fühlen wir uns der Kräfte bewusst, diese neue Aufgabe ohne Anmassung selber in die Hand nehmen zu dürfen.

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, II, Taschen-Ausgabe, vol. IV, p. 99.

Happiness of the Age.—In two respects our age is to be accounted happy. With respect to the *past*, we enjoy all cultures and their productions, and nurture ourselves on the noblest blood of all periods. We stand sufficiently near to the magic of the forces from whose womb these periods are born to be able in passing to submit to their spell with pleasure and terror; whereas earlier cultures could only enjoy themselves, and never looked beyond themselves, but were rather overarched by a bell of broader or narrower dome, through which indeed light streamed down to them, but which their gaze could not pierce. With respect to the *future*, there opens out to us for the first time a mighty, comprehensive vista of human and ecumenic purposes engirdling the whole inhabited globe. At the same time, we feel conscious of a power ourselves to take this new task in hand without presumption.

(Nietzsche, *Human, All-Too-Human*, Pt. II [transl. Paul V. Cohn], *Complete Works*, ed. Oscar Levy, vol. VII, p. 95.)

I

Nationalism as we understand it is not older than the second half of the eighteenth century. Its first great manifestation was the French Revolution, which gave the new movement an increased dynamic force.¹ Nationalism had become manifest, however, at the end of the eighteenth century almost simultaneously in a number of widely separated European countries. Its time in the evolution of mankind had arrived, and although the French Revolution was one of the most powerful factors in its intensification and spread, this did not mark the date of its birth. Like all historical movements, nationalism has its roots deep in the past. The conditions which made its emergence possible had matured for centuries before they converged at its formation. These political, economic, and intellectual developments took a long time for their growth, and proceeded at a different pace in the various countries. It is impossible to grade them according to their importance or to make one dependent upon another. All are closely interconnected, each reacting upon the others; and although their growth can be traced separately, their effects and consequences cannot be separated otherwise than in the analysis of the scholar; in life, they are indissolubly intertwined.

Nationalism is inconceivable without the ideas of popular sovereignty preceding—without a complete revision of the position of ruler and ruled, of classes and castes. The aspect of the universe and of society had to be secularized with the help of a new natural science and of natural law as understood by Grotius and Locke. The traditionalism of economic life had to be broken by the rise of the third estate, which was to turn the attention away from the royal courts and their civilization to the life, language, and arts of the people. This new class found itself less bound by tradition than the nobility or clergy; it represented a new force striving for new things; it was ready to break with the past, flouting tradition

in its opinion even more than it did in reality. In its rise, it claimed to represent not only a new class and its interests, but the whole people. Where the third estate became powerful in the eighteenth century—as in Great Britain, in France, and in the United States—nationalism found its expression predominantly, but never exclusively, in political and economic changes. Where, on the other hand, the third estate was still weak and only in a budding stage at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in Germany, Italy, and among the Slavonic peoples, nationalism found its expression predominantly in the cultural field. Among these peoples, at the beginning it was not so much the nation-state as the *Volksgeist* and its manifestations in literature and folklore, in the mother tongue, and in history, which became the center of the attention of nationalism. With the growing strength of the third estate, with the political and cultural awakening of the masses, in the course of the nineteenth century, this cultural nationalism soon turned into the desire for the formation of a nation-state.

The growth of nationalism is the process of integration of the masses of the people into a common political form. Nationalism therefore presupposes the existence, in fact or as an ideal, of a centralized form of government over a large and distinct territory. This form was created by the absolute monarchs, who were the pacemakers of modern nationalism; the French Revolution inherited and continued the centralizing tendencies of the kings, but at the same time it filled the central organization with a new spirit and gave it a power of cohesion unknown before. Nationalism is unthinkable before the emergence of the modern state in the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Nationalism accepted this form, but changed it by animating it with a new feeling of life and with a new religious fervor.

For its composite texture, nationalism used in its growth some of the oldest and most primitive feelings of man, found throughout history as important factors in the formation of social groups. There is a natural tendency in man—and by “natural tendency” we mean a tendency which, having been produced by social circumstances from time practically immemorial, appears to us as natural—to love his birthplace or the place of his childhood so-

jour, its surroundings, its climate, the contours of hills and valleys, of rivers and trees. We are all subject to the immense power of habitude, and even if in a later stage of development we are attracted by the unknown and by change, we delight to come back and to be at rest in the reassuring sight of the familiar. Man has an easily understandable preference for his own language as the only one which he thoroughly understands and in which he feels at home. He prefers native customs and native food to alien ones, which appear to him unintelligible and indigestible. Should he travel, he will return to his chair and his table with a feeling of relaxation and will be elated by the joy of finding himself again at home, away from the strain of a sojourn in foreign lands and contact with foreign peoples.

Small wonder that he will take pride in his native characteristics, and that he will easily believe in their superiority. As they are the only ones in which civilized people like himself can apparently feel at home, are they not the only ones fit for human beings? On the other hand, contact with alien men and alien customs, which appear to him strange, unfamiliar, and therefore threatening, will arouse in him a distrust of everything foreign. This feeling of strangeness will again develop in him sentiments of superiority, and sometimes even of open hostility. The more primitive men are, the stronger will be their distrust of strangers, and therefore the greater the intensity of their group feeling. Rudyard Kipling, in his poem "The Stranger," forcefully expressed this general feeling:

The Stranger within my gate,
He may be true or kind,
But he does not talk my talk—
I cannot feel his mind.
I see the face and the eyes and the mouth,
But not the soul behind.

The men of my own stock
They may do ill or well,
But they tell the lies I am wonted to,
They are used to the lies I tell;

And we do not need interpreters
When we go to buy and sell.

The Stranger within my gates,
He may be evil or good,
But I cannot tell what powers control—
What reasons sway his mood;
Nor when the Gods of his far-off land
May repossess his blood.

These feelings have always existed. They do not form nationalism; they correspond to certain facts—territory, language, common descent—which we also find in nationalism. But here they are entirely transformed, charged with new and different emotions, and embedded in a broader context. They are the natural elements out of which nationalism is formed; but nationalism is not a natural phenomenon, not a product of "eternal" or "natural" laws; it is a product of the growth of social and intellectual factors at a certain stage of history. Some feeling of nationality, it may be said, existed before the birth of modern nationalism—a feeling varying in strength and in frequency from time to time: at some epochs almost completely extinguished, at others more or less clearly discernible. But it was largely unconscious and inarticulate. It did not influence the thought and actions of men in a deep and all-pervading way. It found a clear expression only occasionally in individuals, and in groups only at times of stress or provocation. It did not determine their aims or actions permanently or in the long run. It was no purposeful will welding together all the individuals into a unity of emotions, thoughts, and actions.²

Before the age of nationalism, the masses very rarely became conscious of the fact that the same language was spoken over a large territory. In fact, it was not the same language; several dialects existed side by side, sometimes incomprehensible to the man of a neighboring province. The spoken language was accepted as a natural fact. It was in no way regarded as a political or cultural factor, still less as an object of political or cultural struggle. During the Middle Ages, people deduced from the Bible that the diversity

of languages was the result of the sinfulness of man, and God's punishment for the building of the Tower of Babel. Consciousness of language was aroused only at times of expeditions and travel or in frontier districts. There, the alien character of the group speaking the alien language was felt, and many national groups were first recognized as different and named by those of alien tongue. The Greek word *barbaros* (which meant "strange" or "foreign," and in consequence "rude" and "ignorant") probably had its source in the idea of stammering or inability to speak in a comprehensible way—a word akin to the Sanskrit expression *barbara*, which meant "stammering" or "non-Aryan." The Slavs called the Germans with whom they came into contact *niemci*, "the mutes," people who cannot make themselves understood. A man speaking an incomprehensible tongue seemed outside the pale of civilization. But language was accepted by the Slavs and by other peoples as a natural fact, not as a cultural inheritance. The language in which the treasures of civilization were inherited and transferred—in medieval Europe as well as in Islam, in India as well as in China—was generally not the language spoken by the people: it was a learned language accessible only to the educated class. Even if it was not a language of different origin, it was generally so archaic and so rich in many purely literary, classical associations that it was understood only by a small minority.

Before nationalism, language was very rarely stressed as a fact on which the prestige and power of a group depended. Alien languages remained until the very recent centuries the languages used by official bodies, in the scholarly world, or among the upper classes. To mention only one fact which stands for a large number, the Breton estates, which were very jealous of their independence, nevertheless spoke French, and in the Act of Union for the Defense of the Liberties of Brittany of 1719 the Breton spokesmen did not mention language grievances. The translations of the Bible in Protestant countries were not undertaken from any motives of nationalism, but purely for the spreading of the true religion. Queen Elizabeth had the Bible and the Prayer Book translated into Welsh, and divine service held in Welsh, to liberate the Welsh from the "ignorance of popery." With the growth of nationalism

in the following centuries, still dominated by religion but already harboring the seeds of the new growth, the translations of the Bible certainly were effective in rousing national feeling and in giving a new importance to the national language—which through the spread of popular education and the wider use of the printing press became more and more an element of growing cultural importance. At the same time, the language became uniform, obliterating the vernacular dialects or pushing them into the background, and covering a greater territory as its undisputed domain.

This large territory became an object of love to its inhabitants as a result of a long and difficult process. This love of the homeland, which is regarded as the heart of patriotism, is not a "natural" phenomenon, but an artificial product of historical and intellectual development. The homeland which a man "naturally" loves is his native village or valley or city, a small territory well known in all its concrete details, abounding in personal memories, a place in which his life was generally lived throughout its whole span. The whole territory inhabited by what we should consider today a nationality—a territory frequently distinguished by great diversity of landscape and climate—was practically unknown to the average man, and could become known only by instruction or travel, which before the age of nationalism were limited to a very small minority. Voltaire, who lived before this age, pointed out that "*plus cette patrie devient grande, moins on l'aime, car l'amour partagé s'affaiblit. Il est impossible d'aimer tendrement une famille trop nombreuse qu'on connaît à peine.*"

Nationalism is not, as some scholars under the influence of Aristotle suggest,^a a harmonious natural growth qualitatively identical with the love for family and home. It is frequently assumed that man loves in widening circles—his family, his village, his tribe or clan, the nation, and finally humanity and the supreme good. But love of home and family is a concrete feeling accessible to everyone in daily experience, while nationalism, and in an even higher degree cosmopolitanism, is a highly complex and originally an abstract feeling. It gains the emotional warmth of concreteness only through the effects of an historical development which, by means of education, economic interdependence, and corresponding

political and social institutions, brings about the integration of the masses and their identification with a body far too great for any concrete experience. Nationalism—our identification with the life and aspirations of uncounted millions whom we shall never know, with a territory which we shall never visit in its entirety—is qualitatively different from the love of family or of home surroundings. It is qualitatively akin to the love of humanity or of the whole earth. Both belong to what Nietzsche called (in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*) *Feinstenlicbe*, love of those far away, and which he distinguished from the *Nächstenlicbe*, love of those near by.⁴

Life in a common territory, subject to the same influences of nature and, to an important although lesser degree, to the same influences of history and legal systems, produces certain common attitudes and traits, often called national character. We find in the literature of all peoples throughout history frequent characterizations of national groups such as the Gauls or the Greeks, the Germans or the English. Some of these traits seem to persist for a long time, and are mentioned by observers in different centuries. Other traits seem to change under the influence of historical developments. There are known instances of change, within a few decades, in what was considered at a certain time the most essential character trait of a nation. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the English were considered a nation most inclined to revolution and to change, while the French seemed a most stable and stolid nation, Voltaire wrote: "The French are of the opinion, that the government of this island is more tempestuous than the sea which surrounds it, which indeed is true."⁵ One hundred years later, just the opposite opinion about the English and the French was generally held. The English were then, and are today, considered—by themselves and others—as a stolid nation, proud in their disinclination to violent revolution; while the French were considered a people easily given to and delighting in revolutionary upheavals.

A similar change took place in opinion about the Germans. One hundred years ago, they were thought a very lovable and most impractical people, fit for metaphysics and music and poetry but unfit for modern industry and business. Now the Germans pro-

duce very few, if any, metaphysicians, musicians, or poets of renown; but on the other hand they have become successful and ruthless bullies and hard and efficient masters in modern industry and business. The Mongols under Genghis Khan were warriors famous for their belligerence, and brought all Asia and half of Europe under their yoke. In the sixteenth century, through the adoption of Lamaist Buddhism, their old spirit was completely broken and they were turned into peaceful and pious men. Under the influence of the Soviet government and its revolutionary propaganda the wild instincts of the race have been reawakened, and a new and different consciousness has started to animate the Mongol people and to break their religious inhibitions.

The judgments of observers concerning the character of national groups are colored in varying degrees by the political exigencies of the situation and the sentimental attitudes of the observer. Between the extremes—which may be illustrated by a statement of Henry Morley that “in the literature of any people we perceive under all contrasts of form produced by variable social influences the one national character from first to last,” and the opposite by J. M. Robertson that “the nation considered as a continuous and personalized organism is in large measure a metaphysical dream”—we may accept the position of Sir Francis Galton that “different aspects of the multifarious character of man respond to different calls from without, so that the same individual, and much more the same race, may behave very differently at different epochs.”⁶ Men and men’s character are extremely complex; the more so, the less primitive men are. This holds true even more of a highly complex group like the nation. An immense diversity of individuals goes into making up a nation, and during the lifetime of a nation the most diverse influences are exercised upon it, molding and transforming it. For growth and change are the laws under which all historical phenomena fall.

2

/ Nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness, which since the French Revolution has become

more and more common to mankind. The mental life of man is as much dominated by an ego-consciousness as it is by a group-consciousness. Both are complex states of mind at which we arrive through experiences of differentiation and opposition, of the ego and the surrounding world, of the we-group and those outside the group. The collective or group consciousness can center around entirely different groups, of which some have a more permanent character—the family, the class, the clan, the caste, the village, the sect, the religion, etc.—whereas others are of a more or less passing character—schoolmates, a football team, or passengers on a ship. In each case, varying with its permanence, this group-consciousness will strive towards creating homogeneity within the group, a conformity and like-mindedness which will lead to and facilitate concerted common action. In that sense, we may speak of a group-mind and a group-action. We may speak of a Catholic mind and a Catholic action, of an English mind and an English action; but we may also speak of a rural mind or an urban mind, and of the action of rural or urban groups. All these groups develop their own character. The character of an occupational group, such as peasants, soldiers, civil servants, may be as clearly defined and stable as any character of a national group, or even more so. Each group creates its own symbols and social conventions, is dominated by social traditions, which find their expression in the public opinion of the group.

Group-consciousness is never exclusive. Men find themselves members of different groups at the same time. With the growth of the complexity of civilization, the number of groups of which men find themselves a part generally increases. These groups are not fixed. They have changing limits, and they are of changing importance. Within these pluralistic, and sometimes conflicting, kinds of group-consciousness there is generally one which is recognized by man as the supreme and most important, to which therefore, in the case of conflict of group-loyalties, he owes supreme loyalty. He identifies himself with the group and its existence, frequently not only for the span of his life, but for the continuity of his existence beyond this span. This feeling of solidarity between the individual and the group may go, at certain times, as

far as complete submergence of the individual in the group. The whole education of the members of the group is directed to a common mental preparedness for common attitudes and common actions.

In different periods of history, and in different civilizations, we find different groups to which this supreme loyalty is given. The modern period of history, starting with the French Revolution, is characterized by the fact that in this period, and in this period alone, the nation demands the supreme loyalty of man, that all men, not only certain individuals or classes, are drawn into this common loyalty, and that all civilizations (which up to this modern period followed their own, and frequently widely different, ways) are now dominated more and more by this one supreme group-consciousness, nationalism.

It is a fact often commented upon that this growth of nationalism and of national sectionalisms happened at the very time when international relations, trade, and communications were developing as never before; that local languages were raised to the dignity of literary and cultural languages just at the time when it seemed most desirable to efface all differences of language by the spread of world languages. This view overlooks the fact that that very growth of nationalism all over the earth, with its awakening of the masses to participation in political and cultural life, prepared the way for the closer cultural contacts of all the civilizations of mankind (now for the first time brought into a common denominator), at the same time separating and uniting them.

Nationalism as a group-consciousness is therefore a psychological and a sociological fact, but any psychological or sociological explanation is insufficient. An American psychologist defined a nation as "a group of individuals that feels itself one, is ready within limits to sacrifice the individual for the group advantage, that prospers as a whole, that has groups of emotions experienced as a whole, each of whom rejoices with the advancement and suffers with the losses of the group. . . . Nationality is a mental state or community in behavior." This definition is valid, as far as it goes, not only for the nation, but for any other supreme group to which man owes loyalty, and with which he identifies himself.

It is therefore not sufficient to distinguish the national group from other groups of similar importance and permanence."

Nationalities are the product of the historical development of society. They are not identical with clans, tribes, or folk-groups—bodies of men united by actual or supposed common descent or by a common habitat. Ethnographic groups like these existed throughout history, from earliest times on, yet they do not form nationalities; they are nothing but "ethnographic material," out of which under certain circumstances a nationality might arise. Even if a nationality arises, it may disappear again, absorbed into a larger or new nationality. Nationalities are products of the living forces of history, and therefore always fluctuating, never rigid.⁹ Nationalities are groups of very recent origin and therefore are of the utmost complexity. They defy exact definition. Nationality is an historical and a political concept, and the words "nation" and "nationality" have undergone many changes in meaning. It is only in recent history that man has begun to regard nationality as the center of his political and cultural activity and life. Nationality is therefore nothing absolute, and it is a great mistake, responsible for most of the extremities of today, to make it an absolute, an objective *a priori*, the source of all political and cultural life.

Nationality has been raised to an absolute by two fictitious concepts which have been accepted as having real substance.¹⁰ One holds that blood or race is the basis of nationality, and that it exists eternally and carries with it an unchangeable inheritance; the other sees the *Volksgeist* as an ever-welling source of nationality and all its manifestations. These theories offer no real explanation of the rise and the role of nationality: they refer us to mythical pre-historical pseudo-realities. Rather, they must be taken as characteristic elements of thought in the age of nationalism, and are subject themselves to analysis by the historian of nationalism.

3

Nationalities come into existence only when certain objective bonds delimit a social group. A nationality generally has several of these attributes; very few have all of them. The most usual of

them are common descent, language, territory, political entity, customs and traditions, and religion. A short discussion will suffice to show that none of them is essential to the existence or definition of nationality.

Common descent seemed of great importance to primitive man, for whom birth was as great a mystery as death, and therefore was surrounded by legends and superstitions. Modern nationalities, however, are mixtures of different, and sometimes even very distant, races. The great migratory movements of history and the mobility of modern life have led everywhere to an intermingling, so that few if any nationalities can at present claim anything approaching common descent.

The importance of language for the formation and life of a nationality was stressed by Herder and Fichte.¹¹ But there are many nationalities who have no language of their own—like the Swiss, who speak four different languages, or the Latin American nationalities, all of whom speak Spanish or Portuguese. The English-speaking nations (also the Spanish-speaking) are partly of similar descent; they speak the same language, and had until quite recently the same historical background, and also traditions and customs very much akin to each other; yet they represent different nationalities with frequently conflicting aspirations.¹² Another example of the comparative irrelevance of objective criteria for the formation and continued existence of separate nationalities is to be found in Norway and Denmark, where the people are of common racial stock and speak almost the same language. Nevertheless, they consider themselves as two nationalities, and the Norwegians set up their own language only as the result of having become a nationality.

Customs and traditions were first stressed in their importance for nationality by Rousseau. Each nation undoubtedly has its customs, traditions, and institutions; but these often vary greatly from locality to locality, and, on the other hand, tend in our times to become standardized all over the world, or at least over large areas. Customs and manners nowadays often change with great rapidity.

Religion was the great dominating force before the rise of na-

tionalism in modern times. This is true in Western as well as Eastern Christianity, in Islam and in India. The dividing lines were not drawn according to nationalities, but according to religious civilizations. Therefore the rise of nationalities and of nationalism was accompanied by transformations in the religious attitude of man, and in many ways the growth of nationalities has been helped or hindered by the influence of religion. Religious differences sometimes divided and weakened nationalities, and even helped to create new nationalities, as in the case of the Catholic Croats and the Orthodox Serbs. On the other hand, national churches have frequently been an important element in helping to arouse nationalism; and when conflicting nationalities were of different religions religion often played a large part in the defense mechanism of the weaker nationality, as Catholicism did in Ireland and in Prussian Poland.

The most important outward factor in the formation of nationalities is a common territory, or rather, the state. Political frontiers tend to establish nationalities. Many new nationalities, like the Canadian, developed entirely because they formed a political and geographic entity. Generally we may say, for reasons which will be considered later, that statehood or nationhood (in the sense of common citizenship under one territorial government) is a constitutive element in the life of a nationality. The condition of statehood need not be present when a nationality originates; but in such a case (as with the Czechs in the late eighteenth century) it is always the memory of a past state and the aspiration toward statehood that characterizes nationalities in the period of nationalism.

Although some of these objective factors are of great importance for the formation of nationalities, the most essential element is a living and active corporate will. Nationality is formed by the decision to form a nationality. Thus the French nationality was born of the enthusiastic manifestation of will in 1789. A French nation, the population of the French kingdom, existed before, as did some of the objective conditions necessary for the foundation of a nationality. But only the newly aroused consciousness and will made these elements active and effective, fused them into a

source of immense centripetal power, and gave them a new importance and meaning.¹⁸ The English and the American nationalities were constituted by "covenants," by free acts of will, and the French Revolution evolved the plebiscite, as a result of which membership in a nationality was determined, not by objective characteristics, but by subjective declaration. The foundation of the Swiss nationality was dramatized by Friedrich Schiller in his *Wilhelm Tell* according to legendary tradition into the famous oath on the Rütli, "Wir wollen sein ein einzig Volk von Brüdern."¹⁴ This mythical declaration, "We wish to be one single nation of brothers," was uttered at the birth of every nationality, whether this birth happened, after a long pregnancy, in the enthusiasm of a revolutionary period, or whether the awakening of the masses required many years of ceaseless propaganda. Nationalities as "ethnographic material," as "pragmatic" and accidental factors in history, existed for a very long time; but only through the awakening of national consciousness have they become volitional and "absolute" factors in history. The extensive use of the word "nationality" must not blind us to the fact that the lack of this voluntaristic element makes what are sometimes called nationalities of the period before the rise of modern nationalism fundamentally different from nationalities of the present time. To base nationality upon "objective" factors like race implies a return to primitive tribalism. In modern times it has been the power of an idea, not the call of blood, that has constituted and molded nationalities.

Nationalities are created out of ethnographic and political elements when nationalism breathes life into the form built by preceding centuries. Thus nationalism and nationality are closely interrelated.¹⁵ Nationalism is a state of mind, permeating the large majority of a people and claiming to permeate all its members; it recognizes the nation-state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality as the source of all creative cultural energy and of economic well-being. The supreme loyalty of man is therefore due to his nationality, as his own life is supposedly rooted in and made possible by its welfare. A short discussion of the components of this definition will help to clarify the issues involved.

A state of mind of the large majority of the people: Even before

the age of nationalism, we find individuals who profess sentiments akin to nationalism. But these sentiments are confined to individuals; the masses never feel their own life—culturally, politically, or economically—dependent upon the fate of the national group. Periods of oppression or danger from the outside may arouse a feeling of nationalism in the masses, as it happened in Greece during the Persian wars or in France in the Hundred Years' War. But these sentiments pass quickly. As a rule, wars before the French Revolution did not arouse a deep national sentiment. In religious and dynastic wars, Germans fought against Germans, and Italians against Italians, without any realization of the "fratricidal" nature of the act. Soldiers and civilians entered the service of "foreign" rulers and served them often with a loyalty and faithfulness which proved the absence of any national sentiment.

The nation-state as the ideal form of political organization: That political boundaries should coincide with ethnographic or linguistic frontiers is a demand of recent times. Formerly, the city or the fief or a multilingual state held together by dynastic ties was the accepted form of political organization and frequently was regarded as the "natural" or ideal form. At other periods the educated classes as well as the masses believed in the ideal of a universal world-state, although on account of the technical and geographic conditions this ideal never approached realization.

The nationality as the source of cultural life: During most of historical time, religion was regarded as the true source of cultural life. Man was thought to become creative by his profound immersion in religious tradition and by his abandonment in the divine fountainhead of all being. At other times, man's education was steeped in the civilization of a class which spread beyond all national boundaries, like the civilization of knighthood in medieval Europe or of the French court in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During and after the Renaissance, man's education was rooted in the soil of classical civilization. Education and learning, the formation of man's mind and character, were not bound by any national limits.

The nationality as a source of economic well-being: This phase

of nationalism, as well as the political, was prepared by the period of absolute monarchy, with its mercantilism. But mercantilism never became more than a scheme imposed from above, trying to achieve a national unity which it in reality never approached; continuing in many ways the medieval confusion and disruption of economic life and leaving provinces, cities, and villages as centers of production. The purpose of mercantilism was to strengthen the state and its power in international politics. The system following mercantilism, in the period of *laissez faire*, had as its aim the promotion of individual welfare. Economic nationalism brought about a neo-mercantilism, filling with life, as had been the case with the centralized state, the form erected by the monarchs. It is a much younger development than political or cultural nationalism, and it holds that the well-being of the individual can be achieved and secured only by the economic power of the nation. The close political and cultural identification of the individual with his nationality, which took place at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, extended to the economic field only during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The supreme loyalty due to the nationality: The Austrian Monarchy was generally accepted as long as man's supreme loyalty was due to the legitimate king; its existence became precarious with the shift of loyalty from the dynasty to the nationality. Only a very few centuries ago, man's loyalty was due to his church or religion; a heretic put himself beyond the pale of society as a "traitor" to his nation does today. The fixation of man's supreme loyalty upon his nationality marks the beginning of the age of nationalism.

4

Nationalism is a state of mind. The process of history can be analyzed as a succession of changes in communal psychology, in the attitude of man toward all manifestations of individual and social life. Such factors as language, territory, traditions—such sentiments as attachment to the native soil, the *Heimat*, and to

one's kin and kind—assume different positions in the scale of values as communal psychology changes. Nationalism is an idea, an *idée-force*, which fills man's brain and heart with new thoughts and new sentiments, and drives him to translate his consciousness into deeds of organized action. Nationality is therefore not only a group held together and animated by common consciousness; but it is also a group seeking to find its expression in what it regards as the highest form of organized activity, a sovereign state. As long as a nationality is not able to attain this consummation, it satisfies itself with some form of autonomy or pre-state organization, which, however, always tends at a given moment, the moment of "liberation," to develop into a sovereign state. Nationalism demands the nation-state; the creation of the nation-state strengthens nationalism. Here, as elsewhere in history, we find a continuous interdependence and interaction.

"Nationality is a state of mind corresponding to a political fact,"¹⁰ or striving to correspond to a political fact. This definition reflects the genesis of nationalism and of modern nationality, which was born in the fusion of a certain state of mind with a given political form. The state of mind, the idea of nationalism, imbued the form with a new content and meaning; the form provided the idea with implements for the organized expression of its manifestations and aspirations. Both the idea and the form of nationalism were developed before the age of nationalism. The idea goes back to the ancient Hebrews and Greeks, and was revived in Europe at the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation. During the period of the Renaissance, the literati rediscovered Greco-Roman patriotism; but this new attitude never penetrated to the masses, and its secularism was soon swept away by the retheologization of Europe through the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. But the Reformation, especially in its Calvinistic form, revived the nationalism of the Old Testament. Under the favorable circumstances which had developed in England, a new national consciousness of the English as the godly people penetrated the whole nation in the revolution of the seventeenth century. Meanwhile in Western Europe a new political power—that of the absolute kings—had developed a new political form, the modern centralized

sovereign state; and this became the political form into which, during the French Revolution, the idea of nationalism was infused, filling it with a consciousness in which all citizens could share, and making possible the political and cultural integration of the masses into the nation. With the advent of nationalism, the masses were no longer in the nation, but of the nation. They identified themselves with the nation, civilization with national civilization, their life and survival with the life and survival of the nationality. Nationalism thenceforward dominated the impulses and attitudes of the masses, and at the same time served as the justification for the authority of the state and the legitimation of its use of force, both against its own citizens and against other states.

Sovereignty has a twofold significance. One aspect deals with the relations of the state to its citizens, the other with the relations between states. Similarly, the sentiment of nationalism is double-faced. Intrationally, it leads to a lively sympathy with all fellow members within the nationality; internationally, it finds its expression in indifference to or distrust and hate of fellow men outside the national orbit. In intranational relations, men are guided not only by supposedly permanent common interests, but also by sentiments of sympathy, devotion, and even self-sacrifice. In international relations, they are guided by the supposed lack of permanent common interests among different states, and by sentiments which vary from complete indifference to the most bitter antipathy, and are subject to swift changes within that range. Nationality, which is nothing but a fragment of humanity, tends to set itself up as the whole. Generally this ultimate conclusion is not drawn, because ideas predating the age of nationalism continue to exercise their influence. These ideas form the essence of Western civilization—of Christianity as well as of enlightened rationalism: the faith in the oneness of humanity and the ultimate value of the individual. Only fascism, the uncompromising enemy of Western civilization, has pushed nationalism to its very limit, to a totalitarian nationalism, in which humanity and the individual disappear and nothing remains but the nationality, which has become the one and the whole.

5

Important periods of history are characterized by the circumference within which the sympathy of man extends. These limits are neither fixed nor permanent, and changes in them are accompanied by great crises in history. In the Middle Ages, the people of the Ile de France felt a violent antipathy and contempt for the people of Aquitaine or of Burgundy. A very short time ago, a similar feeling existed in Egypt between the Mohammedans and the native Christians, the Copts. In ancient times, the Athenians hated and despised the Spartans. Almost unscalable barriers separated members of rival religious sects within a community. In China, until very recently, the family set the limit of sympathy, and very little if any loyalty and devotion were left for the nation or larger social group.

Beginning with the nineteenth century in the Western world, and with the twentieth century in the Orient, the circumference was set by the nationality. These changes involved in many cases the establishment of new dividing lines. This grouping of men into new forms of organization, their integration around new symbols, gained a momentum unknown in former days. The rapid growth of population, the spread of education, the increased influence of the masses, the new techniques developed for information and propaganda, gave the new feeling of nationality a permanent intensity which soon made it appear as the expression of something "natural," of something which had always existed and would always exist. But the circumference of sympathy need not remain forever drawn as it is today. With the transformation of social and economic life, with the growing interdependence of all nationalities on a shrinking earth, with a new direction to education, the circumference may widen to include supranational areas of common interest and common sympathy.

Such an extension of solidarity, should it come, will arise only as the result of a struggle of unprecedented dimensions. For nationalism represents "vested interests," not only political and economic but also intellectual and emotional, of an intensity and

extent shown by no previous idea. In the face of the omnipotence of nationality, humanity seems a distant idea, a pale theory or a poetic dream, through which the red blood of life does not pulsate. And so it is. But at one time in history the French or the German nation was also nothing more than a distant idea. Historical forces, amid great struggles and convulsions lasting for a long time, brought these ideas to life. An organization of mankind was a Utopia in the eighteenth century; the stage of development of state and economy, of technique and communication, was then in no way adequate to the task. It is different today. At present, nationalism—at its beginning a great inspiration, widening and deepening the understanding of man, the feeling of solidarity, the autonomous dignity of the masses—seems unable to cope, politically and emotionally, with the new situation. Once it increased individual liberty and happiness; now it undermines them and subjects them to the exigencies of its continued existence, which seems no longer justified. Once it was a great force of life, spurring on the evolution of mankind; now it may become a dead weight upon the march of humanity.

Neither the German nor the French nation is an entity predestined by nature, any more than the American nation is. They all, as well as the national consciousness which animates them, were formed by historical forces." The growth of the German national consciousness, the formation of the German national state, encountered innumerable difficulties, and was again and again in danger of being wrecked on the cliffs of political vested interests, of the inertia of venerable and cherished traditions and of ingrained sectionalism and provincialism. The pioneers of nationalism often were driven to despair of achieving their goal. But nationalism, filling the hearts of men with great hopes of a new freedom and of better and more humane relations between peoples, was victorious. This has changed. "Political nationalism under present conditions conflicts with the main trends of human affairs, which is away from isolation towards interdependence. Its aim is not service and cooperation, but exclusiveness and monopoly."¹⁰ The individual liberty of man has to be organized today on a supra-national basis. Democracy and industrialism, the two forces which

rose simultaneously with nationalism and spread with it over the world, have both today outgrown the national connection.

But the "Thirty Years' War" of our century has shown how firmly nationalism is entrenched at present. The nation-state is more deep-rooted in the emotions of the masses than any previous political organization. The growth of nationalism has influenced historiography and the philosophy of history, and each nation has developed its own interpretation of history which not only makes it feel itself different from all other nationalities but gives to this difference a fundamental, and even metaphysical, meaning. The nationality feels that it has been chosen for some special mission, and that the realization of this mission is essential to the march of history, and even to the salvation of mankind. By the identification of nation and state, the modern basis of which was prepared by Rousseau, the cultural and emotional life of the masses has become closely integrated with the political life. Any change in the principles of political organization will therefore encounter the strongest resistance, which, against considerations of the rational and universal good, will appeal to deep-rooted traditions.

Sociologists have pointed out the intimate relation between nationalist and religious movements. Both have an inspirational and sometimes revivalist character. "Both of them are fundamentally cultural movements with incidental political consequences."¹⁹ These consequences, however, are not incidental; rather, they have been conditioned by the stages of historical development. At a given time in history, religion, essentially a spiritual movement, had very fundamental and substantial political implications. It molded and dominated politics and society. At present, the same is true of nationalism. When interminable and ferocious religious wars threatened to destroy human happiness and civilization, the movement of Enlightenment, the wave of rationalism which started about 1680 and dominated the eighteenth century, led to the depolitization of religion. In this process, religion did not lose its true dignity; it remained one of the great spiritual forces, comforting and exalting the human soul. But it lost the element of coercion which had been so "natural" to it for many centuries; its connection with the state, with political authority, was severed; religion

retreated into the intimacy and spontaneity of the individual conscience. The process of the depolitization of religion was slow. Two centuries from "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience Discussed in a Conference Between Truth and Peace," which Roger Williams published in 1644, had to elapse before, at least in Western Europe, its cause won general acceptance. A similar depolitization of nationality is conceivable. It may lose its connection with political organization, it may remain an intimate and moving sentiment. If and when that day arrives, however, the age of nationalism, in the sense in which it is considered here, will be past.

CHAPTER II

Israel and Hellas
From Tribalism to Universalism

οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ πρῶτοι τροφῆς ἡμέρου τοῖς Ἰλλησι μεταδόντες, ἦν ἰδίᾳ παρὰ θεῶν λαβόντες τῇ χρεΐα κοινὴν ἐποίησαν, οὗτοι νόμους εὖρον, δι' οὓς ὁ κοινὸς βίος ἐκ τῆς ἀγρίας καὶ ἀδίκου ζωῆς εἰς ἡμέρον καὶ δικαίαν ἐλήλυθε συμβίωσιν. οὗτοι πρῶτοι τοὺς καταφυγόντας διασώσαντες τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἱκετῶν νόμους παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἰσχύσαι παρεσκεύασαν.

Diodori *Bibliotheca Historica* XIII, 26 (ed. Frid. Vogel, Teubner, vol. III, p. 41)

"Have not the Athenians been the first to teach the Greeks the cultivation of that sweet nourishment which they first received from the Gods and which afterwards became of common use? Did they not invent laws that have changed the savage life into a civilized society? Have they not been the first to establish the right of asylum and given in favor of the supplicant laws which were respected by all men?"

(Nicolai Oratio pro captivis Atheniensibus, humanissimi ingenii specimen, 413 B.C.)

I

Modern European civilization has its roots, through Christianity and Roman tradition, in ancient Judea and Hellas. Their history can only be understood against the broad background of the whole ancient world, of which those two small countries formed an indissoluble part. But, for the European consciousness, this background was no more than a distant and obscure setting which by contrast served to illuminate even more brightly the two great protagonists of ancient history, Israel and Hellas. All other influences lived only in so far as they were received into, and transformed by, these two civilizations, which alone in antiquity developed some important traits which characterize the modern idea of nationalism. With them the natural group-sentiment of tribalism—which animated the ancestors of the Jews and of the Greeks, in common with all other ethnic groups—became a guiding factor of spiritual life, a new consciousness which gave every member of the group the knowledge of a special mission entrusted to it and distinguishing it from all other peoples. This consciousness, shared by every individual, raised him to a new personal dignity, and prepared the spiritual foundations of democracy. This feeling of a peculiar dignity and mission in other countries was confined to the rulers, kings or priests, investing them, and them alone, with divine origin or with special wisdom and pride, making them superior to all the other members of their people and setting them apart in a class.

Rulers of that kind were unknown in Greece or in Israel. The contempt of the Greeks for the despotic kings of the barbarians is well known. The attitude towards kingship and kingly power is one of the most characteristic traits of the Bible. Here the roots of later democracy can be found in the feeling of equality and common destiny of the whole people, a feeling at first limited to the members of the group and denied to outsiders, barbarians or

gentiles. The Athenians, in the great period of their history, took an immeasurable pride in their democracy. This democratic feeling went even deeper among the Jews, with whom the whole social legislation of the Bible was animated by constant care and consideration for the dignity of every member of the people and for brotherly relations among them. The masses of the other peoples appeared, to Greeks and Hebrews alike, as without individual dignity, subject to the will of their despotic rulers, without participation in a national mission, and without an active share in the cultural life reserved to the priestly class. Their kingdoms were held together, aside from or beyond racial bonds, by political ties and by the strength of the ruler. The Jews and Greeks were held together, not only by the racial bond, but by their national idea and a cultural consciousness common to all. Their political bond, on the other hand, was either very weak or nonexistent.

With the other peoples of antiquity, only rulers and empires left their traces on history. With the Greeks and the Jews, it was the national character and the spiritual creative energy of the people which endured. It is because their cultural continuity proved stronger than political, racial, or geographic continuity, that they live on today. The present fellahin of the Nile Valley are racially and geographically identical with the builders of the Pyramids and with the artists who created the unique monuments preserved in the Egyptian temples and tombs. Yet they have no consciousness of cultural and historical continuity, and the ancient Egyptian civilization, a civilization of kings and priests, was as dead for them as for the Europeans until its recent rediscovery by European scholars; it became a possession of European civilization long before its importance began to dawn upon the minds of the racial heirs. Jews and Greeks, on the other hand, have preserved neither their racial nor their political continuity—the Jews have lost even their geographic continuity; but their cultural continuity remains. The national idea which united the two tribal confederations of Hebrews and Greeks became the lifeblood of their existence. Modern nationalism, with its ideal of the nation-state, was unknown to them, but the idea of nationalism, its ideological con-

tent, has its roots in those two peoples of Ancient Times, and in the consciousness of their cultural mission.¹

2

The Jews and the Greeks are the only peoples of antiquity before Roman times whose national characteristics emerge clearly. It is difficult to characterize an individual with accuracy; it is of course much more difficult to define the character of as complex a phenomenon as a people. In both, heredity plays a certain, although not too large a part; historical circumstances, environment and education, climate and social conditions mold and shape the inherited character. Man's character determines to a certain extent his fate, and is at the same time changed and determined by it. A nation shapes its history according to its character, but the character is also a product of its history. A national culture is an emanation from the national type, its objectivation and representation, but at the same time national life is a concrescence and crystallization of culture. Although we can never fully account for the character of individuals or peoples, we nevertheless find some whose sharp traits of character impel us again and again not only to write the sequence of the events which happened to them, but also to try to recapture in an interpretation the inner rhythm of their life.

There are colorless individuals and colorless peoples without a pronounced way of life; scarcely noticed, they slip ineffectively through life and history. Their human characteristics are so little or so uniformly developed that they in no wise attract special attention. Their participation in the spiritual reality of history is small. Again, in other individuals and peoples, certain universal human traits are developed to a very special degree, usually at the expense of other characteristics. Such peoples, like individuals who transcend in some way the average, are an impetus and are felt to be unusual; they act as stimuli to new possibilities and impress their stamp on others. The number of such individuals grows in an age of pronounced individualism; the number of such peoples

grows in an age of nationalism. Of the peoples of Ancient Times, only Jews and Greeks possessed such pronounced traits.

The essence of a people, as of an individual, cannot be comprehended or fully expressed by an analysis of different single traits. The mystery of the *individuum ineffabile* can be approached only in a cautious and approximate way. We become aware of aspects of its inner life in its expansion and development, in the temporal process which we call history. In the historical life of humanity there arises and develops a particular spiritual world with man as its volitional, purposive member. In historical life, the essence of which is a striving to grow, there are no laws grounded in spatial coexistence comparable to the laws of nature, but only directions of striving; tendencies corresponding to the temporal, fluid, and successive bases of the process. Here the unity of direction replaces the unity of law. This unity of direction is infinitely more flexible than the unity of law. Tendencies are nothing fixed or completed; they are tensions and growth; they always leave open the possibility of new developments and new departures. The character of no people is fixed once and forever. Every people participates in the entire spiritual world of humanity and its richness; no human trait is missing in any people. But in different peoples different characteristics, abilities, and tendencies receive a different emphasis. It is not the possession of definite traits which defines a people, but the tendency to accentuate them. As with all living beings and their associations, there exist no definite or fixed limits. The predominant tendencies of a people find themselves intertwined with others and, in the struggle, seek to prevail. Everywhere there is trial, and, correspondingly, the possibility of new developments and new bypaths. The way is never finished, never observable as a whole, never completely definable.

3

Jews and Greeks have developed the elements of the idea of nationalism as the result of different and even opposite national characters. The ancient Greeks were the people of sight, of the spatial and plastic sense. Jacob Burckhardt called them the "eye

of the world." They knew how to look, and therein lay their historical importance; knowledge and perception (not only in the etymology of *οἶδα*) formed in them a unity. Their art was plastic, space-dominating and space-forming, as if they sought to transpose the flowing, fleeting, ever related elements of life into rest, space, limitation, and to give the formless form. In its classic expression, their philosophy was similarly plastic, its instrument the defining chisel. The same word, *ὀρίειν*, meant in Greek to limit, and also to form concepts; thoughts became plastic pictures. Plato's ideas were primordial images, the world purified of the dross of growth and based on the pure types of being. The Greek turned everything into form and marble in a supreme effort to eliminate the restlessness of time from the world. He endowed the world with the instruments of scientific thought, and tamed the Dionysian overflow of events into the serene majesty of Apollonic order.

For the Greek, the stone with which he built was a symbol of space and perception; for the Jew, the stream into which he dipped was a symbol of time and becoming. "The roaring sea of time into which this stream of development empties affects the Greek but little. For him Athena is victorious over Poseidon, the rock over the sea; and in his landscape the rivers trickle away finally among the stones." "To the artistic serenity of the Greek the Jew opposed a burning religiosity; but the difference went deeper. While the Greek developed the plastic sense to perfection, the Jew did not see so much as he heard; he lived in time. His senses did not encircle the contours; rather were they intent on the inner flow. His organ was the ear. His historians have seen the meaning of the destiny of the people in God's call and in the reaction of the people to this call. His God-experience did not permit the Jew, as it did the Greek, to attain serene contemplation, *θεωρία*, and a self-consuming absorption in the vision; it called him to become the untiring mouthpiece, the unflinching messenger. The message which God put upon the prophet to deliver is called in Hebrew *massa*, or burden. Under the weight of this burden Moses complained: "I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me. And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray

thee, if I have found favor in thy sight." Likewise Jeremiah cursed his task in deep, stirring verses: "Oh, Lord, thou hast enticed me, and I was enticed, thou hast overcome me and hast prevailed; I am become a laughing stock all the day, everyone mocketh me . . . Cursed be the day wherein I was born. . . . Because he slew me not from the womb; and so my mother would have been my grave."

Thus God personified himself to the Jews, not in the image, but in the call. In Jewish prayers and in Jewish literature the "I hear!" sounds again and again. When Elijah perceived God, he heard only a still, small voice. For that reason the Jew never made a picture of his God. The word, *logos*, was for the Jew the intermediary between infinity and the individual being; the vibrating word carried more of infinity in it than the rigid form of a picture. God's word was from the beginning the creative force, and the Jewish miracle worker and saint is called in Jewish legends the "master of the good name," because God's name was the greatest mystery and the greatest power. The name and the sound, not the image, conjured and created.

Sight is the sense of space; hearing, the sense of time. The Greek transfigured space; his thoughts were objectified in the multiple dimensions of space which at the same time, however, was limited. For him only the defined and the finite were beautiful and perfect. Plato derived the beautiful from the effect of the limited in the illimitable, from measuredness and symmetry. The material strives towards form, finite limitation. Thus for the Greek the most perfect figure was the circle, the most perfect motion the circular, the motion of ether and the heavenly bodies. As in the esthetic realm the condition of beauty was to the Greek the complete harmony of diametrically antithetical forces in the closed structure of space, so in the ethical realm the condition of goodness was a well balanced proportion, or, as Aristotle called it, the mean in respect to pleasures and pains. The infinite was for Plato the nonexistent; philosophy arrived at existence only by a quantitative ordering. In Greek philosophy the Jew Philo was the first to place a higher value on the infinite than on the proportionate finite.

Space is a form of our development into plurality; time binds

our development in the stream of unity. The eye creates distance, plurality, and the relations of contiguity. The Greeks were not only the masters of plastic art but the creators of drama from the chaos of exuberant music. But they lacked, as Jacob Burckhardt says, the solitary song. The psalm, on the other hand, was the most characteristic Jewish poetical form. Even to this very day the Jew has remained a lyrist, a master in this most formless and subjective art, closest to the flowing stream, farthest from the marble.

The Jew lived more in the realm of time than in space.³ The world as time does not know of separation into a plurality of dimensions. It is one-dimensional: it points to the past, surges towards the future, and overcomes the tension of various directions in the forceful unity of its stream. The world as time is a polar world, suspended in tension between two poles. It is burdened with the tradition of the past, and the forward-driving urge propels it into the uncertain future. It does not know the balance of forces which have developed contiguously and harmoniously. It is itself force, one-sided, tending towards extremes and avoiding compromises, rushing towards the infinite and shattering all form. This life of tension and of a permanent appeal is bare of the harmony of beauty, of the vision of art which the Greek genius bestowed upon mankind.

The man living in this tension and bearing its burden longs more than any other for the conquering of this tension, for a unity which is a unification of all opposites and a goal and task for his life. "Make my heart one," prays the Psalmist. To the Jews, God was the One, the guarantor and executor of unification, the goal of the unification of humanity. "Finis unitas est ad quem omnes sunt dirigendae," says Spinoza. In the Jewish daily evening prayer we read, "Our God, make thy name one and establish thy kingdom." In the main prayer recited daily, found as early as Deuteronomy 6:4-5, and emphasized by Jesus as the outstanding command in the Bible (Mark 12:29-30), the unity of God is announced to the people in a solemn call. The call is followed by the demand that man should be undivided, unified, complete, and whole, that he should unite his many contrary talents and tendencies with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his strength.

God is the reconciliation of multiplicity to unity. The Greeks arrived at this conciliation by contemplation and a wisdom full of moderation; they never doubted that all men would love virtue if they could but contemplate it. The Jews found conciliation not in the contemplation of knowledge but in the exertion of the will. Their way of the deed led through an uninterrupted series of decisions. To decide seemed the duty, the burden, and the nobility of man. Decision is exertion, courage, and danger. Out of weariness, uninterestedness, inertia, cowardice, one evades decisions, and therein, according to the Jews, lies sin. The one God demands the indivisible man entirely given over to his task.

4

The Jews and the Greeks were the peoples of Ancient Times with a sense for history.³ Though the Jews never developed history as a science, they went further than the Greeks in stressing the essential importance of history and, for the first time, its unity. With their time-thought and their tendency towards unity they were the first to develop a coherent philosophy of history. To Jewish thinkers the important fact was not nature, but man and his activities. Man brought unity into the flow of time, meaning into the trickling, running, and generating process of events. The Jewish God was not primarily a God of nature but a God of history. When He solemnly proclaimed Himself, it was as the God of the historical deed: "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage."

Jewish social ethics was not given as a rational command, it was historically grounded. "You shall not oppress the stranger for you know the heart of the stranger, for you too were strangers in the land of Egypt." Nowhere else was the historical consciousness binding generations together stressed so emphatically as in the Pentateuch. "Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life: but teach them to thy sons and thy sons' sons." "When thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, what mean the testimonies and the statutes

and the judgments which the Lord our God commanded you, then thou shalt say unto thy son, we were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt; but the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand." "This national historical consciousness gave to the people a unique permanency and certainty. History was no longer a meaningless chronicle of isolated actions; every action of man in history gained meaning and a new value. They were put into relation to God and to the ultimate sense of life. History became the way of God.

Thus the fundamental condition of national consciousness, a common stock of memories of the past and of hopes for the future, which permeates the whole people and determines their mind and aspirations, grew among the Jews for the first time, and was expressed more firmly than ever thereafter. Their historical consciousness projected unity into the events of time and knit these closely together into a national history. The concept of universal history as a unified process, and with a special distinctive role for the Jewish nation at its center, appeared, from the time of Amos, more and more clearly in Hebrew literature. The task of man as a moral and acting vehicle of history—national history first, and later national history in the framework of universal history—was a certainty from the time of the sealing of the Covenant under Moses, and attained in the words of the prophets its definite expression. History, national and universal—but the universal always with the national as its center—had its unity in its origin, in its path, and in its end. The path of history was a road to its end, the Kingdom of God. Messianism, national and universal, but again always with the national as its center, became first pronounced here.

Jewish and Greek civilization and thought in Ancient Times were both "this-worldly." Their reception in Europe at the beginnings of modern civilization prepared the new secular attitude of the Renaissance and of the eighteenth century. Immortality for the ancient Hebrew was conceived only as an element in the continuity of national life. A belief in the personal immortality of the soul developed only later under foreign influences. In the same way, the future world, the Kingdom of God, was not conceived

as something beyond, but as a growth within historical times. In prophetic Messianism the future world was a time of threefold unification here on earth: the unification of every man who—truly unified within himself—would be devoted with his whole heart to God; the unification of all men in a brotherly covenant; and the unification of all nature in peace and bountiful life.

The national idea of the ancient Jews and Greeks was at the beginning based exclusively upon common descent. The concept of a chosen race—the concept that the purity of blood ordained by God is of the greatest value for the individual, for the community, and for history—inspired natural tribalism with religious fervor. In a less exalted way, because unconnected with religion and the ultimate meaning of life, racialism was also the basis of Greek nationalism. Historical developments, however, led both Jews and Greeks from this primitive racial and material conception of nationalism to a more spiritual and cultural one. With the development of human individuality and the growth of humanism, with the intensification of cultural and social life, later antiquity witnessed the progress from an objective materialistic conception of nationality to a subjective and spiritual one. Before antiquity drew to a close, Jewish as well as Greek thought developed an attitude of universalism and humanism which left behind it all differences of race and national civilizations and which hailed man as part of humanity, whencesoever he came. It is significant that in antiquity only the two nationally conscious peoples developed a conscious cosmopolitanism and universalism.

5

Three essential traits of nationalism originated with the ancient Jews: the idea of the chosen people, the consciousness of national history, and national Messianism. The act by which the Jews became a people, and at the same time a chosen people occurred at the beginning of Jewish history. It was only through the Covenant that the Jews were constituted a people. Without the consciousness of this fundamental fact, the whole course of Jewish history would become incomprehensible. God chose this people and acted

through it in history: the people received the mission to live and to act in history according to God's will. *Gesta Dei per Judaeos*. "For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God, and the Lord has chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, out of all the nations that are upon the earth."^o "And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee" (Genesis 17:7). The chosen people had been singled out by God through His deeds in history. God promised them historical accomplishments, the conquest of a country, the destruction of its inhabitants. The enemies of the chosen people became the enemies of God. They were to be destroyed utterly and without clemency (I Samuel, 15:3). The 105th Psalm praised God for His great historical deeds performed for the people He had chosen. At the same time, the idea of racial purity sometimes went so far that at the time of national regeneration under Ezra and Nehemiah the Jews were asked to repudiate the wives they had taken from foreign tribes, and the children which those wives had borne to them (Ezra 10; Nehemiah 10:30).

This fierce nationalism was, however, tempered from the first by ethical considerations which grew more and more humane and universalistic. Already at the very beginning it was not race alone which determined membership in the chosen people. The Covenant of Abraham was entered not by birth but by circumcision. Ruth, the mother of the royal house of David, was a Moabite, notwithstanding the very strict prohibition of any intermarriage with Ammonites and Moabites (Deuteronomy 23:3); her words destroyed all racial division and exclusivity: "Thy people shall be my people and thy God my God." For with all their apparent racialism, the Jews became a nation not by blood but by an act of volition and of spiritual decision.

The Covenant concluded between God and the people of Israel formed the gateway to their history, a symbolic act of the highest pregnancy, revived three thousand years later as the root of modern nationalism and democracy. For the Covenant was not concluded between God and the kings or leaders of the people, but between God and the whole people, every member in complete equality. It

was to infuse into the heart of the people, and into the heart of every member, the national ideal and purpose, not as an authoritarian imposition, but as a voluntary choice. A Jewish legend relates that God offered the Covenant to all the nations, one after another, and all rejected it, until at last Israel declared itself ready to accept it. God did not choose Israel from the beginning and single it out from all the nations of the earth; Israel alone was willing to take upon itself the obligation of a covenant.

The relation created by the Covenant carries in it the seed of the most exalted national egotism and at the same time the seed of a profound moral transformation of that nationalism. On account of this Covenant the Jews felt themselves to be different from all other peoples. Humanity was divided into two camps, the chosen people and the gentiles. In the daily morning prayer the Jews thanked God because "He has not created us like the peoples of the lands nor made us like the races of the earth nor given us the same faith." In the knowledge of a special bond uniting God and His people lies the danger of a possible justification for all arrogance and for an assumed leadership of other peoples. God will place His people above all others. When His people fight, He fights with them; they fight for Him. National greatness and expansion become the duty towards God, are sought for His glorification. All these later ideas of a God-ordained national imperialism originated in one of the possible interpretations of Jewish nationalism.

From the beginning, however, the Covenant contained different possibilities. The Covenant concluded after the exodus from Egypt was not the only covenant mentioned in the Bible. The first Covenant of God was made with Noah and all his descendants—that is, with all the peoples of the earth—not only with them, but also "with every living creature that is with you, the fowl, the cattle, and every beast of the earth with you." It was an "everlasting Covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh." The content of the Covenant was a moral command, the prohibition of shedding human blood "because God has created man in His image." The goal of the Covenant was salvation: no new flood was again to destroy all life. More specific and more national was

the second Covenant concluded with Abraham. Abraham was ordered to go out of his country and from his kindred, to found a new nation, and to occupy a new land.

The most important Covenant was the third, concluded between God and the whole people of Israel. God stated His demands at the sealing of the Covenant: "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation," and "If ye keep my Covenant—but only on this condition—ye shall be mine own treasure from among all peoples, for all the earth is mine." The people accepted the Covenant as a voluntary duty. "Moses came and called for the Elders of the people and set before them all these words which the Lord commanded him and all the people answered together and said: All that the Lord hath spoken we will do, and Moses reported the words of the people unto the Lord." An unusual idea lies at the very beginning of the national existence of Israel. The Prophets expanded it into a new dynamic interpretation of history as a quest for justice. Justice was to the Prophets not a harmonization of the normal virtues as to Plato, but an intense striving towards the absolute, not a patient acceptance of the traditional order, but a continuous examination and evaluation of the existing order measured by the divine standard. "By a willing covenant made with God" the foundation was laid for a just community based on mutual aid, irrespective of person and class.⁷

By the Covenant the Jewish people was constituted. The elements of its constitution were one God, one law, one people.⁸ No earthly ruler interfered between God and the people. In times of need, charismatic leaders were "awakened" by God to lead the people during the emergency. Under Samuel, however, the Israelites demanded a king "like all the nations." Jahweh Himself made the meaning of their desire clear to Samuel: "Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me, that I should not be king over them." At God's command Samuel warned the people who were asking him for a king, and told them that kingship meant war and oppression. Nevertheless the Israelites remained firm: "That there shall be a king over us, that we also may be like all the nations."

Soon the struggle of the Prophets against the kingdom began. This struggle was unique in history. On the one side were the "realists," the kings and their advisers who desired a state like other states, powerful and prosperous, with rich and poor, the work of human instincts and human inadequacies, noble and courageous, greedy and untrustful, neither better nor worse than all other states. There were times of prosperity and victory, and times of defeat, but the blows of fate only goaded the national will to strive again for a victory and a period of plenty. Some of the kings were wise, some of them were fools, but generally the ups and downs of normal state life were not different in Israel or Judah from those in any other state.

Into this "normal" life sounded the voices of the men who have come down to us as Prophets. They rejected this state because it was a state like other states. In strange paradoxes they opposed popular beliefs. The will of God was emphasized in contradistinction to natural and national instincts. They opposed the people, its state, its kings, and its leaders. The extraordinary thing is not that they were persecuted during their lifetime as traitors or cranks, but that after their death their words were reverently preserved, and that those whom the people once acclaimed, the wise and noble advisers of the throne, were then called false prophets. Within the Jewish people and within humanity the Prophets had started a revaluation of all accepted values. This new valuation has not been accepted—either by the Jews or by humanity—but it has acted as a powerful leaven and restraint in history. The Prophets from Amos to Jeremiah discovered earlier than Greek philosophers the idea of man and humanity, and dug deeper into its meaning than any Greek philosophers before the Stoic period. The dignity of man as such, regardless of his class, his ancestry, his abilities, was discovered. Something characteristic of all men revealed itself and was summed up in the concept of humanity. All activity and suffering gained meaning, one meaning; the framework of world history, a process binding together generations and peoples in the potential infinity of space and time, was won for human knowledge.

Amos appeared at a time of great splendor in the kingdom of Israel. A powerful, successful prince stood at its head. A victorious

mood of satisfaction existed among the people. They experienced the favor of God which expressed itself in peace and wealth. Was it not known that from among all peoples God had chosen Israel? Was salvation therefore not certain? Was the glorious upward trend not the logical outcome of the Covenant? But without warning Amos stated, in what must have seemed a strange paradox to his listeners, a different meaning to the Covenant: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore—I will visit upon you all your iniquities." It is important for the understanding of biblical history that all the sermons of the two earliest prophets, of Amos and Hosea, are a recollection of the Covenant as the central fact of the people's history, and a continual warning to reflect on the true content of the Covenant. The Covenant was, the Prophets taught, not a privilege, not a guarantee for a successful life, but an added burden calling for increased earnestness.

Amos went still further. God was to him not only a God of Israel, manifesting Himself in Jewish history, but the God of all peoples and of all history. He had led Israel out of Egypt, and he recalled it to the Jews again and again as His most glorious title to recognition and obedience. But He had done, and continued to do, the same for other peoples. "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, oh Children of Israel, saith the Lord. Have I not brought up Israel out of the Land of Egypt, and—the Philistines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir?" His historic miracles were done not only for Israel, but for all peoples, even for Israel's enemies, the Philistines. To the God of history all nations were equally tools in the great plan of salvation. In this conviction, Amos and the Prophets after him warned Israel not to rely upon the favor of God. Israel should know that God was a God of absolute and equal justice for all: being chosen did not mean greater protection or privilege, but heavier obligation and harder punishment. Thus the whole history of the people gained a new meaning; the visitation from a powerful enemy, the subjection and destruction of Israel, was no longer regarded as a defeat for its God, for He was not, like the idols, the guardian of the well-being of His tribe. The subjection and destruction of Israel turned out to be the true triumph of its God, to whom the victorious and the defeated nations

were only clay in the hand of the potter, who demanded only one thing, a right life, and knew only one criterion, justice. As Amos put it: "Seek good and not evil that ye may live; and so the Lord, the God of Hosts, will be with you, as ye say. I hate the evil and love the good, and establish justice in the gate; it may be that the Lord, the God of Hosts, will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph." "

The Prophets did not tire of impressing upon the people that the only possible course acceptable to God was the renunciation of outer glory and success and concentration on the creation of an inwardly just community. If this were done, one need not lose courage nor live in continuous fear. Isaiah opposed with all his vehemence the efforts to regain independence and to break the Assyrian yoke by alliances with other powers. "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and rely on horses and trust in chariots because they are many, and in horsemen because they are exceedingly mighty." The same attitude was taken by Jeremiah. Repeatedly he advised inner reforms in place of outward independence. Because of his "treasonous" actions and speeches he was imprisoned and threatened with death; the generals accused him of discouraging the people and the army."

Isaiah and Jeremiah were both animated by a deep distrust of power and might, which led them to a new evaluation of the life of the poor and humble, going even beyond the Mosaic legislation of protection of the alien, the slave, the widows and orphans. Aristotle regarded the slave as an "animated tool," but in Job 31:13-15 we read, "If I did despise the cause of my man servant or of my maid servant, when they contended with me, what then shall I do when God rises up? And when He remembereth, what shall I answer then? Did not He that made me in the womb make him? And did not One fashion us in the womb?" The Prophets and the Psalmists did not accept the established order. Their disquieting thoughts broke up the system of castes, asked for the justification of the suffering of the just, of the bondage of entire classes. To them the poor man appeared the just man, suffering for the injustice of others. Soon the fate of the Jewish people was viewed as a symbol and as a universal expression of this individual

experience. Individual and national suffering found its justification in the goal of all history, in the new order of the Kingdom of God.

6

Messianism as a religious belief in the coming of a Redeemer who will end the present order of things and institute a new and better order seems to answer a universal ingrained longing in man for a world free from the imperfections and sufferings connected with this one. In various forms and under various names, Messianic ideas have sprung up without any apparent connection in widely scattered religions. Jewish Messianism alone, through the historical-mindedness of the ancient Hebrews and their keen sense of the problem of the poor, grew to influence universal religious thought and later secular movements. In the Kingdom of God the drama of universal history was to find its atoning conclusion, the idea of the Covenant its final fulfillment. Messianism with the Jews was never mere theoretical speculation about things to come. It was always a living practical thought. It was a philosophy of history and a theodicy which explained the ways of God. As such, Messianism passed from Judaism into the thought of Western humanity. It accompanied the struggle of heretical sects and oppressed classes for the realization of their dreams and aspirations; it lent its forms and symbols to the obscure longing of millions; it ended by being clothed in the garments of the philosophy of rationalism and modern social science. As a secular idea of progress and of a new order, it dominates political and social aspirations to-day, deprived of its religious forms but retaining its religious fervor.

The Jews developed two aspects of the Messianic doctrine. Often it was the expression of a narrow group mind and only aimed at a fundamental betterment of the national situation. In other cases it acquired a more universal aspect and a more spiritual meaning. It meant justice to all mankind, a blossoming of the life of the spirit and a reign of brotherhood and peace. Sometimes these two aspects were found associated together, the deliverance of the group being thought of as a vehicle or preliminary condition of universal deliverance. This intermingling of national ambitions,

religious concepts, and a distant universalism deeply influenced later national movements. National political hopes became deepened into the belief that their fulfillment was an action of divine justice and that the struggles for their realization must be carried on as commands of God. The individual nation, the chosen vehicle of God's designs, saw in its political triumph the march of God in history, in many cases considered itself the instrument of the fulfillment of the destinies of mankind."

The word *Messiah*, the Hellenized form of Hebrew *mashiah*, means literally "the anointed one." In early Judaism, Messianism, in the meaning of the coming of a personal or individual anointed one as Redeemer, was unknown before the apocalyptic literature of the second century B.C. In the Bible, Messianism was viewed as a supraindividual act, the expectancy of the coming of the Kingdom of God which sprang from a recollection of an early theocracy in Israel, when God alone was King, and the Israelites, His chosen people, had voluntarily taken upon themselves the yoke of His Kingdom. Its fulfillment was envisaged as a return to the reign of David, the last king upon whom a charismatic commission was believed to have been laid by God, a truly anointed one. The future kingdom never was expected outside this world, in Heaven, but was always regarded as a phase of human history, whose stage was the earth, sometimes a transfigured earth, but still the earth with life purified and clarified, but still human. No element of individual salvation was contained in early Messianism. It was a stage of national or universal history. "The ultimate salvation of the individual is inseparably connected with the salvation of the people, and since, in accordance with the prophetic teaching, it was made dependent on the righteousness or the repentance of the nation collectively, the conduct and character of the individual concerned not himself alone but the whole Jewish people."²²

This Kingdom of God was often in later times thought to be confined to Israel. As God at the time of the Covenant conducted Israel from the land of bondage to the Promised Land, so He would at the time of the fulfillment, in an act of even greater glory, regather Israel into the Promised Land and reinstitute it into the happiness of a blessed reign. Then Israel would no longer be en-

dangered or tempted by other nations. Their fate was differently depicted. They were to be subjugated or converted or destroyed. In this sense Messianism as "the will to live dominantly and triumphantly as a rehabilitated people in its national home" was for the Jewish people the great nationalistic vision which sustained them through the centuries of persecution and humiliation. The Jews prayed daily for the coming of Messianic salvation to them; they bore willingly in this hope the heavy yoke of Judaism; with thousands of martyrs they magnified and exalted their God who had promised to restore the nation to its ancient glory and to inaugurate His Kingdom in perpetuity by the joyful regathering of the people into their homeland. Thus the *mashiah*, messiah, became for Israel *menahem*, the Comforter, who would lead them towards *geulah*, the national salvation. There was no important prayer which would not express the hope of a speedy coming of the Kingdom, "soon in our days," "because we wait for Thy salvation all the day."

Side by side with this nationalistic Messianism there developed from the very beginning the tradition of universalistic Messianism. Although Judaism remained a national religion, the Prophetic monotheism led to the recognition that "the Lord shall be King over all the earth; in that day shall the Lord be One and His Name One." In this later monotheism, nationality and universality were closely interlinked, the Jewish religion was regarded as the universal religion and Jerusalem as the spiritual center of the world. Thus Isaiah 2:2-3, expected a time when the mountain of the Lord's house in Jerusalem would be established on the top of the mountains and would be exalted above the hills; when all nations would stream to it and out of Zion would go forth the law. At the same time this Kingdom of God, centered around the Jewish people, was understood as an ethical and religious salvation for mankind, as a universal kingdom of peace and justice. Isaiah went on, in the passage mentioned, to say that the peoples would then beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation would not lift up sword against nation, and they would learn no more the art of war.

The tendency towards unity found its expression in the widen-

ing of the originally national Covenant into a Covenant between the one God and unified humanity. This sentiment was expressed in the *'aleinu* prayer which probably dates from the second century after Christ, but which an old tradition ascribes to Joshua upon his entrance into Canaan: "We therefore hope in Thee, O Lord Our God, that we may speedily behold the glory of Thy might when Thou wilt remove the abominations from the earth . . . when the world shall be perfected under the Kingdom of the Almighty, and all the children of the flesh will call upon Thy name, when Thou wilt turn unto Thyself all the wicked of the earth. Let all the inhabitants of the world . . . accept the yoke of Thy Kingdom, and do Thou reign over them speedily, and forever and ever. For the Kingdom is Thine." Even the most deadly enemies of the Jewish people were included with Israel in the blessing which Jahweh expressed through the mouth of Isaiah 19:25: "Blessed be Egypt, My people, and Assyria, the work of My hands, and Israel, Mine inheritance."

In this future universal reign of peace and justice the great enemies of mankind, fear and want, will be banned. The poor and the persecuted become the truly pious in the prophetic revaluation of all values. Originally the Anointed One had been imagined as a just king who would "with righteousness judge the poor and decide with equity for the meek of the land." In the vision of a later prophet He becomes the Redeemer of all suffering, a poor man Himself, the symbol of all the misery of humanity. He rides on the ass, the despised animal of the poor; He is no master, but humble in His station and ways; He becomes the servant of God, *'ebed Yabweh*. "He had no form nor comeliness that ye should look upon Him, nor beauty that ye should delight in Him. He was despised and rejected of men, a man of pains, and acquainted with grief." In Him who "shall not break a bruised reed and shall not quench the dimly burning wick" are exalted all the lowly and despised of earth. In the second part of the book of Isaiah, the prophet identified Israel with the Servant of God. As such the Jewish people would spread the rule of universal peace. "It is too slight a thing for your being my servant that I should but raise up the tribe of Jacob and restore the survivors of Israel; so I will make you a light

of the nations, that My salvation may reach to the ends of the earth." Israel's nationhood, its selection by God, was recognized and proclaimed, not as an end in itself, but as the means to a greater universal end. Nationalism became relativized, subservient to a goal embracing the whole of mankind, but it remained dominant with the Jews and determined even their universalistic conceptions. Some of the post-biblical teachers regarded war and strife as evil in themselves, and the use of the weapons of warfare as a sign of spiritual weakness. They rejected national independence, and condemned all the efforts to re-create a Jewish state. The redactor of the Mishnah, Jehuda I, (ca. A.D. 135-220), one of the most venerable teachers of Judaism, even wanted to abolish the fast held annually on the ninth day of the month of Ab, the day of Jerusalem's destruction, the great national and religious day of commemoration, in order to destroy all memories of Jewish independence; but these teachings were exceptional. Generally Messianism with the Jews in later times expressed a more exclusive notion of national aspiration.

7

Undoubtedly, however, the evolution of Jewish nationalism led them from a primitive and exclusive concept to a more spiritual and universal one, which found its most powerful expression in the Prophetic writings. The teachings of Jesus were in this line. His words were couched in terms understood by all the Jews of his time filled with the feverish expectation of the coming of a Messiah. Christianity, as expressed in the preaching of Jesus and in the lives of his first followers, was pure Jewish Messianism. The appellation *Christos* is the translation of the Hebrew word *mashiah* in the Greek Septuagint. Apart from the unique personality revealed in the Gospels, the teaching of Jesus was determined by Jewish tradition. He demanded the deed and the decision. With a relentless passion and severity he rejected all compromises and concessions. The surrender of all natural ties was demanded when the fulfillment of God's will was at stake. The poor and the justification of the poor had their place in his teaching as in the Prophets

and Psalms. Like them he insisted on a religion of the heart and rejected outer forms of sacrifice and religious observance. Like all teachers of the written tradition, "the law and the prophets," he desired to expand the written word through oral teaching, to make clear the deeper meaning of the past. He came, "not to overthrow the law nor the prophets, but to fulfill." "

Like every Messianic preacher, he did not repeal or lighten commandments; on the contrary, he preached the aggravation of duties in view of the approach of the Kingdom. The nearer the Kingdom was, the greater was the need for repentance and for a righteous life, to prepare for its appearance and to compel its coming. His prayer sounded in the ancient words, "Hallowed be Thy name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done." He did not from the beginning consider himself the Messiah, but the consciousness grew in him that he would soon return as the Messiah and inaugurate the Kingdom of God. He and his followers were certain about its immediacy. His ethical teaching was an interim ethic focused on the short interregnum between the pre-Messianic and the new age. For Jesus, as for the Prophets, the Kingdom was linked with the central position of Israel. His preaching referred only to Israel, which for him remained the chief vehicle of the coming of the Messianic age (Matthew 10: 5-6, in connection with Matthew 10: 23).

The history of Christianity began with the failure of the Kingdom to appear within the expected short time. With it the teaching of Jesus faded more and more into the background, and Christology, death and resurrection as lasting witnesses of the approaching Kingdom, came to the fore. Even Paul scarcely refers to the teaching of the one whom he had never heard. At this point, Christianity as a new religion broke definitely with Judaism. From Judaism it accepted the conception of history as a plan of salvation, as an evolution in time, but, since the decisive event in history had already happened (only its recurrence was still to come), it effected a withdrawal from time, which became for it temporality. All time turned into a mere interval between Jesus and his return. For coming generations only the example remained.

The other definite break with the Jewish tradition was the

universalism of Christianity. This universalism was not yet to be found in the teaching of Jesus; it became manifest in the epistles of Paul, and even then hesitantly.¹⁴ In the famous chapters 9-11 of the Epistle to the Romans, Paul discussed the relations between Jews and Gentiles, whom in a Hellenistic world he called Greeks. The discussion moves on in a traditional Jewish way by continuous reference to the Jewish scriptures and by their interpretation. The turning point comes when, in contradiction to the teaching of Jesus, Paul proclaimed that "Christ marks the termination of law," and put in the place of the teaching of Jesus the new Christology: "For if with your lips you acknowledge the message that Jesus is God and with your mind you believe that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved." Paul knew that to the Israelites alone "belong the rights of sonship, God's glorious presence, the divine agreements and legislation, the temple service, the promises, and the Patriarchs, and from them physically Christ came. Not that God's message has failed. For not everybody who is descended from Israel really belongs to Israel, nor are they all children of Abraham because they are descended from him. . . . It is not his physical descendants who are children of God, but his descendants born in fulfillment of the promise who are considered his true posterity." The basis is shifted here from the bond of blood to the bond of spiritual kinship. So, finally, "there is no distinction between Jew and Greek." But even the Apostle to the Heathens reminded them that they were only a wild olive shoot grafted on the Jewish olive tree. It was not they who supported the root, but the root supported them.

Paul proclaimed the power of God for the salvation of everyone who has faith, of the Jew first and then of the Greek (Romans 1:16; 2:10; 2:25; 2:28-29; 3:1-3; 4:12-16). The classification of men did not depend any more upon physiological facts which cannot be changed, but upon individual decision. The great dichotomy of mankind according to race into Jews and Gentiles was replaced by a dichotomy according to faith into Christians and Heathens, a division which would dominate the Middle Ages. Nationalism was replaced by a potential universalism. This universalism not only went back, however, to Jewish sources and their offspring, Chris-

tianity, but was also a product of a similar development from racial nationalism to spiritual universalism through cultural nationalism, which can be traced in the evolution of Greek and Greco-Roman thought.

8

The ancient Greeks had as clear a consciousness of their being a group different from, and superior to, all other peoples, as did the ancient Hebrews. Their consciousness dates not from the beginning of their history, as it did with the Hebrews, but grew along with their history. The event which stands at the beginning of Greek history, the war against Troy, as a combined effort of all the Greek tribes, did not reveal, in the description of Homer, any consciousness of a sharp division into Greeks and Barbarians. This consciousness probably only started about 600 B.C. At the time of the Persian wars the antagonism between Greeks and Barbarians was projected into the past; the Trojan War now appeared as the first great conflict between two worlds different from each other in race and culture, with the Barbarian world irreparably inferior to the Greek. A name for the whole Greek community, corresponding to a consciousness of their unity, seems to have developed later than the term "barbarians" for all the non-Greeks. The names of "Hellenes" and "Hellas" for the whole nation are not found before 700 B.C.¹⁶ Here, too, the opposition to something outside the group seemed first to have aroused the realization of its own cohesion.

As far as the existing literature allows the comparison, the Greek dichotomy of mankind into Greeks and Barbarians was more drastic than the similar Hebrew division into Jews and Gentiles. The Greek idea of the chosen people had not the religious fervor of the Jewish idea, but it was also devoid of the moderating corrective of the Jewish faith that all men had been created by one God and that every man had been created in His image. Therefore the contempt shown by the Greeks for the Barbarians appears harsher, and more lacking in any touch of humanity, than the Jewish differentiation from the Gentiles.

As with the Jews, this consciousness of a differentiation pervaded

all members of the Greek people. It became with them a true national sentiment, in no way restricted to the nobles or to the literati. Thus all Greeks were declared free, not like all Barbarians subject to a tyrannical king. The racial differentiation went much farther than with the Jews: it involved elements unknown to the Hebrews, as strong physical discrepancies (the Barbarians generally were depicted as extremely ugly and deformed) and a far-reaching intellectual and cultural distinction (by reason of which the possibility of rational thinking and ethical acting was reserved to the Greeks alone). Sometimes the Greeks expressed an unbridled and violent contempt surpassing the most chauvinistic utterances of modern nationalism.

In the period of Greece's great philosophers and dramatists, perpetual hostility and warfare between Greeks and Barbarians were regarded as something natural and justified. From the horrors of the inter-Hellenic Peloponnesian War the thought of Plato turned to the praise of the accepted war between Barbarians and Greeks. In the fifth book of his *Republic*, Socrates protested against warfare among Greeks, and against their being made slaves by other Greeks (*Republic*, 469b-471c). He distinguished wars among Greeks from wars between Greeks and Barbarians even by the names: he called the inter-Hellenic war *στάσις*, which means faction; the war between Greeks and Barbarians *πόλεμος*, true war. "We shall then say that Greeks fight and wage war with Barbarians, and Barbarians with Greeks, and are enemies by nature (*φύσει πολέμιοι*), and that war is the fit name for this enmity and hatred. Greeks, however, we shall say, are still by nature the friends of Greeks when they act in this way, but that Greece is sick in that case and divided by faction, and faction is the name we must give to that enmity."¹⁰ In case of such a "faction," Socrates recommended that every effort should be made to arrive at a reconciliation and to avoid the annihilation of the enemy, whereas in the case of a real war, that is a war between Greek and Barbarian, the complete subjugation of the enemy down to their abduction into slavery and their annihilation was permissible and advisable. From this Platonic definition of the relations between Greeks and Barbarians there was only one short step to their eternal warfare,

which afterwards both Isocrates and Livy proclaimed necessary.¹⁷

Aristotle went even farther by giving equivalent values to the words "Greeks" and "freemen," and "Barbarians" and "slaves," and by considering this division to be so destined for eternity by nature. He quoted with approval the verses of Euripides in his *Iphigenia in Aulis*: "Right it is that Hellenes rule Barbarians, nor that alien yoke rest on Hellenes, Mother. 'They be bondmen, we be freeborn folk.'" And he went on to say that this implied that Barbarian and slave were the same in nature. "But is there anyone thus intended by nature to be a slave and for whom such a condition is expedient and right or rather is not all slavery a violation of nature? There is no difficulty in answering this question on grounds both of reason and of fact." It is true that Aristotle did not adduce any real proofs of reason or fact to contradict the Sophist position of the natural equality of all men, but rather asserted that "from the hour of their birth some are marked out for subjection, others for rule. . . . The lower sort are by nature slaves and it is better for them as for all inferior that they should be under the rule of the master. . . . It is clear then, that some men are by nature free and others slaves, and for this latter slavery is both expedient and right." Aristotle put forward a moral justification for Hellenic world imperialism by regarding the enslavement of the Barbarians as in their interest.¹⁸ Hellas would be capable of shouldering the Greek man's burden of "ruling all mankind if it attains constitutional unity."¹⁹

A Greece united to rule mankind was never achieved. With all their fierce nationalist ideology the Greeks never developed into a nation in the modern sense.²⁰ The desire for the formation of a Greek national state never became a force in their history. They were conscious of their cultural and racial unity, but they very rarely drew any political conclusions from it. Herodotus²¹ spoke of the "kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life" in a passage in which the Athenians assured the Lacedaemonians that they would not make an alliance with the Persians against the Spartans—although they pointed out that it "was most human that the Lacedaemonians should fear our making

an agreement with the foreigner." The racial and cultural kinship was invoked to explain why the Athenians would not ally themselves with the Persians against the Spartans, although the Spartans were not expected to hold the same view; but it is characteristic that even here the kinship was advanced only as a second reason, whereas the "first and chiefest" reason was given as the feeling of vengeance of the Athenians against the Persians for having burnt and destroyed the temples of the Athenian gods. Thus a political nationalism remained unknown to the Greeks; their loyalty was due first and foremost to their city-state, which very often found itself in the most bitter warfare with other Greek city-states, and allied or thought of allying itself with non-Greeks against other Greeks. There was a strong patriotic love for the native soil which found its expression especially in many passages of Euripides, but it was the soil of the city and the city-state to which all love was directed.

In the time of the Persian Wars, however, Greece, under the threat of common danger, almost united for defense. This patriotism of the Persian Wars, predated into a reinterpretation of the war against Troy, reverberated through Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, when to Agamemnon, willing to sacrifice her in order that Hellas might be free, Iphigenia answered:

My body unto Hellas I resign,
Sacrifice me, raze ye Troy; for this through all the ages is
My memorial: children, marriage, glory—all are mine in this! ²²

The common patriotic feeling of the Persian Wars, however, soon passed, and was followed immediately by a growing hatred and hostility among the Greek cities.

9

The objective basis of Greek national feeling was very slight. It consisted largely in the Delphic Amphictyon and in the Olympic Games. Delphi was for the Greeks the navel of the world, and the association of Greek communities around the shrine of Delphi included relatively distant communities, but never the whole of

Greece. It was a religious Panhellenic symbol; but side by side with it the particularist religions and sanctuaries continued unimpaired. Perhaps the Olympic Games were even a stronger Panhellenic symbol. During the athletic contests and the displays of Greek poetry, music, dances, dramas, and statues, "the sentiment of Panhellenism so often forgotten awoke in its strength"²³ for a short week every four years. Until later times only Greeks were admitted to the Olympic Games. The sentiment of the common heritage of Greek civilization overcame at Olympia the intense particularism which otherwise dominated Greek life, and it survived in the Olympic Games even the overthrow of Greek independence.

The number and power of those manifestations of a common nationality were, however, few. Greek interstate law was much less developed than international law is today. The Greek city-states even failed to cooperate in such essential matters as the building of good roads, the maintenance of safe communication between neighboring city-states, and the agreement on a common calendar.²⁴ The cities dated their years by their own magistrates and began the years at different times, causing thereby a "terrible confusion." The "clumsy dating by Olympiads" was proposed by Timaeus of Tauromenium after 264 B.C., but never generally accepted. A Greek was a foreigner in every other Greek city than his own, and only by special agreement in each case were special rights, immunities, and citizenship granted. Even the sentimental feeling of kinship was in no way general, and for long periods it gave way to a bitter feeling of estrangement and hostility. There was no general tendency to change the situation. Nationalism in the modern sense remained unknown to the Greeks.

To the Athenians every non-Attic Greek dialect seemed barbarous. They proudly believed themselves to have no admixture of barbarian or non-Athenian Greek blood. When Thucydides, Euripides, or Isocrates wished to bestow high praise upon the Athenians, he called them autochthonous. They were supposed not to have immigrated into Attica, a land never conquered nor inhabited by any people except the Athenians, who according to the legend had sprung from the soil.²⁵ In Pericles' famous Funeral

Oration, Thucydides spoke of "this land of ours, in which the same people have never ceased to dwell in an unbroken line of successive generations."²⁶ In his *Constitution of Athens*, XLII, Aristotle stated that political rights belonged only to those whose parents on both sides were citizens. An old law had restricted citizenship to men who were natives of Attica both on the father's and on the mother's side. No marriage was valid except between the sons and daughters of citizens. During the Persian Wars this law had been allowed to lapse.²⁷ It was revived under Pericles (451 B.C.) to maintain the "family-like character" of the city-state. The citizenship of all the citizens was scrutinized, and, according to a report, of 14,000 citizens who applied for a share in the distribution of corn in a year of scarcity, no fewer than 4,750 were struck off the list.²⁸

The contempt which the Athenians felt for Barbarians was at times at least equaled by their hatred of the Spartans. The chorus in *The Acharnians*, by Aristophanes, expressed the general public opinion when it shouted against Dicaeopolis:

We'll not hear ye; your alliance with the worst of enemies,
 With the wicked hated Spartans, we'll avenge it and chastise. . . .
 Don't imagine to cajole us with your arguments and fetches;
 You confess you made a peace with those abominable wretches.
Dic.: Well, the very Spartans even,—I've even my doubts and
 scruples whether
 They've been totally to blame in ev'ry instance, altogether.
Chorus: Not to blame in every instance! Villain, vagabond, how
 dare ye,
 Talking treason to our faces, to suppose that we should spare ye.²⁹

As vengeful and more pathetic was Andromache's outcry against the Spartans:³⁰

O ye in all folk's eyes most loathèd of men,
 Dwellers in Sparta, senates of treachery,
 Princes of lies, weavers of webs of guile,
 Thoughts crooked, wholesome never, devious all,—
 A crime is your supremacy in Greece!

What vileness lives not with you?—swarming murders?
 Covetousness? Convicted liars, saying
 This with the tongue, while still your hearts mean that,
 Now ruin seize ye! ³⁰

Peleus in the same drama at least granted military prowess to the Spartans:

. . . If spear-renown
 And battle fame be ta'en from Sparta's sons,
 In all else are ye meanest of mankind. ³¹

But Thucydides even doubted their eagerness for battle, quoting the Athenians saying "and danger the Lacedaemonians generally court as little as possible." ³²

The first protest against the narrow racial view of the Greeks towards the Barbarians was voiced in Athens in the fifth century B.C. The Sophists broke through the narrow-mindedness of Hellenistic nationalism and proclaimed the equality of men by nature. For them force and convention were responsible for the division of men into freemen and slaves. Nobody was a slave by nature, all men were akin; it was the individual worthiness which should decide man's condition in life. Against this incipient humanitarian feeling in Greece, Plato and Aristotle rose in sharp opposition. Plato's *Republic* preached the absolute precedence of the state over the individual and the sharp division of the population into classes united only in their common devotion to the welfare of the state. This state, an idealization of a closed and authoritarian state, could, notwithstanding its ethical rational foundation, be called a *Militärdespotie*.³³ Aristotle argued directly against the Sophists in the passage quoted that Greeks and Barbarians were different by nature and that slavery was an institution imposed by nature, immutable and benevolent. The main current of Greek political thought, both with the leading philosophers and with the general public, remained aloof from humanitarian ideals down to the end of the fourth century B.C. ³⁴

Plato and Aristotle summed up the old Greek city-state patriotism and Hellenistic racial nationalism, in a more uncompromising

form than ever before. Once more the ideal of Greek political life burst forth into a dazzling flame of triumphant brilliancy. But it was an afterglow. As so often in history, the last and greatest exponents of a dying ideal clung to it more fervently, since they felt it undermined by a changing reality. The expansion of trade, growing travel facilities, a much closer contact with and better knowledge of barbarian peoples, had widened the horizon of the Greeks since the Persian Wars. The enlightenment, spread by the teachings of the Sophists, had started the emancipation of the individual from family and clan traditions, and the loosening of the ties of the city community. It had prepared the ground for a community of individuals held together by intellectual instead of by tribal or local bonds. Plato and Aristotle were singing the swansong of the Greek *polis* and exclusiveness at the very time when this *polis* approached its end. Aristotle was the tutor of Alexander, who in his short but portentous career destroyed the independence of the Greek city-states, the racial exclusivity of the Greeks, and the aloofness of Hellenic civilization.

IO

In the spring of 334 B.C., Alexander the Great crossed into Asia Minor. He came there imbued with traditional Greek civilization. At the site of Troy he assumed the shield which was supposed to have been that of Achilles, and he sacrificed to the Ilian Athena. When he died eleven years later, he left a changed world in which Greek traditional civilization held an entirely different place. Greek political thought had remained indissolubly tied to the city. Unlimited expansion seemed to contradict the Greeks' idea of form and of finiteness. Alexander's dream of a world empire was un-Greek in its origin. It made way for the transformation of the sharp division between Greeks and Barbarians into an ecumenic universalism.³⁶

Isocrates had already urged upon Philip not only the unification of the Greeks but the spread of Greek civilization outside Greece by the conquest of the Barbarians. "I assert that it is incumbent upon you to work for the good of the Hellenes, to reign as king

over the Macedonians, and to extend your power over the greatest possible number of the Barbarians. For if you do these things, all men will be grateful to you: the Hellenes for your kindness to them; the Macedonians if you reign over them, not like a tyrant, but like a king; and the rest of the nations, if by your hands they are delivered from barbaric despotism and are brought under the protection of Hellas."⁶⁶ As Alexander crossed into Asia twelve years later he did it as executor of the Panhellenic idea, as a legendary descendant of Achilles. But soon he outgrew the Panhellenic mission. According to tradition, the idea of world sovereignty came to him when he cut the Gordian Knot, and a few years later, at Ecbatana, "the Panhellenic campaign was a thing of the past."⁶⁷ The conquest of the world would have been, however, only of passing importance if Alexander the Great had not been guided by a new idea of humanity which made not only the Panhellenic basis of his campaign but also the whole traditional Greek concept of nationalism a thing of the past.

A new meaning of the words "Greek" and "Barbarian" seemed implied in the famous passage in the *Panegyricus* where Isocrates said in praise of Athens, "So far has our city distanced the rest of mankind in thought and in speech that her pupils have become the teachers of the rest of the world; and she has brought it about that the name 'Hellenes' suggests no longer a race but an intelligence, and that the title 'Hellenes' is applied rather to those who share our culture than to those who share a common blood."⁶⁸ Many have seen in this passage a plea for the admission of the Barbarians into a new cultural community not based on blood ties. Julius Jüthner rightly pointed out⁶⁹ that such an interpretation would contradict the opinions generally professed by Isocrates. He did not wish to admit Barbarians who had accepted Greek civilization as Hellenes and to put them on an equal footing, but he introduced for the first time Greek or, better, Attic civilization as a necessary element for everyone wishing to regard himself as Greek. An uneducated Greek was like a Barbarian. The necessity of the blood tie was not relinquished, but the cultural element was stressed as being at least as important as the racial element. For Isocrates, this was tantamount to the demand that all Greece should

accept the cultural hegemony of Athens. The new emphasis upon the cultural basis of Greek nationalism, however, opened the possibility not only of regarding the uneducated Greek as a Barbarian but also of regarding the educated Barbarian as a Greek, especially when he had accepted and assimilated the fullness of Attic civilization. This conclusion was well beyond Isocrates himself; it was only reached after Alexander's conquest of the East.

According to tradition Alexander, disregarding his teacher Aristotle, decided in Asia upon a new imperial aim: to unite the men of the earth in a new peaceful order based not upon ties of blood but upon the community of spirit and civilization. He prepared the soil for the new universalistic philosophy of the Stoic school, as told by Plutarch in his *De Fortuna Alexandri*: "The much admired *Republic* of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic sect, may be summed up in this one main principle: that all the inhabitants of this world of ours should not live differentiated by their respective rules of justice into separate cities and communities but that we should consider all men to be of one community and one order common to all. . . . This Zeno wrote, giving shape to a dream or, as it were, shadowy picture of a well-ordered and philosophic commonwealth; but it was Alexander who gave effect to the idea. For Alexander did not follow Aristotle's advice to treat the Greeks as if he were their leader, ἡγεμονικῶς, and other peoples as if he were their master, δεσποτικῶς; to have regard for the Greeks as for friends and kindred, but to conduct himself toward other peoples as though they were plants or animals; for to do so would have been to cumber his leadership with numerous battles and banishments and festering seditions. But as he believed that he came as a heaven-sent governor to all, and as a mediator for the whole world, those whom he could not persuade to unite with him he conquered by force of arms, and he brought together into one body, all men everywhere, uniting and mixing in one great loving-cup, as it were, men's lives, their characters, their marriages, their very habits of life. He bade them all consider as their fatherland the whole inhabited earth, as their stronghold and protection his camp, as akin to them all good men, and as foreigners only the wicked; they should not distinguish between Grecian and foreigner by

Grecian cloak and targe or scimitar and jacket; but the distinguishing mark of the Grecian should be seen in virtue and that of the foreigner in iniquity; clothing and food, marriage and manner of life they should regard as common to all, being blended into one by ties of blood and children." "As a result of Alexander's attitude the universalistic philosophy of the Stoics had a practical example set before it, and the diffusion of a uniform civilization throughout the then known world was made possible.

The cultural exchange with the philosophies and religions of Asia and Egypt led to a revaluation of the Barbarians, comparable to Europe's discovery of the "Chinese Sage" in the eighteenth century. With diffusion throughout the Orient Greek civilization was no longer regarded as racial but as universal. Everybody deeply steeped in Greek civilization was now accepted as a "Greek." In such soil Stoic philosophy could develop and teach that all educated and worthy men were members of a world-embracing community. Greek became the universal language of the educated classes everywhere, so that Cicero could claim "*Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus.*" The Greek civilization was regarded as a rational and human civilization, which corresponded to the rational human mind irrespective of its origins or traditions. "The center of gravity had shifted from a racial to a cultural consciousness, as it had in a similar development, although through a different process, with the Jews. As with the Jews, the ethnic character of the group remained; but the Greek and Hebrew spirit became of importance to world history primarily in its universalistic form. Upon it Western civilization was founded: it lived in the Roman Empire, in Christianity, and in Islam. All the great turning points in the history of Western humanity started by, and expressed themselves in, a reinterpretation of the inheritance from Hellas and Judea. The two ethnic groups—racially intermingling with many alien races—continued to exist and underwent in the age of nationalism a transformation of their own nationalism; they became of fundamental importance to humanity by the very fact that they had surmounted their ancient narrow nationalism, in their universalistic message which meant not Jew or Gentile, Greek or Barbarian, but man and humanity.

CHAPTER III

Rome and the Middle Ages
The Universal Tradition

Montes et colles, silvaeque et flumina, fontes,
Praeruptae rupes pariter vallesque profundae,
Francorum lugete genus, quod munere Christi
Imperio celsum iacet ecce in pulvere mersum. . . .

Floruit egregium claro diademate regnum,
Princeps unus erat, populus quoque subditus unus;
Lex simul et iudex totas ornaverat urbes,
Pax cives tenuit, virtus exterruit hostes. . . .

Induperator ibi prorsus iam nemo putatur,
Pro rege est regulus, pro regno fragmina regni.
Consiliis crebris quaeruntur furta nocendi,
Conventu assiduo populantur iura salutis. . . .

Quid faciant populi, quos ingens alluit Hister,
Quos Rhenus Rhodanusque rigant Ligerusve Padusve;
Quos omnes dudum tenuit concordia nexos,
Foedere nunc rupto divortia mesta fatigant.

Florus Lugdunensis, Querela de divisione imperii (843) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, vol. II, pp. 559-564.

I

When the Roman Empire became heir to the universal imperial idea of Alexander, the civilization of Hellenism became the cultural foundation for the new political unity. The genius of Greece fused with the genius of Latium, and their synthesis prepared the way for the spread of, and finally for their amalgamation with, the genius of Israel in its universalistic form. However, the unity of Greece and Latium did not outlast the early Middle Ages; both remained Christian, but they developed in entirely different ways. In the West, *Roma Aeterna* continued, in a new Latinity under the Popes, the traditions of imperial Rome; in the East, Constantinople, the new Rome of the Emperors, in many ways the legitimate heir to Roman constitutional and legal conceptions, found its basis in Grecian inheritance. With all their immense cultural intensity the Greeks never had the political energy of the Romans. They were unable to impose their language upon the races permeated with their civilization, whereas the Romans assimilated the peoples of Gaul, of the Iberic peninsula and of northern Africa, in a way comparable only to the surprisingly fast cultural and political conquests which the Arabs made in the seventh century, transmitting not only their faith but their language to the peoples of Syria, Egypt, and northern Africa, who willingly accepted them.

The city-state of Rome, having established its hegemony over the whole of Italy in the third century B.C., started in the second century B.C. to develop into a world power. In 146 Scipio Aemilianus Africanus the Younger destroyed Carthage, and Africa became a Roman province; in the same year Corinth and the whole of Greece fell to Rome. It was organized as a dependency of the Roman province of Macedonia which had been constituted in 148, twenty years after the Macedonian monarchy had been ended by the Roman victory at Pydna, won by the father of

Scipio Africanus the Younger, who himself participated in that battle as a young man. Through those victories Rome became the heir to Greek and Semitic power in the Mediterranean. The following century, at the end of which Caesar conquered Egypt and founded Roman colonies at Corinth and Carthage, saw the cultural influence of Greece and of the Semitic world penetrate and transform Roman life. While Rome overpowered Greece and the Semitic Hellenized East politically, it was culturally conquered by these older civilizations, now in their later universalistic form.

It was at the time and in the circle of Scipio Africanus the Younger that Greek philosophy and learning were for the first time enthusiastically received by the educated youth of Rome. Greek learning reached Rome, through men like Panaetius and the historian Polybius, in its Stoic form. From the beginning the Stoics had been cosmopolitan. "The political theory of the early Stoic school agreed with the Aristotelian in the belief that man was a social animal and that his activities must be directed to the betterment of the social group to which he belonged. But stoicism abandoned completely the city-state, springing from it to the concept of a world-state in which all men were fellow citizens. 'We do not dwell in separate cities or demes, each group bounded off by its own rules of justice; but we consider that all men are fellow demesmen and fellow citizens, and that life is one and the universe one' (von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum frag.* I, no. 262). To Zeno the reformed *polis* of Plato was 'laughable.'"¹ Cicero tells us that at that time the Greek (and that means the Stoic) system of education became a most powerful factor in the formation of the mind of the upper-class youth in Rome. "For it was indeed no little rivulet but a whole broad stream of culture and learning that flowed from Greece into our city."²

What the Greek Stoics brought to Rome has been defined by Cicero as *humanitas*. The Romans received Greek learning and Greek language and grew by it into something peculiarly Roman and at the same time universal. They molded it into the plasticity of the Latin language, developed through the creative genius of Catullus, Cicero and Lucretius in the time of Caesar, and of Horace, Ovid, and Virgil in the time of Augustus. The word

humanitas itself was in its new meaning an originally Roman word to which no close parallel existed in the Greek language. It came to mean in Rome the Greek *paideia*, culture in the sense of Isocrates, the refined manner, the benevolent attitude, the cultivated appreciation of the beautiful which distinguished the Greek from the barbarian. This meaning was combined with the meaning of the Greek word *philanthropeia*, love of man, so that *humanitas* came to mean a compound of the qualities of the human and the humane, that quality which makes man a man, "quidditas qua homo est quod est." Under Stoic influences it became both an individual norm that man might become a real man, might cultivate the human in himself; and, at the same time, a universal norm, the consciousness of the human quality common to all human beings, the oneness of humanity.³

This new meaning of *humanitas* found its outward expression in the Roman Empire which Caesar founded by his revival of the idea of Alexander. Alexander's march into the East was equalled by Caesar's march into the West. Their routes of conquest met in Egypt, the westernmost of Alexander's triumphs, and the easternmost of Caesar's. To Caesar, as to Alexander, citizenship or race made no difference; obedience brought fair and equal treatment.⁴

The century of Caesar, filled with the horrors of civil war, brought to all Mediterranean countries, ruthlessly and brutally exploited by Rome, a period of suffering and chaos. Rome herself and civilization seemed doomed. The desire to withdraw from the world, the expectation of an impending catastrophe, and the longing for the miracle of Messianic delivery, spread throughout the Mediterranean. Horace bewailed in his Sixteenth Epode the iron age which had come, and which would render the site of Rome desolate once more. He asked men to leave hearth and home and flee to the Happy Islands beyond the ocean, never to return until every law of nature was changed. Virgil answered him in his famous Fourth Eclogue, in which he opposed to the picture of desolation the hope of a newly rising glorious age, when the earth would be released from its continual dread, when the ruler should sway a world to which his fathers' virtues had brought

peace. "Behold, how all things exult in the age which is at hand."

In January of the year 29 B.C., the temple of Janus in Rome was closed for the first time in two hundred years. Peace had been restored under Gaius Octavius, who two years later received from the Roman Senate the title Augustus. A new era of order and tranquillity dawned for the whole Mediterranean world. No wonder that Augustus was greeted as the savior of the whole human race in the eastern parts of the Empire—σωτήρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους as an inscription in Halicarnassos hailed him. In those days Diodorus of Sicily set out to write the first World History, to describe "the affairs of the entire world down to his own day." "Under the dominion of Rome the Stoic idea of a cosmopolis seemed on the way to becoming an actuality. All mankind was coming to form a 'common' civilization, a 'common' society, and Diodorus could speak of a 'common life' in the sense that the whole Mediterranean world was now interested in the same things and what benefited one nation was of common value to all. The limitations of the old city-state, whereby a man was a stranger in any city but the one of his origin, were gone forever."

Universalism, the idea of human unity, became the dominant note of the first century of the Roman Empire.⁶ The consciousness of a *societas generis humani* grew up with Cicero and led to the development of a law common to all the people in this society, which was compared to an immense city. This law was based upon reason, which not only by nature was common to all men but created also a community between God and man. "Ut iam universus hic mundus sit una civitas communis decorum atque hominum existimanda." Hence men should conceive of this whole universe as one commonwealth of which both gods and men were members.⁷ The equality of men followed from these premises. "We all spring from the same source, have the same origin; no man is more noble than another except in so far as the nature of one man is more upright and more capable of good actions." "We have all had the same number of forefathers; there is no man whose first beginning does not transcend memory. The flight of time, with its vicissitudes, has jumbled all such things together and Fortune has turned them upside down."⁸

The Roman Empire under Augustus brought peace to mankind. The Emperor became the living symbol of the new world civilization which, according to its philosophers, was based upon peace and justice. The Romans were proud of Rome's mission. Pliny called Rome "chosen by the providence of the gods to render even heaven itself more glorious, to unite the scattered empires of the earth, to bestow a polish upon man's manners, to unite the discordant and uncouth dialects of the many different nations, to confer the enjoyment of discourse and of civilization upon mankind, to become, in short, the mother country of all nations of the earth." More eloquent than the famous verses by Virgil about the "arts" of the Romans was the terse exclamation by Tacitus more than one hundred years later: "Nam pulsus, quod dei prohibeant, Romanis quid aliud quam bella omnium inter se gentium existent?" Should the Romans be driven out, he asked, what else could follow than chaos and universal war? "

The Roman Empire had converted the *orbis terrarum*, the whole earth, into one city, with a common history in which all participated, with a common civilization in which all shared and to which all contributed, with a common law in which the influences of Roman, Greek, and Oriental law mingled. The great jurists of the second century, Papinian, Ulpian, Paulus, were deeply steeped in Stoic philosophy. In their opinions and discussions they adapted the ancient barbarian and particularist Roman law to the changing ways of a world community. They knew its needs and laws on account of their own origin in outlying parts of the Mediterranean lands. At the same time, the Roman law was humanized and universalized. Slavery was no longer recognized, as it had been by Aristotle, as a natural institution, but as unnatural. "Servitus est constitutio iuris gentium qua quis dominio alieno contra naturam subicitur." The great jurists developed natural law based on reason and equality. It was of the greatest importance that in the days of decaying Rome, under Emperor Justinian, the codification of Roman law reverted "to the earlier theory that the prince's power was derived from the people, that all free men were equal before the law and that law was the science of justice. It thus became one of the most powerful factors making for modern

liberalism.”¹⁰ The rationalism of law had replaced tribal custom.

The Roman Emperors, striving (at least in the early centuries) for peace and justice, became thus “fathers of mankind.” Emperors and senators were no longer confined in their origin to Rome or to Italy, but hailed from all parts of the Empire. A gradual process of extending Roman citizenship came to its conclusion when the *constitutio Antoniniana* of Emperor Caracalla in A.D. 212 bestowed Roman citizenship upon all free inhabitants of the Empire, and when Diocletian abolished at the end of the century the privileges of Italy and established the equality of all parts of the Empire. Dio Cassius, who wrote his History of Rome in the days of Caracalla, reported that Maccenas had advised Augustus to grant to all subjects citizenship rights, so that having received equal partnership they became faithful allies, and so that inhabiting with the Romans one and the same city-state, so to speak, they did not place their own city-state higher than fields or villages. One common fatherland, one common loyalty should unite mankind. The ideas of the Stoics seemed realized.¹¹

2

The decline and fall of the Roman Empire was caused by the fact that the ideas of the Stoics were only imperfectly realized. For two reasons the Empire did not live up to its professed goal of a world-state based upon equality. While it was on the one hand not large enough, it was in another respect too large. It did not include and civilize the barbarians at its frontiers, and it therefore suffered from their incursions. Nor did it integrate and really civilize the masses within the Roman Empire. It did not find the way to make them participate as free citizens in the administration of their empire. It had granted citizenship rights and equality at a moment when citizenship and equality no longer meant much in view of the growing despotism of the Emperors and the differentiation of the inhabitants into *honestiores* and *humiliores*. The intellectual flowering of Rome under Cicero and Seneca could, with the proclamation of *humanitas*, point the right way; the organizing powers of antiquity, the stage of technical development

reached were not sufficient to realize its own professed ideals.

Its civilization, claiming to embrace the *orbis terrarum*, could not penetrate more than a section of it. Democracy, created in small city-states, could not be adapted to the vastness of the Empire. Only many centuries later, in our own days, has the march of technical progress made it objectively possible to unify mankind without leaving any barbarians at its frontiers or entirely outside its orbit. Only after the experiences and experiments in democracy and federation which started in the eighteenth century could mankind hope to extend over a world-wide area, closely knitted through new inventions, a system of government which would ensure the active participation and equality of all in peaceful coordination, the ideal of *pax et iustitia* which the Roman Empire in the short time of its flowering strove so imperfectly to realize.

Nevertheless, on account of its universalistic message, the Roman Empire remained for many centuries a great achievement and a greater promise. The words of Tacitus about the chaos which would follow, should the Romans (God forbid) be expelled, came true. Even as late as the beginning of the fifth century, in the full decay of the Empire, a Roman poet and a native of southern Gaul, Claudius Rutilius Namatianus, sang the praise of the dying Empire in unforgettable verses. After all the civil wars, after the sack of Rome by Alaric and the Goths, the poet maintained his faith in the resurrection of Rome and that pagan Greco-Roman civilization against which the Christian Emperors published edict after edict from Constantinople.

Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi,
Inter sidereos Roma recepta polos!
Exaudi, genitrix hominum genitrixque deorum,
Non procul a caelo per tua templa sumus.
Te canimus, semperque, sinent dum fata, canemus;
Sospes nemo potest inmemor esse tui. . . .
Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam;
Profuit injustis te dominante capi.
Dumque offers victis proprii consortia juris,

Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat. . . .
 Tu quoque, legiferis mundum complexa triumphis,
 Foedere communi vivere cuncta facis. . . .
 Omnia perpetuos quae servant sidera motus
 Nullum viderunt pulchrius imperium.

Throughout the ensuing "Dark Ages" the memory of the short flowering of the Roman Empire, of its reign of peace and justice, remained the light and the hope, until at the threshold of a new epoch, summing up the past, looking towards the future, Dante (*Il Convivio*, IV, 5, 3) once more praised the Empire: "Nè 'l mondo non fu mai nè sarà sì perfettamente disposto, come allora che alla voce d' un solo principe del roman popolo e comelاندatore fu ordinato, siccome testimonia Luca Evangelista. E però pace universale era per tutto, che mai più non fu nè sia: chè la nave della umana compagnia dirittamente per dolce cammino a debito porto correa." Never was the world so perfectly ordered, never did the ship of mankind steer so safely and sweetly to the destined port, as at the time when, as Dante pointed out, the rule of Augustus coincided with the birth of Christ.

3

The universalism of the Empire, which was rooted in Hellenistic civilization but devoid of the exclusiveness of the Greek state, prepared the soil for the universalism of Christianity, which was rooted in Judaism but devoid of the exclusiveness of Israel. The Christians regarded themselves as the continuation of Israel, the chosen race, the true fulfillment of Israel's history, and at the same time as a new people, a new race. They applied to themselves the terms of "people," "nation," or "race"; but clearly those words no longer had any nationalistic meaning. In the First Epistle of Peter, 2:9, the Christians are addressed as "the chosen race (γένος), a royal priesthood, a holy nation (ἔθνος ἁγίον), a peculiar people (λαός)." Eusebius declared that "when the advent of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, recently shone forth on all men, it was confessedly a new race (γένος ἔθνος) which has thus appeared in such numbers, in accordance of the ineffable prophecies of the date, and is hon-

ored by all by the name of Christ, but is not little nor weak, nor founded in some obscure corner of the earth, but the most populous of all nations (παντῶν τῶν ἔθνων πολυανθρωποτατον) and most pious towards God, alike innocent and invincible in that it ever finds help from God." ¹²

Thus, the Christian nation was animated by a confidence in God's help which it had inherited from the Jews. But, becoming the "most populous" of all nations, it was no longer satisfied to be one nation among others, one religion among the many cults of the Empire. It carried in its own consciousness a universal message, the Messianic message of Judaism, testified and assured by the life and death of Christ, which will come into reality with his return for all men who accept the faith. Therefore, it was driven to fill the *orbis terrarum*, to penetrate and to replace the Roman Empire. Luke started his narrative about the birth of Jesus with an allusion to Emperor Augustus, and thus connected the two universal empires. With Augustus dawned a new era for mankind, and Augustus, acclaimed as a savior, brought peace to distracted humanity at the same time that the heavenly Saviour came to bring his gospel of peace and a new era. ¹³

This universal community of faith, which was frequently called, and called itself, a *gens* or *natio*, the unity of which was purely spiritual—one shepherd and one flock (John 10:16)—led to a tripartition of the world, into Jews, Christians, and pagans or Hellenes. Before the rise of Christianity there had been only Jews and Hellenes. In the time of the Maccabees the Jews had stamped out the strong tendencies of Hellenization in their own midst and had erected a Jewish community more exclusive than ever. The Christians knew themselves at the beginning closely related to the Jews, racially and in their religious attitude; but, with the spread of the missionary activities among the Gentiles, the Christians became racially more Greek than Jewish. Now they knew themselves not only as the heirs of Judaism, but as the heirs of the Jews and the Hellenes. The name "Hellenes" lost not only all its racial, but also its linguistic and cultural meanings. It acquired a purely religious significance, and the Hellenes became the heathens or pagans.

This tripartition could not last. Christianity put forward an exclusive universalistic claim. Its universalism necessarily came into conflict with the universalism of the Roman Empire based upon Hellenism. In retrospect it is apparent that the period of decay of the Roman Empire was filled with the struggle of two universal claims—the Empire and the Church. They existed first side by side, one apparently only political, the other apparently only spiritual, neither racial nor nationalist. Many of the early Christians were apolitical or even antipolitical. The words of Tertullian in his *Apologia* are well known: To the Christians “*nec ulla magis res aliena quam publica. Unam omnium publicam agnoscimus, mundum.*” (“Nothing is more foreign than the state. They recognize only one state, the world.”)

The relations between the two universal powers were represented in different ways. Some Christians proclaimed a friendly cooperation between State and Church, as did Melito, Bishop of Sardis, at the end of the second century: “All philosophy first grew up among the barbarians, but its full flower came among your nation in the great reign of your ancestor Augustus, and became an omen of good to your Empire, for from that time the power of the Romans became great and splendid. You are now his happy successor, and shall be so along with your son, if you protect the philosophy which grew up with the empire and began with Augustus.”¹¹ This appeal for benevolence to the Emperor, stressing the harmlessness of Christianity, represented apparently an opinion less frequent than that of a bitter opposition between the two rival forces, for Christianity claimed to be destined to inherit the Roman Empire. “For as our Lord was born in the forty-second year of the Emperor Augustus, when the Roman Empire developed, and as the Lord called all nations and tongues by means of the Apostles and fashioned believing Christians into a people, the people of the Lord, and the people which consist of those who bear a new name—so was all this imitated to the letter by the Empire of that day, ruling ‘according to the working of Satan’; for it also collected to itself the noblest of every nation, and dubbing them Romans, got ready for the fray. And that is the reason why the first census took place under Augustus when

our Lord was born at Bethlehem; it was to get the men of this world, who enrolled for our earthly king, called Romans, while those who believed in a heavenly King were termed Christians, bearing on their foreheads the sign of victory over death." ¹⁵

While the Roman Empire was here rejected as a satanic plagiarism of the Church, Origen, in a more philosophic and conciliatory way, regarded the Roman Empire as preparing the ground for the still more embracing universal kingdom. "In the days of Jesus, righteousness arose and fullness of peace, beginning with His birth. But God prepared the nations for His teaching, by causing the Roman Emperor to rule over all the world; there was no longer to be a plurality of kingdoms, else would the nations have been strangers to one another, and so the Apostles would have found it harder to carry out the task laid on them by Jesus, when He said: 'Go and teach all nations.' " ¹⁶

In the struggle between the two universal claims, Christianity emerged victorious over the Empire. The reasons for this victory seem intimately connected, on the one hand, with the decay of the Empire, its inability to fulfill its own promise of *pax et iustitia*, and on the other hand, with the peculiar character of the Church inherited from Judaism. It may be said that the victory of the Church over the Empire was a victory of Israel over Hellas, but of an Israel which had lost its original exclusivity, which had itself been humanized in the contact with Hellenism, and which could win its victory only in a synthesis of their traditions and forces.

Nietzsche has characterized Christianity as a revolt of pariah ethics against the ideals of the lordly aristocracy of the Greco-Roman world. This diagnosis, although undoubtedly oversimplified, seems more penetrating than the later efforts to deny the socially revolutionary character of early Christianity.¹⁷ Jesus was himself not only a poor peregrinating artisan; his words offended and challenged the ideals of nobility and of beauty of the ruling civilization. He justified and exalted the poor as the Prophets and the Psalms had done. His word carried an immense hope for the suffering masses in periods of disintegration and crisis.

In the Roman Empire Christianity did not remain one of the

many current cults which had originated in the longing for personal rebirth, the faith in magic powers and Messianic miracles. For Christianity carried over from its Jewish mother soil an all-pervading social hope and appeal and the claim to oneness and uniqueness. It brought the dynamic universalism of history; not only did mankind have one origin and one status as the Stoics believed, but also one common end. Christianity's claim to uniqueness carried with it a universal aggressiveness. "Who is not for me, is against me." The God of Christianity was the jealous God of Judaism: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." But now the "Thou" was no longer only a member of the Jewish people, he was every man. This exclusive attitude was unknown to the many cults and mystery faiths of the Mediterranean and classical world. It was based, in the last instance, on the Covenant which established an exclusive relation between God and His partner.

4

In the third and fourth centuries permanent warfare, social oppression, and economic misery filled the hearts of the people with despair similar to that of the first century *n.c.* The philosophy of the day, the last flowering of neo-Platonism under Plotinus and the ascetic monasticism of the Christians, bore witness to the general pessimism. The center of gravity of the Empire moved again to the Orient. The incursions of the Goths sapped the vitality of Greek civilization. Under these circumstances the militant Christian message proved too strong an adversary for the Greco-Roman world. At the same time, Christianity had accepted through Origen and other Fathers of the Church the Greek philosophy, and had prepared itself for the compromise under Constantine when the two empires, the Sacerdotium and the Imperium, fused.

On the part of the Empire this fusion had been motivated by the wish to utilize Christianity for instilling a new soul into the emptied shell of the Empire, and thus to effect a reintegration of the people into the State. It was too late. For not only was the Roman Empire then too far advanced on the road to decay, but also Christianity had lost its original enthusiasm and strength, and

was bound to lose them even more through its fusion with the Empire. For two hundred years the Church had stood in the midst of the world as something incomprehensible, strange, and suspect,¹⁸ a paradox, a challenge, and a hope. Now it had become part of the Roman world, with the strong arm of the State at its disposal, participating in domination, oppressing—no longer oppressed. But, in spite of and through all its manifestly imperfect realizations, Christianity—as in another way the Empire itself—carried its original message as a challenge inspiring men and movements again and again, throughout the centuries.

When Constantine decided in 326 to transfer the capital from Rome to Byzantium, he may have been influenced by the thought that it would be easier to Christianize the Empire from the new capital than from Rome with its strongly pagan traditions.¹⁹ On the newly chosen site, Constantinople was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in 330 by Christian priests. Simultaneously with the attempt to Christianize the Empire, Constantine definitely introduced a new spirit of authoritarian despotism which replaced the principate as instituted by Augustus. With Christianization, the this-worldly civilization of liberty was replaced by an other-worldly civilization of authority.

As long as the Roman Empire existed in Byzantium the relation of State and Church remained regulated by the concepts of antiquity, according to which all religious bodies derived their existence from the State. As the Emperor had been Pontifex Maximus in the Roman Empire, so Constantine and his successors continued to regard themselves as the absolute masters of the Church. The Church became the spiritual side of the Empire, both subjected to one will, that of the Emperor. It was the Emperor who convoked the ecumenical synods, nominated the committees in charge, frequently presided through imperial commissioners, and retained the right to confirm, or to refuse to confirm, the decisions of the synods.

The first seven ecumenical councils, starting with that at Nicaea, which Constantine himself summoned in 325, were recognized by the entire Church, East and West. Only in 1123 did the Pope himself summon an ecumenical council, the first Lateran synod, and

claim the same absolute authority as the Roman Emperor had done. While the conflict between State and Church which characterized the history of Western Europe for so many centuries remained unknown in the East,²⁰ the Church in the West stepped into the vacuum created by the breakdown of the Empire there. The new Western Empire created by the Church, and its relations with the Church, were built upon new foundations laid by the genius of Augustine.

5

The Bishop of Hippo had in his own life assimilated all the influences of ancient civilization, Cicero and neo-Platonic philosophy, Manichaeism and skepticism, before he turned Christian. He witnessed the breakdown of the authority of the Roman Empire in the West. The sack of Rome by Alaric (410) had shocked the Western peoples to their depths. Few retained their faith, as Claudius Rutilius Namatianus did; most people of the time were in the utmost despair. Augustine set out in his main work, *De Civitate Dei* (428), to explain to a bewildered and lost generation the downfall of the Roman Empire as a historical phenomenon. According to him, the Roman Empire belonged to the *civitas terrena*, the kingdom of the earth, while the Church was the visible part of the *civitas dei*, the divine kingdom, "*civitas celestis vel potius pars eius qua in hac mortalitate peregrinatur.*" Thus Augustine recognized both the State and the Church. Perfect justice and peace were to be found only in the heavenly city. The State was based upon the fact that man is sinful. According to the Bible, Cain, not Abel, founded the city-state. But the State, existing on account of man's original sin, could realize to a certain degree both peace and justice, the more closely it approximated the heavenly city. Therefore the Church was friendly to good States, which under the influence of the Church and under its guidance tried to realize the ideal as far as possible.

The Roman Empire had once been much better administered than it was in the fifth century. But true justice could not be found even in the best period of the Roman Empire. "*Vera autem*

iustitia non est nisi in ea re publica, cuius conditor rectorque Christus est, si et ipsam rem publicam placet dicere, quoniam eam rem populi esse negare non possumus."²¹ There could be no doubt that, although Augustine tried to justify the existence of the earthly State, the divine city was fundamentally superior to the State. "Citizens are begotten to the earthly state by nature vitiated by sin, but to the heavenly state by grace freeing nature from sin; whence the former are called vessels of wrath, the latter vessels of mercy."²² In such a way Augustine established the fundamental superiority of the Church over the State and bequeathed to the Western world a problem unknown in the Eastern world, a conflict which was not solved until, with the secularization of Europe's intellectual and social life, it lost its decisive and all-pervading importance.

Through Augustine's synthesis of Christianity and of Roman civilization the inheritance of ancient philosophy became an integral part of the Western tradition. "His work on the *City of God* marks the transition of Christianity from adolescence to maturity."²³ The celestial city was firmly established on earth. It adapted itself to the conditions of this earth and accepted them. These conditions included differences of language and custom, as well as those of status and wealth.²⁴ The days were gone when the end of the earthly state was seen as imminent, or when the rich young man had to sell everything he had in order to enter into the kingdom of God. Though Augustine knew that by nature and by God's will no man should have dominion over another, he acknowledged and accepted slavery in the terrestrial city. "By nature, as God first created us, no one is a slave either of man or of sin. This servitude is, however, penal, and is appointed by that law which enjoins the preservation of the natural order and forbids its disturbance; for if nothing had been done in violation of that law, there would have been nothing to restrain by penal servitude and therefore the Apostle admonishes slaves to be subject to their masters, and to serve them heartily and with good will, so that, if they cannot be freed by their masters, they may themselves make their slavery in some sort free, by serving not in crafty fear but in faithful love, until all unrighteousness pass away, and all princi-

pality and every human power be brought to nothing, and God be all in all." ²⁶

These were the foundations on which the Western Church was built, in the crucial years when ancient civilization appeared to break down under the heel of barbaric conquerors and civilized society and the attitude of *humanitas* seemed no more than faint memories of a glorious past. In the eastern parts of the Mediterranean, civilization and order continued in the Byzantine and very soon in the Islamic Empire. In the West, with its new Germanic kingdoms, chaos ruled. It was the lasting merit of the Roman Church to have imposed the discipline of civilization and of universalism upon this chaos. Since the West had definitely broken away from the Roman Empire, it became imperative to reestablish the Roman Empire for the West. On Christmas in the year 800, Pope Leo III crowned in Rome the mightiest of the Germanic kings, Charlemagne, as successor of the Roman Emperors.

6

In the Middle Ages, the period of the Western Roman Empire created by the Pope, nationalism, in the sense understood today, did not form any essential part of the communal mind. Of course, there was a primitive and natural feeling of community of language or homeland, especially in the latter part of the Middle Ages, and of tribal cohesion in the earlier part. But the decentralization and differentiation within those bodies which were later to form the future nations in no way allowed the growth of that political and emotional integration which is the basis of modern nationalism. Economic life was confined to the practically self-sufficient large estates and cities. No uniform law or jurisdiction encouraged the development of a common feeling of nationality.

The whole intellectual and emotional life of man and the political and social ideal of organization were dominated by religious concepts and norms; in a way scarcely imaginable to us, they colored and determined the thought and feeling of every minute of life, at work and at play, in public and in solitude, in every grief and every joy, in fear and hope, for the artist and for the tiller of

the soil. This religion was universal. Its dominance left no room for any decisive influences of nationalism. Practically all learning and writing were in the hands of the clerics who used one common language, Latin. People looked upon everything not from the point of view of their "nationality" or "race," but from the point of view of religion. Mankind was divided not into Germans and French and Slavs and Italians, but into Christians and Infidels, and within Christianity into faithful sons of the Church and heretics.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages national states began to take shape, and the first foundations for the future growth of nationalism were laid. A few individuals wrote and acted in a way which would justify claiming them for nationalism. But they were isolated individuals, extremely interesting as forerunners, but without any immediate influence upon their people and their time. It would be misleading to interpret sayings and deeds of the later Middle Ages or of early modern times in the light of modern nationalism, instead of trying to understand them under their own conditions. Some of the examples adduced to prove the existence of nationalism in the later Middle Ages, if seen in their context, allow an entirely different interpretation. Pertinent and interesting utterances in the sources may have been preserved for the very reason that they expressed attitudes unusual for that time.²⁰

The political thought of the Middle Ages was characterized by the conviction that mankind was one and had to form one community. The new Roman Empire was instituted as an instrument of religious universalism. Its task was "*ad fidem in gentibus propagandam, prout ad predicationem evangeli sacrum Romanum imperium preparavit.*"²¹ Since Christendom in the Middle Ages was coextensive with humanity, at least as a goal, mankind was regarded as one people, a *res publica generis humani*, one *ecclesia universalis*, with one law and one government.²² The main conflict of the Middle Ages was not between universalism and the desire of separation of individual groups, but between two forms of universalism, *Sacerdotium* and *Imperium*, a struggle unknown in the Eastern Church and unknown in Islam, where universalism remained a reality much longer than in Western Christianity.

Although Islam was split up very soon into several kingdoms, often warring among themselves, the division of Islam was, like that of Christianity in the later Middle Ages, based upon dynasties and the personalities and actions of successful rulers, and sometimes upon geographic and ethnographic factors, never upon a feeling of nationalism. Down to the end of the nineteenth century, religion, with its unifying regulation of thought, social life, and attitudes, entirely dominated the private and public life of all Islamic countries. The universities of Islam kept their medieval character until late in the nineteenth century, and the unity of literature and education in all Islamic countries provided a strong bond for the educated classes. A Mohammedan in the nineteenth century, if asked about himself and his loyalties, would have answered that he was a Mohammedan and that his loyalty was due to Islam and to his prince, who was a Mohammedan prince. A Christian, in the Europe of the later Middle Ages, would have given a similar answer. This fact explains why, in the later Middle Ages, Western Christendom and Islam, facing each other as irreducible enemies with similar missionary claims as universal religions, met as equals. They had then not only the fundamental attitudes of life in common, but also, among their educated classes, science and philosophy, chivalry and poetry. Only with the breakdown of medieval Christendom, from the early modern period down to most recent times, have the nations of Christendom and the lands of Islam ceased to meet as equals. Islam conserved the medieval form of life; Western Christendom threw it off, partly in the days of the Renaissance, and completely in the eighteenth century.

The position in the Eastern Church was different. There the *Sacerdotium* remained subordinated to the *Imperium*. State and Church formed a single unit like body and soul; the Church, although universal in its idea, was not universal in its organization. As an organization it was coextensive with the State, and sometimes it even remained and fulfilled certain functions as a separate organization, which are generally assumed by the state, when, in the vicissitudes of history, the state had ceased to exist. Lacking a universal organization, the Eastern Church could adapt itself much

more easily to the existing ethnographic and historical divisions. Its role in the history of nationalism was fundamentally different from that of the Western Church. The universal claim of the Roman Empire survived and continued infinitely stronger in the West, with Pope and Emperor alike, than with the legitimate heir of the Roman Empire, the Byzantine monarch and his Patriarch of Constantinople. The Church in the West set itself above national distinctions, and the formation of nations, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, accordingly proceeded amid a struggle against the Church. In the East the national groupings and the national organization of the Church proceeded generally in harmony with one another. For this very reason there came no schism. In place of the rigid monarchic unity of the Western Church there was established a conception of synthetic unity, the consciousness of unity in multiformity, a vital sense of cohesion, coupled with the existence of an autonomous church in each state.

Closer even than in the Catholic Eastern Church was the connection between Church and ethnographic and historic divisions in the heretic churches of the East. In the Middle Ages the historical consciousness of Egyptians, Syrians, or Mesopotamians expressed itself, if at all, in theological formulas and disputations; but how little real strength this kind of national consciousness had, how far it was from any modern national integration, is shown by the fact that all these churches have dwindled away and are reduced today to a few thousand adherents. Some of them (for instance, the Maronite Church) helped to preserve the ethnographic differentiation of their followers, supported in that by the geographic features of their country, high mountains and secluded valleys, and the difficulties of communication. All these churches are in the twentieth century undergoing deep changes as the result of the penetration of modern nationalism. The Eastern churches kept their medieval form, as Islam did, down to the threshold of the present time. Like Islam, they have been separated from the Western Church since early modern times by a deep gulf. Western Crusaders ravaged Constantinople and its churches in 1204 with far greater savagery and far greater contempt for its sanctuaries than the Turks ever did.

7

In Western Europe the universal claim of the Pope and the Empire of Charlemagne succeeded in forming out of the chaos produced by the Germanic tribes, a new civilization, "Europe" or "Occidental Christendom."²⁰ It was built on the foundation of the later Roman universalism; it was a *renovatio* or *restitutio*. It dominated Western Europe for many centuries, until new forces, themselves a renaissance, prepared the ground for the later rise of nationalism. State and Church, Empire and Christianity were indissolubly linked. There was an all-dominating recognition of the necessity of a universal Empire, and this Empire was by necessity Christian and Roman at the same time. In no walk of life was there any separation of the secular and temporal from the eternal, which at the same time was the ecclesiastical. Man and his life on earth had their definite station in the cosmos of time and space, between Creation and Resurrection, between Heaven and Hell. The whole earthly life was overspanned by another, the eternal life, for which the years here on earth were only a preparation. Man's daily life, and the rise and fall of empires, were seen *sub specie aeternitatis*.

An order thus firmly anchored in a supranatural unquestionable revelation not only gave a feeling of security and stability, unknown to the times following the Renaissance; it provided also for every problem of daily life, as well as for those of politics and philosophy, an unshakable frame of reference, common to every man and to every scholar. Civilization at that time was conventional. The accepted standards, methods, and usages were uniform, dominated by firm tradition, the foundation of which was entirely identical in all lands of Western Christendom. The whole cultural life was in the hands of the clergy, who formed not a separate caste but a body fundamentally different from the laity. They alone were entitled to administer or to withhold the holy sacraments which guaranteed the realization of the meaning of life and the salvation of man, living then in perpetual fear of damnation and Hell. The clergy had therefore the power of eternal life or eternal death.

These clerics formed one uniform and closely knit body all over Western Christendom. Latin, the language of its liturgy (the Bible was then used only in its Latin translation, the Vulgate), became the language of diplomacy, of officialdom, of literature, and of instruction. In character and privileges the clergy were entirely separated from the laity, but they renewed themselves constantly with new recruits from the ranks of the laity. The clergy offered to the gifted members of the lower classes the opportunity not only of access to scholarship and intellectual life, but also of rising above their station of life. The Church could have provided Western Christendom with a unique, highly organized and qualified leadership if the clergy had not been corrupted again and again by a greed for power, by worldliness and sensuality.

The official doctrine of the medieval Church was the doctrine of the renunciation of the world, of asceticism and of humility. This idea did not conflict with the establishment of the dominion of the Church over the world. If the world beyond was the chief goal of man, then the institution which in an authoritative manner disposed of the sacrament for salvation had to regulate life on earth in view of the future life. The Church imposed upon the unbroken instincts of primitive barbarians—their greed for earthly power and goods, their pride in fight and feud, their joy in strength and cunning—the stern demands of an ascetic humility and the higher notions of charity and self-discipline. But the lust of violence asserted itself against the spiritual yoke imposed upon it; chivalry and the Crusades offered the Church the possibility of restraining and of directing the love of violence and of slaughter.

Within the Church itself reform movements tried to revitalize the spirit of Christ according to his words (Matthew 10:7-10): "And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat." These movements, centered in monasticism, originated in individual enthusiasm as a protest against the worldliness into which the Church had fallen. They themselves soon became

lax, and sometimes ended in abuses worse than those they had combated. Then the figure of the monk became an object of popular derision and scorn. But new reform movements emerged again and again from the inspiration of the original message of self-surrender, of poverty, and of service. The great beginning made at Monte Cassino (529) was followed in the tenth century by the movement of Cluny, at the beginning of the twelfth century by St. Bernard's foundation at Clairvaux.

Finally, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the point of the highest development of the Middle Ages, which necessarily enclosed the seeds of its dissolution and the first signs of the approach of a new age, the reform movement culminated in St. Francis, who invested poverty with a new dignity, and whose followers were absorbed in alleviating the misery of the poor in the Italian cities—the first Christian movement born in response to the new challenge thrown out by the rise of a new urban civilization with its wealth and its proletariat. From the ranks of the Franciscans (the Gray Friars) and of the Dominicans (the Black Friars) came the climax of medieval learning, a response to the challenge thrown out by the growth of science and philosophy transmitted by Arabs and Jews from the still undesiccated springs of Hellenism in the Near East. Albertus Magnus was born in Swabia, Thomas Aquinas near Naples, William Occam in Surrey; all three studied and lived in Italy, in France, in Germany, representing the universalism of the Middle Ages in their descent and life as did their attempts to produce a synthesis of all knowledge, of the *sapientia Christiana*, which was then one for the whole of Western Christendom.

Beneath this all-embracing and all-dominating universalism there thrived an immensely rich and varied growth of local life, a bewildering and intricate juxtaposition, promiscuity, subordination, and preeminence of institutions, jurisdictions, corporations—all of them self-sufficient to a very high degree. Many of these associations were voluntary, governed by customs and contract. The consequence was the division of the population into many classes, castes, and orders, with very little contact among them. No direct link brought government and people together; many intermediary

institutions and organs provided a permanent check upon any central power and precluded the development of modern sovereignty.^{20a} The universalism from above, the system of local and occupational autonomy from below, made nationalism impossible. Its growth could begin only when the universalism of the Middle Ages was definitely broken up and when the rising power of the kings forced the multifarious and intertangling loyalties to accept the supreme loyalty to the sovereign state and, with it, a new, though this time parochial, uniformity.

8

To the medieval mind the most important event in history had happened: the incarnation of the Son of God and his suffering and death for the redemption of mankind. The future could hold only one important event, the second coming of Christ. Under these circumstances the first creation of a powerful kingdom in Europe after the downfall of the Roman Empire was seen as a renovation of the past, of the Roman Empire. The Franks had succeeded in establishing themselves in Gaul, probably the most cultured and the best organized Roman province; and the most powerful of the Frankish kings made of it an empire, whose frontiers he pushed far into the barbaric wilderness on its eastern border and which he defended in the south successfully against the rival world of Islam. The apparition of Charlemagne was so impressive that his name, like the name of Caesar, became a common noun: many Slavonic peoples and the Magyars introduced the name of Carol into their languages as the designation for "king." Charlemagne started to build at Aix-la-Chapelle a new Rome, a sacred palace; he was anxious to revive classical learning, and his biographers applied to his life the categories borrowed from the biographies of the ancient Emperors.

A German scholar has seen in the destruction of the Roman Empire by the Germanic tribes the reintroduction of the nationalistic principle into world history.²⁰ But the influx of the barbarians into the Roman Empire was not in the name of a new idea, and it did not bring with it any new ideals. It broke up the Empire

into states, many of them not more than passing abodes of wandering tribes, none distinguished by national consciousness or national principles. These barbaric hordes were driven by the lust of war and conquest, but they were unable to build on permanent foundations except by their adoption of Roman civilization. Of Ataulf, the Visigothic king who after the death of his brother-in-law Alaric, led the Goths in 402 through Gaul to Spain it is said that "he at first ardently desired to blot out the Roman name and to make all the Roman territory a Gothic Empire in fact as well as in name, so that, to use the popular expression, *Gothia* should take the place of *Romania*, and he, Ataulf, should become all that Caesar Augustus once had been. Having discovered from long experience that the Goths, because of their unbridled barbarism, were utterly incapable of obeying laws, and yet believing that the state ought not to be deprived of laws without which a state is not a state, he chose to seek for himself at least the glory of restoring and increasing the renown of the Roman name by the power of the Goths, wishing to be looked upon by posterity as the restorer of the Roman Empire, since he could not be its transformer."³¹ From the Goths on to Charlemagne, the Germanic tribes could enter civilization only by entering into the heritage of Roman universalism.

There was no consciousness of a Germanic nationality or race at the beginning of the Middle Ages. The Goths despised the Western Germans and felt proud of their higher civilization and their alliance with Rome, which Theodoric maintained as king of Italy. The Franks sided with the Byzantines against the Goths and against the Lombards. With the growth of the power of the Franks they began to regard themselves as descendants of the Trojans like the Romans. Recent German historiography has discussed passionately whether Charlemagne or his foe, the Saxon duke, Widukind, represented the German nation or German nationalism. Neither of them did.³²

Charlemagne did not fight French or German battles, he fought a Christian battle in the barbarian tradition from which he had sprung. His source of inspiration was Roman Christianity and the memory of a civilized and united Europe still lingering in Gaul.

He opened up Central Europe to civilization, but for many centuries to come Germany remained culturally and economically a frontier land. The longing for civilization drove the Germans across the Alps to the lands of an older and richer civilization, of a more secure and rooted tradition of learning and arts. There also the material wealth of the time was to be found; and above all the imperial dignity seemed indissolubly connected with Rome.

Before the ninth century its seat had been Constantinople. In 797 an ambitious woman, Irene, deposed her son Constantine VI in the midst of a theological conflict, and occupied for five years the imperial throne. This gave to an ambitious Pope, widely accused of perjury, adultery, and simony, and to an ambitious king *their great opportunity*. It is reported that Charlemagne had grave doubts about his coronation by the Pope, that he wished to emphasize rather his election by the people of Rome, that he desired eagerly a legitimation of his imperial dignity by the Emperors in Constantinople, and even thought of marrying Irene. The Empire continued in Constantinople, and for several centuries to come it was more civilized and powerful than the new Western creation.

The year 800 did not increase the power of Charlemagne, and probably increased his prestige only slightly. He had achieved his great victories before that day. After his death his empire was broken up, and little remained of it but a name, a tradition, and a legend. But the year 800 definitely brought about a lasting division in Europe and has bequeathed to the Western part the struggle between Pope and Emperor, which shows its deep traces even today. Only in the West the Pope, as vicar of Christ on earth, claimed supremacy over the state and the power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven. Pope Gregory VII used it in 1076 to depose Emperor Henry IV. "*Mihi tua [sc. Petri] gratia est potestas a Deo data ligandi atque solvendi in coelo et in terra.*"⁸⁸

Innocent III (1178-1216) compared the papal authority to the sun and the royal power to the moon, so inferior in quality and quantity and depending upon the sun for its light as the state depended upon the Church. Gregory IX (1227-1241) based his claim of the *imperium mundi* on the alleged donation of Constantine, according to which the Emperor Constantine had granted to

the Pope Sylvester and his successors not only spiritual supremacy over all Christianity, but also the temporal dominion over Rome, Italy, and the Western part of the Empire. From this donation, the authenticity of which was accepted during the Middle Ages by friends and foes alike,⁶¹ Innocent IV (1243-1254) concluded that Christus "in apostolica sede non solum pontificalem sed et regalem constituit monarchatum."

The claims of the Pope found their climax under the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294-1303), who in the bull "Unam Sanctam" proclaimed the Church to be all in all. "This one and unique Church has one body, one head—not two heads, like a monster—namely, Christ, and Christ's vicar Peter, and Peter's successor, as the Lord Himself has said to Peter: Feed my sheep." The story (Luke 22:38) of the disciples' tendering to the Lord two swords—"And he said unto them, It is enough"—was used to justify the claim that both swords had been given to the Church, for the Lord had not said, "Two are too much," but "It is enough." The spiritual sword was to be wielded by the Church, the other by the kings—but at the command and by the sufferance of the priest. St. Paul's word (Romans 13:1), "There is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God," subordinated the temporal authority to the spiritual power. Thus the prophecy of Jeremiah (1:10) would be fulfilled: "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms . . ." Although wielded by a human being, it was a divine authority given to Peter and his successors.

What wonder that one of the Pope's adherents, Arnold de Villa Nova, declared that the enemies of the papal claims were forerunners of the anti-Christ. But this intensification of the claims of the Pope, this radicalization of the doctrine of the universalism and supremacy of the Church, was voiced at the very moment when its influence on the affairs of this world began to wane. Boniface VIII himself was reduced to impotence at the end of his pontificate. New forces were rising. As if he had felt that the foundations of the old order were shaken under the changing circumstances, Boniface VIII wished to strengthen his claims by a new and triumphant emphasis. But two years after his death the

"Babylonian captivity" started. Clement V (1305-1314) resided in Avignon without once visiting the Eternal City. The resistance to the papacy grew within the Church. A new day was breaking, the approach of which could not be delayed even by the violent afterglow of papal universalism under Boniface VIII.

9

Closely linked with the fate of the papacy was the history of its antagonist, the Empire, and of its parallel and conflicting aspiration. Since 936, when Pope John XII crowned the German king Otto I Roman Emperor in Rome, the claim to the Empire was generally recognized to be vested in the German kings. This claim reached its climax under the Hohenstaufen⁸⁶ and especially under the most brilliant, and in many ways the strangest, member of this great ruling Swabian family, Frederick II (1211-1250). Influenced by Arab civilization, which he loved and admired for the breadth of its views and the greater freedom of its intellectual atmosphere, Frederick II showed some traits more modern than the general attitude of his time. He was not free from a certain skepticism; he displayed the opinions and the savoir-faire of a man of the world; he introduced into his beloved Sicily the foundations of a better administration. But his whole world outlook was medieval. The idea by which he was guided was that of the theocracy of the Old Testament: anointment by the Pope had given to the Emperor a sacramental character; he was king and priest at the same time, in a direct and immediate relation to God, without the need of the Pope as intermediary. His model was the reign of David. As David had been God's vicar, so the Emperor was Christ's vicar. As Christ had inherited the kingdom of David, so the emperors ruled as his successors. Frederick II referred frequently to "noster predecessor David, rex inclitus Israel."

Frederick II had an even stronger consciousness of his imperial position than Frederick I, who had written to the Bishop of Brixen: "Cumque unus Deus, unus papa, unus imperator sufficiat." To Frederick I (1152-1190) all the kings of the time appeared beside the Emperor only as *reguli*, or as Walther von der Vogelweide, one

of the great singers of the Roman Empire of the German kings, said—instead of *regulus*—"armer künec." Frederick II claimed for the Empire superiority not only over all kings, but even over the Pope. The Emperor had the divine mandate to guide humanity, which had fallen into sin, back to the divine and natural order, and to act as a judge over discordant humanity to fulfill God's will. Frederick II felt himself almost as a reincarnation of David, who had been the Anointed of the Lord and King of Jerusalem, like Frederick himself.

Next to the Bible, ancient Rome served as a source of inspiration to Frederick II. He coined money after the example of Augustus; like Augustus he wished to bring about a Golden Age as a *rex iustus* for all peoples. The rediscovery and reinterpretation of Roman law by the jurists of the University of Bologna recalled the position of the ancient Emperor as the supreme head of mankind, so that the king could not be called to justice except by God himself. Only in purely religious matters was he under the jurisdiction of the Pope. Frederick II used the language of the Roman Emperors, and repeated their proud claims to an Empire which was limited only by the ends of the earth. As in the philosophy of the Middle Ages the order of the world led from the multitude through more and more universal circles, rising to a final unity, and all the multitude received its light and life from this unity—so a universal monarchy was needed to fulfill the natural order.

The Emperor was again *soter*, the redeemer and light of mankind, the unifier and lord of nature. A *Summa* was here conceived, as monumental and as inspired by all the traditions of the ancient world, changed and transfigured in the peculiar atmosphere of the Middle Ages, as the *Summa* of the great doctors of the Church—no longer centered in the Pope and the Church, but in the Emperor and the State. Yet Frederick's hope was as little realized as that of Innocent III or Boniface VIII. As the captivity of Avignon followed Boniface, so the ignominious end of his house and the Interregnum followed Frederick II.

When Henry VII (1308-1313) strove once more to establish a "Romanum imperium, in cuius tranquillitate totius orbis regularitas requiescit," when he referred to "divina precepta, quibus

iubetur, quod omnis anima Romano principi sit subiecta," he found his claims disputed as antiquated. "Loquendo moderno tempore de potestate et auctoritate imperatoris est quodammodo sermo abusivus, quoniam ipse omnia habere dicitur et quasi nihil possidet." These voices were still isolated. The greatest man of the time gave to the idea of universalism as majestic and as enduring expression as any idea and hope could ever pride itself on having received. Perhaps Dante felt that the edifice, established so firmly in the words of God and in the traditions of the ancients, revealed to searching eyes threatening cracks. There are faint glimpses of a new era in his work, but his whole genius was bent upon transmitting to posterity the most august expression of the medieval world.

In his *De Monarchia* Dante wished to order humanity upon "three pillars" or fundamental suppositions. The third one derived the Emperor's authority directly from God, not from the Pope; the second was the faith in the rightfulness of the Empire, created by the Roman people, ordained for it by nature and nobility; these two pillars supported the first, the faith that the *civilitas humani generis* had one common end; namely, the use of its whole reasoning faculties for a more just life, which could be achieved only by a universal order, which Dante saw personified in the world monarchy, the Emperor.

Dante was no nationalist.⁸⁰ No thought of a political unity for Italy ever entered his mind, nor that of any of his contemporaries. "The union, as it stands today, would have been inconceivable in Dante's times. Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, absolutely separate states from top to bottom, united in a single kingdom, with a central government, would have seemed little less impossible in those days than the whole earth as a single kingdom, with a central government at London, Paris, or New York would appear to us."⁸¹ Dante loved Italy. He wrote the first great poem in the Italian language, and in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia* he paid to the vulgar tongue the tribute of a lover and of a creative genius. But how far he was from any nationalism was best revealed in the passage (Blk. I, sec. 6) discussing which language the first man had spoken, a question answered by German nationalists of the Renais-

sance to the effect that Adam spoke German. Dante maintained that Hebrew was the language used by the first man and by Christ. "For, whosoever is of such mean reason that he thinks his birthplace the most delightful under the sun, will also prefer his own vulgar tongue, that means his mother tongue, to all others: and consequently he will think that this tongue was Adam's. But we, whose fatherland is the world as for the fish the sea, although we have drunk of the Arno before we teethed, and love Florence so much that we suffer unjust exile because we loved it, wish to base our judgment more on reason than on sentiment. And although there is on earth for our pleasure or for the tranquillity of our senses no lovelier spot than Florence, we have examined again and again the volumes of poets and other writers in which the world is described in general and in particular, and have pondered over the different situations of the places on earth and their situation at both poles and around the equator, and we have found out that there are many places and cities, and we believe firmly, more noble and more delightful ones than Tuscany and Florence from which I derive and of which I am a citizen; and that many nations and peoples use a more delightful and useful language than the Italian."

There was no trace of nationalism in Dante. He felt only the natural love of man for his birthplace and his mother tongue, enhanced in him by the misery of Florence and his exile, and by the predilection which the great poet felt for his instrument, which he caressed as a sculptor may caress the material out of whose uncouth form he has chiseled the plastic reproduction of his inner visions. When Dante wished to speak, perhaps the first time, of Italy as a common fatherland, he found no other word than the beautiful and simple "del bel paese là, dove il sì suona" (*Inferno*, 33, 80).¹⁰⁴

Dante saw Italy and the world in internecine warfare. What he wished was not the unity of Italy, but the peace of Italy and the peace of humanity in a unified world. He did not long for an Italian prince, as Machiavelli did later, to unite Italy; he looked forward to the German king and his coming as Emperor to restore peace to Italy and humanity. In a letter to the princes, cities, and peoples of Italy he bade them welcome Henry VII rapturously:

"Behold, now is the acceptable time in which the signs of consolation and peace arise. For a new day rises brightly, revealing a dawn which already attenuates the darkness of long-lasting calamity. . . . Rejoice therefore, Italy which is now to be pitied even by the Saracens, but which immediately will be regarded with envy by the whole world; for thy bridegroom the solace of the world and the glory of thy people, the most clement Henry, Divine and Augustus and Caesar, hastens to the nuptials."⁴⁰ In *Il Convivio* (IV, 4) he pointed out that human society had been ordered toward one end; namely, a happy life. "The whole earth, as far as it is given to the human race to possess it, should be under one prince, who . . . would keep the kings satisfied within the limits of their kingdoms, so that peace should reign among them, wherein the cities could repose, and in this repose the neighbors would love one another, and in this love the families would supply all their wants, which done, man lives happily; for which end he was born."

In his emphasis upon the *vita felice* Dante turned from the pessimism of medieval Christendom to a new enjoyment of the human commonweal. Herein the Renaissance and modern times followed him,⁴¹ but they did not take up his universal message and his appeal to the *humana civilitas*: "Oh race of mankind! what storms must toss thee, what losses must thou endure, what shipwrecks must buffet thee, as long as thou, a beast of many heads, strivest after contrary things. Thou art sick in both thy faculties of understanding; thou art sick in thine affections. Unanswerable reasons fail to heal thy higher understanding; the very sight of experience convinces not thy lower understanding; not even the sweetness of divine persuasion charms thy affections, when it breathes into thee through the music of the Holy Ghost: Behold, how good and how pleasant a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity."

IO

Any feeling of national particularism in the later Middle Ages expressed itself as part of the universalism of the Empire. A separate national consciousness, a *Nationalbewusstsein* different from the

universal *Reichsidee*, was never imagined. Walther von der Vogelweide spoke of *daz roemische riche* and *diu tiusche zunge* without making any definite difference or seeing any conflict between them. "As yet no German spirit existed, but only a Roman spirit which was gradually civilizing the Germanic. It was not common German tradition which bound the Northerners together, but Roman form and culture. The German races had nothing in common but their blood, and the call of the blood was rarely vocal. Just now and then, . . . in solemn moments of enthusiasm, . . . they felt . . . that they—Saxons, Franks, Suabians and Bavarians—were one. But they did not even then feel 'German.' At most they felt that they stood together as heirs of the Empire of the Caesars, they prided themselves on being descendants of the Trojans, or styled themselves 'Roman' citizens. The word 'German' is reserved for our use today." Most characteristic was the charter of the Teutonic Order, which by its conquests spread German dominion and colonization far to the east and northeast. "For this end has God uplifted our Empire above the kingdoms of the earth, and extended the limits of our power beyond the various zones, that our care may be to glorify His name and diligently to spread His faith among the people, for He has chosen the Roman Empire for the preaching of His gospel: Let us therefore bend our mind to the conquest, no less than to the conversion, of the heathen peoples. . . ." ⁴¹

The word *deutsch* was first employed in the eighth and ninth centuries to designate the German language. Only in the eleventh century did it begin to designate the people speaking the language, and their land. Its use did not imply the existence of a political national consciousness.⁴² The first flickering of a German consciousness in the masses, the German peasant revolt, was quickly and definitely crushed by the princes and nobles. The national consciousness which the German humanists developed from literary sources did not influence deeply the aristocracy and did not reach the people. Though a consciousness of being different in language and appearance from other groups existed, the Germans continued until the seventeenth century, politically and culturally, to think exclusively within the frame of the universal Empire.⁴³

With the decline of the power of the Pope, German political ideas became detached from their connection with the locality of Rome, and centered territorially upon Germany. Louis of Bavaria declared in 1338 that the election by the electors alone was sufficient to confer imperial dignity. Charles IV, the grandson of Henry VII and a monarch of wise and realistic statesmanship, abandoned the exuberant dreams of his grandfather, and devoted his energies to his own territory, the Bohemian kingdom, which he made the most progressive part of Central Europe by introducing the new learning from Italy and France.

The imperial idea detached itself in the fourteenth century from its "transcendent" centers, Rome and Jerusalem. The crusaders to the Holy Land faded out. The imperial idea was now closely connected with some definite territory: with Germany for the Germans, with France for the Frenchmen, with Italy and with contemporary Rome for the Italians. Spain was still absorbed in the task of the *reconquista*, and England, isolated by the sea, developed an early consciousness of territorial unity. For both of them only the sixteenth century ushered in their imperial era, which was no longer static, but dynamic—not turned to the past, but to the future and the unknown. But in the winds that blew over the immense ocean, enticing and seducing to strange and unheard-of lands, there was, for the English as well as for the Spaniards, a strong scent of the new Jerusalem and of eternal Rome. Without this scent the imperial venture would have seemed meaningless to the peoples of Western Christendom even long after the end of the Middle Ages.

In Eastern Christendom the position of the Byzantine Empire was rendered increasingly precarious by the successful progress of Islam, the great imperial heir of the ancient Hellenistic East. When Islam conquered Constantinople, in 1453, a new imperial claim was put forward by the princes of Moscow, who were united with the imperial house by ties of religion and of marriage. Moscow was now proclaimed the third Rome; its princes assumed the imperial two-headed eagle and the title Caesar. As the German barbarians were lured to Rome by its promises of higher civilization, of greater riches, of a kinder and more bountiful nature, so the bar-

barians of the cold Sarmatian plains were attracted by the similar promises of Constantinople. As the Empire of Charlemagne's successors strove for the possession of Rome, the great *Urbs*, so the Slavonic successors of the emperors longed for new Rome, the great *Polis* of Czarigrad, the traditional residence of the emperors. It remained the center of attraction and struggle on an imperial scale long after Rome had sunk politically to purely local significance. On the other hand, Rome remained the living center of the spiritual Empire of the Pope, giving up none of its universal claims, while Constantinople, like Jerusalem, became spiritually no more than a memory and a hope.¹³⁴

II

Dante first insisted upon the close connection between the universal imperial idea and the people of Rome. From the *Aeneid* he proved that the blood of all the noblest races of Asia, Africa, and Europe had mixed in the father of the Roman people, and that "therefore the people was the most noble under the heaven. Or from whom will be hidden the divine predestination of this two-fold mixing of blood from every part of the world in one man?" The Roman Empire could not have been established without the help of miracles, it was therefore willed by God, "et per consequens de iure fuit et est." In subjugating the world, the Roman people pursued only the common weal and universal peace. It even went so far as to neglect its own interests for the profit of the human race. Proof after proof was adduced that the Roman people had acquired the Empire with God's help and by just wars. After many arguments from "principles of reason," Dante finally drew his arguments from the Christian faith. "Let them cease, then, to insult the Roman Empire who pretend that they are sons of the Church, when they see that Christ, its bridegroom, sanctioned the former at the beginning and at the end of His struggle on earth. Now I think that it has become sufficiently clear that the Roman people acquired for itself the Empire of the world."

The context of these "nationalistic" arguments, which form the second book of *De Monarchia*, the most emphatic plea for uni-

versalism, shows clearly that though Dante connected the universal mission with the Roman people, he did not yet localize and narrow it down to anything which would approach nationalism. Fifty years later it was done by Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) who has been acclaimed as the first Italian patriot, whose love for "*Italia Mia*" penetrates through the first stanza of the famous poem:

O my own Italy! though words are vain
The mortal wounds to close
Unnumbered that thy beauteous bosom stain,
Yet may it soothe my pain
To sigh forth Tiber's woes
And Arno's wrongs, as on Po's saddened shore
Sorrowing I wander and my numbers pour.
Ruler of Heaven! by the all-pitying love
That could Thy Godhead move
To dwell a lowly sojourner on earth,
Turn, Lord, on this Thy chosen land Thine eye—
See, God of Charity,
From what light cause this cruel war has birth;
And the hard hearts, by savage discord steeled,
Thou, Father, from on high
Touch by my humble voice, that stubborn wrath may
yield.

Petrarch was one of those who prepared the coming of the Renaissance. With all his loving interest in antiquity and all his intense feeling for the secular values of human life which distinguished him so markedly from Dante, Petrarch was still a man of a transitional period. The Empire for which Dante had hoped had receded as much from the center of the stage as had the papacy, which found itself in Avignon in captivity. Petrarch still believed and hoped in these two great forces of universalism,—yet their weaknesses turned him to the sources of antiquity for inspiration and solace. But as in the Renaissance, the patriotism of Petrarch remained purely literary, and did not even awaken that echo in the circle of literati which the writers of the Renaissance could

claim. No statesman answered his dreams and hopes, reality remained unchanged, and Petrarch's voice was as "one crying in the wilderness." "To Dante, brought up amid the license of city-parties, the Empire seemed the sole controlling secular force and Italy a mere geographical expression; to Petrarch—an exile from his boyhood in a foreign land—appeared the dim vision of the coming nation, in which the frontiers of the city-states became blurred, and their rulers seemed responsible for the whole dumb populace, as shepherds for their flocks. It was in the spirit of a detached spectator that he looked down upon the seething mass of Italian discord; and he was groping feebly after a unifying force from within, which might expel the stranger from the sacred soil and restore the Heaven-born gift of peace. It is true that, like Dante, he dreamed of a renovation from the past—of the revived glories of republican or imperial Rome, which had then vanished for ever."⁴¹

Only one effort was then made to translate these dim and uncertain hopes into reality; it was no more than a first brief flickering, half fantastic and half eschatological, of what could only in later centuries become a flame. Cola di Rienzo attempted to unite the whole of Italy under the hegemony of Rome. In 1347 he assumed the title of "*Libertatis, Pacis Iustitiaeque Tribunus, et Sacrae Romanae Rei Publicae Liberator.*" Petrarch hailed him in his famous song "*Spirito gentil che quelle membra reggi*" as the reincarnation of the classical spirit. But though Rienzo was indebted to the beginning rebirth of the learning of antiquity, he was more deeply steeped in medieval thought and myth, allegory and magic. He was still a medieval man, and his world, like that of Dante and Petrarch, rested upon the two universal foundations of Empire and Church. Both for him, however, were localized in Rome. Rome's geographic identity gained in his mind a new importance because the Popes had left Rome, only a few years after the Eternal City had been made (in 1300) the center of a world-wide pilgrimage, and they proclaimed from Avignon that "*ubi papa, ibi Roma.*" The Romans protested and demanded the return of the Pope to "*hanc sanctissimam gentem et urbem Romanam, quam Christus ipse in gentem sanctam, genus electum, regale*

sacerdotium et populum acquisitionis incommutabiliter elegit." ⁴⁰ Rienzo believed apparently that the unification of mankind could proceed only from the hills and sites of Rome, that without its center localized in Rome no universal Church was possible. Rienzo found Rome at the deepest point of its humiliation; in a way which reminded one more of the thirteenth century than of the Renaissance, he wished to raise Rome again and to make her *magistra mundi*.

Rienzo and Petrarch belonged to the generation which began to be stirred by the approach of a new era. They were less the forerunners of modern nationalism than the first trail blazers of the Renaissance, which, through the revival of ancient patriotism, necessarily implied also a revival of the ideas of nationalism, although confined to the narrow circle of literary men. In the middle of the fourteenth century Boccaccio revealed in his short stories an attitude entirely different from the mentality of the Middle Ages, an affirmation of the natural joys of life, an unconcerned hilarity. His Italian prose set the example of a new flexibility and conciseness. At a time when the study of ancient literature was at a very low ebb in Italy, he collected and copied manuscripts, and was instrumental in establishing the first chair of Greek Language and Literature in Italy. Petrarch shared Boccaccio's admiration for the classical writers, but like almost all educated Italians of the period he was unable to read Greek.

The same enthusiasm which animated Petrarch and Boccaccio was alive in Rienzo. In his proclamations of the sovereignty of the Roman people and of the unity of Italy, and in his fight for the rights of the common people against the corruption and oppression of the aristocracy, Rienzo may be regarded as one of the first who ever tried to put the vague ideas of nationalism and democracy, as they emerged for the first time in the fourteenth century, into reality. Yet his strong desire for a new life and a new world, his longing for a *renovatio* were inspired more by the spiritual longings of the mystics and monks of the past than by a clear grasp of the new realities emerging in the near future. The complete and dismal failure of Rienzo's aspirations cannot be explained by the many shortcomings of his own personality; it was made necessary by the

complete incomprehension and indifference with which the people and the ruling groups in Italy received his message."¹⁰

During his few months as Tribune of the Roman people, Rienzo not only proclaimed Rome *caput orbis* and a fundament of the Christian faith, but declared all Italians to be Roman citizens, and gave thereby a new meaning to the concept of *populus Romanus*. Originally it had been confined to the inhabitants of the city; later theory regarded the people of the whole Empire as the *populus Romanus*. Now for the first time Rienzo interpreted it in the sense of Italian nationalism. The Italian people should elect the Emperor; the Empire should return to Rome and to Italy, terminating the internecine warfare between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. Rienzo, who called himself *liberator Urbis*, *zelator Italiae*, *amator orbis* and believed himself the illegitimate son of Emperor Henry VII, visualized himself as Emperor.

To Rienzo, who did not claim pure Roman descent, any parochial nationalism was alien; the separation of a Roman or Italian nationalism from a universal order seemed unthinkable to his age. "When, I ask, was there such peace, such tranquillity, such justice; when was such tribute paid to honesty, when were the good so readily rewarded and the evil punished; when were human affairs so well administered as when the world had but one head, and that head was Rome? At what time did God, the lover of peace and of justice, condescend to be born of the Virgin and to visit the earth? Every living creature possesses but one head; and the world, which the poet calls the Great Body, should be content with but one temporal head. It would be monstrous and unnatural for any creature to possess two heads. How much more terrible and portentous then, is an animal with a thousand different heads biting and rending one another in turn? . . . We have countless proofs and the authority of the most learned scholars as well, to the effect that, both in heaven and on earth, oneness of rule has ever been of the greatest advantage. Omnipotent God has declared in manifold ways His will that the supreme head should be none other than Rome. He has ennobled her with the glories of peace and of war, and has made of her a matchless wonder, surpassing in all the virtues."¹¹

12

Half a century before the Italians, the French raised their claim for the leadership of humanity in a universal order. Italy was disunited and did not even exist as an embryonic nation, except in the vision of a few poets. In Germany the development into a nation was hampered by the progressive weakening of royal authority. In France, on the other hand, after the battle of Bouvines in 1214—which led to the weakening of royal power in England and to the forced grant of the Magna Charta by King John—the royal house grew in strength and became the nucleus around which the French nation could later gather. France was then the most civilized part of Western Christendom, its leader in arts and sciences. Alexander von Roes, who lived in Cologne in the thirteenth century and strongly supported Germany's imperial claims, maintained that the *imperium* belonged by right to the Germans, the *sacerdotium* to the Romans, and the learning, or *studium*, to the French. France, and not chaotic Italy, had inherited the rational Roman order, the deep-seated sense of law and legality. Her system of central government became exemplary for the European continent. Her civilization had the clarity and urbanity of the best Latin tradition, deeply steeped in that *humanitas* which Rome developed in its contact with Stoic philosophy. With all its growing national consciousness, French civilization preserved as none other a universalism and a power of assimilation from which she claimed the right to represent Western civilization.⁴⁹

The kings of France considered themselves as kings of the Franks, legitimate heirs to Charlemagne by ties of blood and of history, and as kings of Gaul within its ancient frontiers, which Caesar had described, and which coincided with the natural frontiers of sea, mountains, and rivers. *Francia* and *Gallia* were used as synonymous words; the French language was called *lingua Gallica*. The coronation of Otto I as Roman Emperor could, in the view of the French kings, in no way alter the fact that the *regnum Francorum* and the legacy of Charlemagne were by right rooted in the older line of the Carolingian dynasty and in the soil of Gaul.⁵⁰

The Carolingian tradition in France was supported by the be-

ginning of a French literature, the French epics of Charlemagne and his twelve great peers, among them his nephew Roland, the defender of the Christians against the Saracens, and Turpin, the Archbishop of Rheims. In the legendary tradition Charlemagne had conquered Spain from the Saracens, had delivered Rome and Italy, had baptized, civilized, and subjugated Germany—he had even rendered Constantinople to the true Church, and restituted the Holy Sepulcher to Christianity. The French kings as kings of the Franks felt entitled to the whole Empire conquered and civilized by Charlemagne. They never recognized the Empire as reconstituted under Otto I, and therefore felt subject to no one in their temporal powers.⁶⁰ They not only regarded themselves as equals of the Emperor, but claimed the Empire for themselves.

It must be understood that this was not a nationalistic claim on the part of France; it was a universalistic claim on the part of the Frankish kings, based upon their descent from Charlemagne, and even more upon the Christian character of the *Rex Christianissimus*. The French king was sacred and most Christian; his character was determined by the shining examples of Charlemagne and St. Louis. The French king was regarded as the successor to David,⁶¹ invested with sacramental character by the consecration in Rheims and St. Denis. As a result, he was generally supposed to work miracles, especially to heal the sick, a belief which outlived the Middle Ages. Thanks to her kings, France felt herself "a domine electum et benedictum pre ceteris regnis mundi." The nascent national feeling of France was universal and religious. The prerogative of France was based upon the claim that the kings and people of France were better Christians, better Catholics than those of other lands, and therefore performing the deeds of God: *gesta Dei per Francos*.

This early French national feeling founds its literary expression in the circle of royal legists, the *militēs regis*, a class of educated laymen, the forerunners of the *noblesse de robe*. They defended the claims of King Philip the Fair (1285–1314) against those of the Pope, Boniface VIII. In this struggle the new territorial power of the king, supported by the concepts of sovereignty found in Roman law, defeated the imperial universalism of the Pope. The

king successfully maintained that "regimen temporalitatis regni sui ad ipsum regem solum et neminem alium pertinere." The new teaching of the legists did much to change the aspects of government. As Renan put it, "une classe d'hommes politiques entièrement nouvelle, ne devant sa fortune qu'à son mérite et à ses efforts personnels, dévouée sans réserve au roi, qui l'avait créée, rivale à l'Eglise dont elle aspirait en bien des choses à prendre la place, . . . allait inaugurer en tout, ce qui touche à la conduite des affaires, un profond changement."⁵² In the fight for the sovereignty of the French monarchy against the Pope, Philip the Fair found the support of even wider circles. He summoned in April, 1302, the first Assembly of the States General, where for the first time representatives of the aristocracy, the clergy, and the third estate met at Notre Dame. But the heart of his support came from the *milites regis*, who fought for the divine rights of their king, and whose victory helped to destroy the universalism of the Middle Ages; but it did not prepare the way for nationalism: it began to build the royal road to the absolutist monarchy.

Of these legists and followers of the king, Pierre Dubois was the most interesting from the point of view of nationalism because he most clearly localized the medieval Christian universalism in a particular bearer of this idea. His *De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*⁵³ was entirely dominated by the universal tradition of medieval Christianity, the *tota respublica omnium Christicolarum*, universal peace, service of God and the Church. The bearer of these universal ideas was for him the king of France as *Rex Christianissimus*. In the interests of the Church, for the reconquest of the Holy Land, for the establishment of universal peace and justice in Christendom, the French kings (the only legitimate bearers of the imperial dignity through their descent from Charlemagne and through their God-serving lives) should take over the *Imperium Romanum*, which would become an *Imperium Gallicanum*. For Pierre Dubois as for his German contemporaries, Jordanus von Osnabrück or Alexander von Roes, it was an axiomatic truth that humanity formed a unity which needed one ruler.⁵⁴ The goal—"pax universalis finis est quem querimus"—was established for Pierre Dubois as unalterably as its foundation, the *unitas mundi*, the *unitas ec-*

clesiae, the *unitas imperii*, "omnium credentium unam faciendo rempublicam." The dominating idea of all life and history was one and the same for the Popes, for the Hohenstaufen, for Dante and Petrarch, for the *milites regis Francorum*. Only its bearer changed.

13

The beginning of the fourteenth century resounded with the struggle between two universal claims, the *Imperium* and the *Sacerdotium*. One hundred years later the vehemence of the battle had died down; it passed slowly from the stage of history. Yet in the middle of the fifteenth century the leading spokesmen of the age—the Italian Aeneas Silvius, later Pope Pius II, and the greatest German thinker of the period, Nicholas of Cusa—had all their hopes and work centered in a reinterpretation of medieval universalism. Nicholas in his *De Concordantia Catholica* proposed detailed plans for the revival of the medieval *Imperium*;⁵⁶ Pius II died on a crusade. But their appeals were not heeded; a new age began to express itself in a changing attitude of man towards nature and history.

The transition from one age to another is a slow and imperceptible process. Nobody can state where the old ends and the new begins. For a long time both are inextricably mixed. The new thoughts announce themselves in the writings of a few isolated men. They feel the new problems posited by the changing conditions; the answers they propose influence the new developments; slowly the general attitude towards life changes from the interaction of new social, economic, and geographic factors with human thought and imagination. New challenges are met by new responses, and these responses act again as challenges. The fifteenth century was not yet modern, nor was it any longer medieval. The new thoughts had not yet found their definite form. The rise of nationalism demanded a new attitude of this-worldliness and affirmation of nature, the birth of individualism, and a new interpretation of history.

In the Middle Ages the Church had regarded itself as a state, as a *respublica* to which everyone must belong. Religion had been a

political category, even the foremost political category. Heresy was therefore a *crimen laesae majestatis*. The modern age brought with it the progressive depolitization of religion; the secular State became the foremost political power. Perhaps the first thinker who as a citizen of a rising Italian city-state foresaw this development was Marsilius of Padua. In his *Defensor Pacis* (1324) he taught, partly under the influence of the French legists at the court of Philip the Fair, the supremacy of the State over the Church. Former defendants of the *Imperium* against the *Sacerdotium* had believed that the two swords were coordinated and given by God from the outset to two different authorities to wield; both derived independently from God. Marsilius went further. This representative of the new lay intelligentsia of the cities in their bitter fight against the cupidity and voracity of the clerics, subordinated the Church to the State. "He approached problems that are still modern in a modern spirit, and his solutions seem to belong more to modern times than to the Middle Ages. He has been shown to have precursors and to wear the livery of his century, but that it should have been necessary to prove that he was no incredible anachronism is the best tribute to his anticipation of the future—no one needs to convince us that Dante is not modern."⁶⁶ Marsilius was deeply steeped in the medieval tradition of universalism, and he tried to reconcile his autonomy of the new State with the universality of Christendom. He was a rationalist under the influence of the new learning taught in Paris, but at the same time he was not free from a mystical sectarianism rooted in biblical faith. He found in the free communes of Italy the revival of the classical conception of the State—the *polis* or the *civitas* as the all-comprehensive and therefore the unique expression of that common life which stood above the life of the individual—in practice, although not in theory.⁶⁷ Marsilius gave theoretical expression to this new secular and sovereign State without yet having found adequate words to express his new notions.

Marsilius did not devote much thought to the relation of the new sovereign State to the universal order. "Whether it befits all civilized men in the whole world to have one single government supreme over all, or whether it befits men in the different regions

of the world, almost necessarily separated by situations, and especially those who have no common language and who are diverse in manners and customs, to have different supreme governments at any given time . . . deserves a rational inquiry; yet that inquiry is alien to my present purpose."⁹⁸ Other authors before him, especially Frenchmen, had pleaded for the separate existence of regional states within a universal Christendom, and, while recognizing the essential unity of mankind, had denied the need of a monarchical head. But Marsilius was mainly concerned with the internal sovereignty of the State by ending the several jurisdictions existing within it. He wanted to subject all public affairs to the will of one authority, government elected by and responsible to the people (the legislator, as he called it), in which sovereignty ultimately resided. The State which he envisaged was one in which government, be it one man or several, would understand "that to it alone befits the authority to command the subject multitude . . . and to restrain each man, if it be expedient, according to the established laws, and to do nothing, especially of moment, outside the laws without the consent of the subject multitude or legislator; nor to provoke the multitude or legislator by injustice, since in the legislator's express will the virtue and authority of the government consist."⁹⁹

The novelty of his proposal was not in the bounds imposed upon the exercise of governmental power. It was common theory of the Middle Ages that every command which exceeded the limits of the ruler's authority obliged none of the subjects to obedience. A theory like Machiavelli's, which freed the monarch from the restraint of moral law and denied to the subjects the right to revolt, would have seemed unheard of and monstrous in the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁰ The novelty in Marsilius' theory consisted in his subsuming religion and the affairs of the Church under the general affairs of the State, and in his declaring that the care of religion and its control were, as in antiquity and in Constantinople, one of the functions of the State. Christian universalism was accepted by Marsilius in the institution of General Councils of the Church, but their decrees could be enforced only by the independent State for its citizens. The succeeding centuries followed Marsilius in his Erastianism and de-

veloped his incipient absolute sovereignty of the State around the person of the sovereign monarch, but the democratic seeds in his theory did not bear fruit.

Marsilius was not a forerunner of nationalism, but of the secular and sovereign State which created the form indispensable for the rise of nationalism and separated the State definitely from the *civitas Dei* or the *Sacrum Imperium*. The Church had opposed the new development, but it had also prepared for its coming. In the rise of the new states not only the king but the Church had acted as a unifying force. The provinces of the Church, especially the archdioceses, followed frequently the old divisions of the Roman Empire and became important centripetal forces in educating the inhabitants to a common consciousness. At a time when all the symbols of communal life were purely religious, national saints served as rallying points for the common emotions of the future national groups, manifesting themselves every year on the Saint's day in the Church calendar. In times of distress or of oppression the faithful turned to the common Saint for help. St. Denis became the patron saint of France, St. Patrick of Ireland, St. Stanislaus of Poland, St. Wenceslaus of Bohemia, St. Stephen of Hungary. Some of them were early missionaries and martyrs; others were princes whose glorious and just reigns were remembered for many generations to come. All of them were closely connected with the life of the Church. Nothing which had its birth even in the most embryonic stage in the Middle Ages was conceivable without the impress of religion upon it.⁶¹

14

Church Councils and universities used the word "nation" at the beginning of the fifteenth century. But it did not imply the emergence or prevalence of a feeling akin to modern nationalism at that time. These "nations" were associations representing territorial groups without any regard to nationality; they were nothing but parts of the still existing universal whole, subdivided for practical purposes to express differences of opinion, but not broken up into parts considering themselves as a whole and acting as such.

At the Council of Constance (1414-1417), the voters in the Council were divided into four "nations"—German, French, Italian, and English. These groups were to represent the major geographical divisions of Europe. The German "nation" comprised the delegates from Eastern Europe, Germans, Hungarians, Poles; the English "nation," all those from Northern Europe, including the Scandinavians. The division of the Council into "nations," already foreshadowed at the Council of Lyon in 1274 and at Vienne in 1311, was established for reasons of Church policies and as a result of royal efforts to control the Church within the respective states. The traditional method of voting by individual votes of the prelates would have given an overwhelming victory to Pope John XXIII, as the Italian bishops and abbots whose candidate he was would have outvoted the prelates of all other countries. Therefore a new method of voting was accepted, a vote by "nations." The cardinals asked to be allowed to vote as a fifth "nation," but this request was refused for political reasons, as was King Sigismund's demand to have the Hungarian prelates, whom he could easily control, admitted as a fifth "nation." The English protested in 1417 against the claim of the French to form a "nation" of their own at the Council, but the Spaniards were later admitted as a fifth "nation." All these "nations" defended various group interests and were frequently used as an instrument for the political bargaining of the monarchs with the Church."

The method of voting at Constance was probably influenced by the division of students at the University in Paris into four "nations"—France, Picardy, Normandy, and England. Similar divisions into "nations" existed at other universities. Charles IV founded in 1348 the University at Prague, where the student body was likewise divided into four "nations"—Czech, Bavarian, Polish, and Saxon—these divisions again being based not on ethnographic, but on territorial associations. The famous decree of Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg) in January, 1409, changed the method of voting at the University of Prague: whereas until then each "nation" had possessed one vote so that the students from the lands of the king of Bohemia were outvoted by the students from

foreign lands, henceforth the students from the king's own lands would possess three votes and all the students from foreign lands only one vote. This change was motivated by a dispute within the University between "realists," followers of the teaching of John Wycliffe (a group to which most of the Bohemian masters adhered), and "nominalists," represented largely by the German masters at the University. The king of Bohemia found most support for his general policy among the "realists," and therefore favored the strengthening of their influence at the University. The measure itself, however, had definitely that character of xenophobe jealousy which was common to the period, and which aimed at the preservation of the privileges and positions which a country had to offer to its natives. Thus the nation of the Kingdom of Bohemia, "the true heir of this country," was to be protected in its privileges against foreign competition. As the result of this decree most of the German teachers and students left Prague in 1409 and formed the nucleus of the new University of Leipzig.

The struggle between "nominalists" and "realists" did not remain confined to University circles. The theological passion of the period seized upon this issue which, after the death of John Huss at the Council of Constance in 1415, overshadowed all other issues in Bohemia. The Hussite Wars were not fought with the intention of creating a Czech state on a national basis.⁶⁶ The Hussites were burning to reform the faith and the Church of Christianity for all Christians, and to create, or to hasten the advent of, the Kingdom of God on earth. It was an essentially religious movement deeply steeped in the medieval world, a forerunner of the Reformation and of the Anabaptist enthusiasm. The Hussites happened to coincide largely, though not entirely, with the Czech people; the crusading armies sent against them by Pope and Emperor consisted mainly of Germans. Thus the Czechs came to regard themselves as "God's warriors"; the Czechs were to the Hussites the most Christian people, the chosen group who were to reestablish Christianity in its purity all over the earth—to that task alone their preeminence was due. The religious fervor was, naturally enough, as in most sectarian and reform movements against the

Church, blended with a demand for social justice, and with the existing jealousy of the Czechs against the encroachment and the growing influence of alien Germans in Bohemia.

Since the twelfth century the Germans, confined up to that time in the lands west of the Elbe and the Saale rivers, had started to expand eastward and subject and assimilate the Slav peoples east of the Elbe.⁴¹ The great enthusiasm created by the preaching of the Crusades in Europe directed the crusading spirit of the northern Germans against the pagan Slavs. In the thirteenth century Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, and Upper Saxony became Germanized; many cities were then founded, among them Berlin and Dresden. German settlers were called by the native kings into Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, and established cities and a class of traders and artisans there. It was an economic movement of migration to, and settlement in, sparsely populated and undeveloped lands. In the thirteenth century the Teutonic Knights carried the German invasion to its northeastern limits by their conquests of Prussia, where they practically exterminated the original inhabitants of Lithuanian stock, and of Courland and Livonia, where the natives showed greater powers of resistance and remained as peasant serfs under German barons and as servants in the new cities founded by the German traders.

The fifteenth century marked a strong setback in this German expansion eastward. The Kingdom of Poland, after a long period of weakness, regained strength under Lithuanian princes, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Teutonic Knights in the Battle of Tannenberg in July, 1410, made the Order of the Teutonic Knights a vassal of the Polish crown in 1466 by the second Peace of Thorn, and for almost four centuries stopped the German expansion to the northeast. At the same time the Hussite Wars marked a similar retreat of German influence farther to the south. Huss (1369-1415) himself, like Wycliffe, preached in the native language of the people, emphasized and improved the Czech literary tongue, and insisted upon the Czechs speaking their own language and speaking it well.⁴²

The long protracted struggle between the Hussites and the Catholics, with its accompanying savagery, naturally increased the

antagonism between Czechs and Germans, and made the Czechs conscious of their affinity with other peoples speaking a similar Slavonic language.⁶⁶ Under their military leader, Jan Žižka, the Hussites went in 1420 into the war "to liberate the truth of the Law of God and the Saints and to protect the faithful believers of the Church, and the Czech and Slavonic language." To this religious and linguistic antagonism was added a social conflict between the patriciate and the lower urban classes. As a result, the economically weaker Czech artisans captured the government of the cities from the hands of the German burghers, many formerly German towns in Bohemia came under Czech control, and the influence of the Czech language and literature began to predominate; the Czechs were thus the only people in Eastern Europe to develop their own urban middle classes before the nineteenth century. This educated Czech middle class tried to keep itself in the newly gained official positions by demanding a knowledge of Czech as a prerequisite for office and by trying generally to bar foreigners as far as possible from the privileges of government.⁶⁷

This linguistic and social antagonism survived the decline of Hussitism; it was accentuated after the Reformation by the new religious opposition between the Protestant Estates in Bohemia—Czech and German—and the Catholic Habsburg king. The Habsburg monarchs introduced German, Italian, and Spanish officials at the Court and in the administration, and thus the influence of the German language grew again, although this process was in no way the result of a conscious intention at Germanization. The Bohemian Diet passed a law in 1615 against the employment of foreign officials who did not know the Czech language, and ordered that all foreigners coming to Bohemia to settle should teach it to their children, and that immigrants unable to speak Czech should not be admitted to the privileges of the Estates or of the urban patriciate. This law did not express a feeling of nationalism, which at the time, if at all discernible, was confined in Bohemia to a few antiquarian scholars; it was the manifestation of the exclusiveness of a dominant class which had no desire to share its privileges and influence. Three years later, when the Estates of Bohemia in open revolt against the Habsburg king elected a new ruler, they chose a

German, Frederick the Elector Palatine, who did not know the Czech language but who as a Calvinist was united in faith with the majority of the Bohemian Estates, and whom they expected to respect their class privileges and interests.

Nationalism dominated the public sentiment and the political loyalties of European peoples during the Hundred Years War as little as it did in the Conciliar Movement or in the Hussite Wars.⁶⁶ One of the leading French historians⁶⁷ even goes so far as to hold that the events of the Hundred Years War, "grave though they were for those living at the time, do not seem to have had any effect upon the development of the nation. The revolts were mere episodes, of no deep significance, and the King of England's conquests were merely ephemeral. This war, carried on by adventurers with no national character, was a war between two royal families rather than between two nations. It is possible that the struggle against the bands in the service of the King of England, known as 'the English,' may have led to the rise of a national sentiment, but this is not certain. The demonstrations of hostility against the English may have arisen from a sense of local patriotism. The poet Alain Chartier was a native of Rouen, the neighborhood of which had suffered particularly from the English invasion. Joan of Arc, admirable though her conduct may appear, belonged to the Armagnac party, which was at war with the Burgundian party, the allies of the English; her loyalty was to the king of her party rather than to the king of the French nation."⁶⁸ These words describe correctly the popular sentiment and the generally held, dominating ideas; yet there was an incipient national sentiment in some French poets at the beginning of the fifteenth century, though even with the French, national feeling before the eighteenth century was, in intensity and extensity, fundamentally different from modern nationalism.⁶⁹ The fifteenth century saw nothing but isolated germs, the Renaissance witnessed a first and brief flowering. But then, as before and afterwards, provincial loyalties remained strong and dominant, the new sentiment did not reach into the masses, and the religious dissensions and baronial warfare quickly stifled the nascent feeling of national unity which had found its center around the royal power, the guardian of the *chose publique*.⁷⁰

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the lack of internal cohesion in France, the rapid growth of the elements of disunion during the Hundred Years War, the many private wars fought in the midst of a war of apparently national magnitude, the lack of any patriotic feeling or national loyalty—all these led France to the brink of complete disruption. Only towards the middle of the fifteenth century did the widespread misery and chaos bring about a reaction; this expressed itself in the Ordinance of 1439, aimed at centralizing taxation in the hands of the king, and in the Ordinance of 1444 establishing that "all war in this kingdom appertains to the King and his officers, and to none other"—a reform which was helped by the contemporary invention of gunpowder and artillery. But the conflict between the unifying royal power and the separatist loyalties of the aristocracy continued until the reign of Louis XII (1498-1515). Then only did the Salic Law and the doctrine of the inalienability of the royal domain which had been formulated in the fourteenth century begin to become recognized.⁷⁸

This growth of the unifying royal power at the beginning of the fifteenth century, this new feeling of national unity was foreshadowed and greeted by a number of patriotic poets—Eustache Deschamps, Robert Blondel, and Alain Chartier. Deschamps asked that the war against England be carried through to complete victory. His "Ballade de la paix avec les Anglais" (c. 1380) contains the refrain:

Et que François et Anglois feront paix.
Elle respont: Foy que doy ma queloingne—
Paix n'arez ja s'ilz ne rendent Calays.

But in a poem "Contre les guerres entre gens de même religion" his patriotism remained subordinated to the common Christianity:

Je voulsisse que la guerre cessast
Entre les gens d'une religion
De la crestienne foy.

Robert Blondel in his "*La Complaincte des Bons François*" (c. 1420) found it necessary to explain and to defend the duty of fighting for king and country:

La foy que vous devez au roy,
Est raison si vous amonneste
De deffendre par bon arroy
Vos pais, que est chose honneste.
Ceulz qui meurent pour leur pais
Sont jugiez en paradiz vivre.
Bon vassaulx ne sont point hais
De Dieu, ains bon louyer leur livre.

The most conscious form of nascent nationalism can be discerned probably in Alain Chartier's "Quadrilogue invectif" (1422), where the first influence of Renaissance sentiment can also be traced. He envisaged France in her desolation as a beautiful and royal lady, with the strain of suffering visible on her face and brow and a pitiful disorder in her apparel, contemplating her three children, the nobleman, the cleric, and the peasant, the last of these showing his misery and privations. "Le povre Peuple allegue ses doléances & injures à sa mère Dame France, que luy font souffrir les pillars gens d'armeaulx sous umbre de deffendre la chose publicque." The mutual recriminations and complaints of the three children end in an exhortation to unite for the salvation of the common mother, suffering France. Thus patriotism is extolled, although even here it takes its place only after religion. "Ce vous puis je mettre au devant, que apres le lien de foy Catholique, nature vous a devant tout autre chose obligez au commun salut du pays de vostre nativité, & à la deffence de celle seigneurie soubz laquelle Dieu vous a fait naistre & avoir vie."¹⁴

These few patriotic poets were isolated voices at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Only towards the end of the century, at the Estates General at Tours in 1484, did some of the speakers, like Guillaume de Rochefort and Jean de Rely of Paris, voice the new French patriotism which centered around the king. In the opening speech the assembled Estates were asked to distinguish clearly between matters pertaining to the whole realm and those pertaining only to individual provinces, cities, or persons, and to give preference to the former. At the same time the beauty and fertility of France and the charity and urbanity of the French people

were appreciated and praised.⁷⁶ But a deeper feeling for France as an object of patriotic veneration did not arise before the sixteenth century. Only the influence of the Renaissance brought to France a new word, "patrie," which is first found in 1539 in an adaptation from Latin, the "*Songe de Scipion traduit nouvellement du Latin en Français*."⁷⁸

What emerged in France was not yet a national sentiment, but a new center of unity and organization, the royal power. It found its model in its great adversary, in the struggle against which it had first asserted itself, the universal Church. For the Church as heir of the Roman Empire not only contributed to fixing the territorial foundations of the future national states, it developed also the first form of absolute monarchy in the Middle Ages. The great popes created the example of a strictly organized authoritarian organization, culminating in one supreme head to whom was due absolute obedience. Later on, the secular monarchs took over this form, and, supported by the newly revived doctrines of the imperial Roman law, turned it against the Church. But it was not simply an imitation or an adaptation to their own purposes. The new secular State, emerging at the turning point from the Middle Ages to modern times, was animated by a new feeling of life which understood itself, although only with partial justification, as an inspiration from beyond the Middle Ages, as a rejuvenation in the Fountain of Youth which rose from the sources of Hellas and Judah.

CHAPTER IV

Renaissance and Reformation
The Emergence of Nationalism

That must needs be judged to be an hard and unjust law, which tends to increase the servitude, and to lessen the liberty of mankind . . . everything in nature is so desirous of liberty, as being a sort of restitution of its primitive state. So that to go about to lessen this, is to touch men in the tenderest point; it is upon such considerations as these, that the *Laws of England in all cases, declare in favour of liberty*.

Sir John Fortescue, *De laudibus legum Angliae* (c. 1465), ed. A. Amos (Cambridge, 1825), p. 157.

I

The two great spiritual revolutions generally known as Renaissance¹ and Reformation² form the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. At any time and everywhere the old and the new merge inextricably, while changes take place at a different pace and with varying intensity, bearing the distinctive marks of the manifold classes, regions, and individuals involved. Indeed the same individuals frequently show the coexistence of strongly surging tendencies of the new with a most curious survival of traditions and old ways of life. But periods of quickening change witness an increased quest on the part of man, who becomes a problem to himself, for the meaning of history. Such was the case at the end of the Middle Ages. All the accepted foundations of life and world—the position of the earth as the center of the universe between heaven and hell, the meaning of time as suspense between creation and salvation, the identification of mankind with the biblical races—began to be undermined by new discoveries and modified by new ways of thought. In his *Prince*, Machiavelli remarked that “changes in affairs have been seen, and may still be seen, every day, beyond all human conjecture.” The old order seemed out of joint. Men looked for new foundations; at a time when Machiavelli was writing his *Prince*, Thomas More was writing his *Utopia* and Erasmus his *The Education of a Christian Prince*. Society and civilization felt the need of regeneration: by a purification and spiritualization of the old basis, as Erasmus hoped; or, as Machiavelli proclaimed, by an entirely new realistic approach, acquired from “una lunga sperienza delle cose moderne ed una continua lezione delle antiche” (a long experience with modern life and a continuous learning from antiquity). In this time of passionate search into the past and fervent hope for the future, the first conscious emphasis on a cultural nationalism emerged. Nationalism is a product of historical, social, and intellectual condi-

tions; its rise in the different countries varies, therefore, according to the conditions prevailing then and there. In its individual and concrete expressions nationalism carries a different meaning with different peoples and at different ages. But an understanding of nationalism can be gained only by comparing similar developments among different peoples; only a universal history of nationalism will enable the student to see each individual case in its proper perspective and in its conditional nature.

In the Renaissance the purely vegetative group feeling developed for the first time into a national consciousness, which received its inspiration from the ancient classics and from the Old Testament, both now read in a new light and with a new understanding. The breakdown of the static order of medieval universalism left the component elements to try to find for themselves, and in themselves, a new firm attachment; it opened the gates wide for a new individualism, for a stressing of the specific and unique as against the general. Herein the ancient authors seemed to offer a guide; they presented a vast and variegated picture of the plenitude of a secular world in which this-worldliness was taken for granted, and where man formed the center and the measure of all relations and of all knowledge. The new individualism and secularism paved the way for the rising national consciousness. At the same time this incipient nationalism was fed by a new historical consciousness; man shaken in his security inquired anxiously into his past and tried to scan the future. But soon neither the Bible nor the ancient authors could guide him. The closer contact with the non-Christian civilizations in the Old and the New worlds, without parallel in ancient or biblical history, was conducive to a more objective and much more intense exploration and observation which focused attention on individual differences. Geography and ethnography shared with historiography in paving the way for the rising national consciousness.

In the history of nationalism, as in so many other fields, the Renaissance merely outlined the possibilities of future developments. It brought no immediately permanent conquests of the human mind; it was a brief, though gorgeous, flowering which bore fruit only in the eighteenth century. It was a period of great

intensity, but of little breadth; essentially, Renaissance and Humanism were movements of aristocratic individualism, confined to a small group. The educated individual, socially belonging to, or economically dependent upon, a new leisure class which was no longer clerical but lay, felt the limits of man's potentialities broadening and saw the frontiers of human knowledge, and therefore of human power, advancing in a few decades as they had not done for many centuries. Human imagination broke all bonds, and as the rational and general laws of science remained unknown in their universal application until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, arts and poetry seemed best to express the substance of the new miraculous world. Through them man spoke and tried to create the new order as an artist's work. In the decomposition of the old universal order he was thrown back upon himself and his own resources, becoming dimly conscious of his autonomy and filled with a sense of his new dignity. Fortune, who put the world at man's command, could be mastered by virtue, by strength and daring; Machiavelli called her "womanlike, a lover of young men, because they are less cautious, more violent, and with more audacity command her." The Renaissance was the period when the ideal of the self-realization of the strong individual emerged, an aristocratic, intellectual ideal, not without contempt for the uneducated and toiling masses and for the average man.

This new experience of life was expressed in a language shaped by the rhythm and meaning of ancient authors. Having thrown off the authority of the Church, the Renaissance found a new authority in ancient writings, but an authority which was beyond the reach of binding and authoritative interpretation, giving the individual a freer choice according to his own taste and conscience. The sanction of the ancients strengthened and comforted the individual, lonely as he felt in this age of transition, but it also permeated his feeling with words and associations taken from antiquity with its patriotic devotion of the classical Greeks for the *polis* and of the republican Romans for the *patria*. The humanists, citizens of the rising Italian city-republics, shifted the emphasis from Augustus and imperial Rome to the heroes of the Republic, to Scipio, Cato, and Brutus. Dante had banished Brutus with

Cassius and Judas Iscariot into the lowest and direst section of Hell where Lucifer himself stood. For him it was the universal imperial Rome which counted, the creation of Caesar and Augustus, the ordered harmony of all mankind. But now the proud and powerful burgherdom of the Italian cities began to feel itself the only legitimate heir of Roman greatness, and to despise as alien barbarians the same German emperors who two hundred years earlier had been greeted so rapturously by Dante as the bearers of the imperial idea.

The new emphasis on ancient history aroused in the Italians a new consciousness of their identity with the ancient Romans, and thus with the only truly civilized people. Had not the new learning grown up among the Italians as a matter of course? And was this not proof enough that, as in olden times, they were again and forever the center of civilization, the torchbearers of human light? This feeling of superiority, constantly waved before the "barbarian nations" who had to visit Italy or have recourse to the Italian humanists in order to become initiated into the refinement of the new learning, necessarily provoked a reaction, which led Frenchmen and Germans to assert their equality and to promote historical research to prove an ancestorship as dignified as that of the Italians.

Though in the breakdown of the universal order the national individualities began to emerge in a more conscious form, Renaissance and Reformation cannot be called an age of nationalism. They remained dominated by religious thought and emotions. Both sprang from the same source—the desire of renovation by a return to the origins—and represented an effort for a synthesis of the old universalism and the new individualism. Still concerned with a universal civilization and religion, both regarded the individual as the foundation of this universalism which was identified with the old universalism, and which received thereby its legitimate authority. In their world the nation had no place as a conscious and potent factor for the preparation of a better future, as an agency for collective or individual salvation. Upon the masses the hold of the past remained unbroken; they continued to be sheltered by the still powerful structure of the Middle Ages,

untouched by the new high winds of secularism and individualism which swept through the ranks above them. Nevertheless, even for them the house and the ground on which it stood had lost some of their unshakable stability; the cracks in the walls had become ominous enough to shake their security.

The fifteenth century was a time of great civil wars and of accompanying chaos. The Hundred Years War, the Hussite Wars, and the English Wars of the Roses were barely ended when the struggle for Italy and Germany began and the Turks appeared at the threshold of Europe as a deadly danger to European civilization. All over Europe, the rising commercial capitalism and the shifting of economic and geographic centers produced immense suffering among the masses; the influx of gold upset prices and wages, and the absence of a modern social conscience and of relief machinery aggravated the misery and despair. In this chaos the decadence of the Church increased rather than diminished the desire for suprarational comfort. The people clung more tightly than ever to religious and transcendental hopes. Even more pronounced than the desire for a strong political order which would end civil wars and the threatening dangers from outside, for powerful princes establishing peace and unity, for a new social regime to restore prosperity and the liberties enjoyed of old, was the craze for salvation which found its expression in the immense growth of indulgences, apocalyptic expectations, religious enthusiasm, and prophecies. The whole world seemed to be full of demons, announcing the coming of Antichrist.

The invention of the printing press quickened the pace of intellectual life. A flood of pamphlets and broadsheets discussed the theological questions which were the main concern of everyone. The Anabaptist movement expressed the deep longing of the masses for a new and better order, for a baptism in the true spirit which would enable them to survive in the demoniac world which seemed to be drifting fast towards its end. The Renaissance had not helped to build a new order; it had questioned the traditional certainties and increased the worldliness and corruption of the Church. Thus the masses stood ready to receive the gospel of the Reformation; in an astonishingly short time the new feeling engulfed the whole

of Western Christianity. It shifted the emphasis again to the universal concerns of religion and put an end to the brief interlude of Renaissance secularism and historical patriotism.

In spite of the frequent expressions of literary nationalism in the Renaissance, the nascent nations were torn by civil war, the rival factions of magnates knew no loyalty to the nation, and the people themselves remained entirely outside the reach of nationalism. Only the rise of a strong central royal power was able to stop the internecine wars and to build or unite the future nation. In their loyalties the people still held to religion. But, like the unified political authority of the Middle Ages, the unified religious authority had been destroyed by the success of the Reformation and the victorious counteroffensive of reformed Catholicism. Although religion remained universalistic in its intentions, Western Christianity was broken up into separate bodies, and the unitarian universalism was replaced by a new pluralism.

At the end of the Renaissance all life was again retheologized, and religion was the dominating political issue. For political reasons no religious toleration was granted, "*cuius regio illius religio*" was accepted as the guiding political maxim, and the new state was built around prince and religion, not around nationality. A few thinkers who were still under the influence of the Renaissance dissented, like the agnostic John Bodin of whom it was said, "*Il mourut comme un chien, sine ullo sensu pietatis, n'étant ni juif, ni chrétien, ni turc.*" But beyond these individual cases the new religious temper engulfed both the humanism and the individualism which had asserted themselves in Renaissance and Reformation alike, and established a new and violent authoritarianism. Even Melancthon called the burning of Servetus "*pium et memorabile ad omnem posteritatem exemplum.*" Belief in witchcraft never flourished in the "Dark Ages" as it did after Renaissance and Reformation. In Holland, then the most progressive country on the Continent, even as late as 1691 a pastor, Balthasar Bekker, who had in his book *Betooverde Wereld* doubted the existence of witchcraft, was persecuted by the Church as a blasphemous heretic.

Whereas everywhere in Europe nationalism, after a very short and ineffectual flickering, disappeared before the new power of

king and religion, the development in England proceeded along a different path which placed her a century ahead of the Continent. There in the civil war of the seventeenth century, in the first great surge of nationalism which embraced a whole people, religion was depolitized and deterritorialized; religious tolerance was established, as was the supremacy of Parliament over the king. There the individualism of the Reformation reasserted itself against authoritarianism, and the foundations were laid for a new epoch, into which essential elements of Renaissance and Reformation were transformed and incorporated, an epoch whose light was to dawn upon the Continent only in the eighteenth century.

2

At first sight no necessary connection appears to exist between the rise of incipient nationalism and the new learning—a movement common to Western Christianity. That it first appeared in Italy was due to the leading position which the cities and princely courts of the Apennine Peninsula occupied at that time, through their wealth and progressive economic organization. There, also, the ancient sources came to life more forcefully; the familiar sites of town and country became associated with ancient glory. But the implications of the new learning were in no way intended for Italy or for the Italians. Humanism revived the *humanitas* of ancient Rome, the emphasis upon the *humana* as a common heritage of the race.³ The Italian language, which had been raised to such heights by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, was spurned by the new revival of Latin, and eloquence in this universal language determined the rank of man in the intellectual world. The new humanism continued the medieval cosmopolitan republic of scholars in a secular form. The prince of the humanists, Erasmus, preached the ideal of the *tranquillitas orbis Christiani*, rejected nationalism as self-love, and set the ideal of peace and concord as the highest that men could strive for.⁴

Most of the humanist writers of the Italian Renaissance, however, were employed in the service of a prince or of a city. Their duty was to extol the deeds and virtues of their employer in the

most polished terms of the new Latin eloquence. Imitation of the ancient historians and rhetoricians was the only way open to them. Aesthetic considerations played even a greater role with them than their apologetic task. They tried to conform to the vocabulary of Livy or Cicero, and they had therefore to express the uniqueness of their own time in words created to convey the feeling of an entirely different age. They transferred ancient city patriotism to the place where they were born or employed. Following Livy's example, they did not consider their city as part of a universal sacerdotal or political empire; they discussed events of Christianity only so far as they touched their own city or state; they dissociated the state from its medieval universal associations, and they paved the way for a historiography concerned with the specific political entity alone, no longer with the whole body of Christianity. Writing in the pay of their prince or their city, they were only concerned in depicting and praising the past of their employers without setting it against the background of universal history.⁵

The humanist historians, often wandering scholars hired for their task, seldom felt a local patriotism, let alone an Italian nationalism. But growing knowledge of the ancient sources and keener observation of ancient sites led to a new appreciation of the Roman past and of Italian affinity to it. Flavius Blondus who, expelled from his native city Forlì, worked for the last thirty years of his life in the chancellery of the Pope, was the author of three books on Roman antiquity and Italy which became a model for later imitators, even outside Italy: the *Roma Instaurata*, a topography of ancient Rome (1446); a historical and geographical encyclopedia *Italia Illustrata* (1458); and *Roma Triumphans*, a handbook of Roman antiquities (1459). These were works of an archivist, devoid of any patriotism or nationalism. A new tone became noticeable after the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France in 1494, when Italy became the battleground of the rival imperialisms of Spain and France. The Italians, with the ancient sources in their minds, suffered at the sight of these barbarians, who had once been subjects of Rome, devastating and despising Italy and the Italians. Bernardino Corio of Milan gave vent to this

new feeling against the French conquerors in his *Patria Historia* (1503).⁶ But it was in Florence—in the troubled times which followed the invasion of the peninsula by the French and the internal fight between the Republic and the Medici—that for the first time a lonely voice was raised in which Italian nationalism found its first expression: the voice of Niccolò Machiavelli.

Machiavelli (1469–1527) wrote history no longer in Latin but in Italian, not as a rhetorician, but as a statesman. He alone recognized clearly the connection between foreign and domestic policy, was fully aware of the importance of organizing military forces, saw the dependence of the fortunes of Florence upon those of all of Italy, and therefore longed for the creation of an Italy as united and strong as Spain and France had become through the efforts of their great kings.⁷ As an Italian patriot, he had an aversion for the Papacy, which in his opinion had frustrated Italy's aspirations towards unity through its universal connections. Longing for a strong man like Cesare Borgia to unite Italy, he wrote the life of Castruccio Castracani, a medieval tyrant of Lucca, whom he regarded as the prototype of the desired champion of Italian liberation.

This lonely forerunner of Italian nationalism, who lived two hundred years after Dante and about two hundred years before the first vague beginnings of an Italian national movement, sensed the future with relentless clear-sightedness. The political, economic, and cultural life of Italy, in many ways still powerful and portentous in the fifteenth century, crossed, in the sixteenth century, the threshold of the long decay which Spanish influence imposed upon the country. Machiavelli had a burning sense of the approaching twilight; he was animated by a deep pessimism, even by despair—a feeling so fundamentally different from the optimism and strength that prevailed in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. Exiled, like Dante, from his beloved native Florence, he found intelligent power the only remedy for the political disorder and the moral decay which he saw growing around him. In his purely secular mind he was one of the first men to leave the Middle Ages behind him. Universalism had no appeal for him. For religion he had no use, either personal or political. No world

seemed to exist but that of the hard and fearlessly faced facts of an iron age. The divine order had broken down, and a moral order based upon the autonomy of natural laws had not yet evolved; thus, no restraint was imposed upon the state, the only guarantor of order and of earthly happiness. Machiavelli was the first European nihilist; on the brink of an abyss which he keenly sensed, he built courageously an abode for his despair and his vain hopes.

Machiavelli's importance for the history of nationalism lies less in his own still not very well defined Italian patriotism than in his vision of a secular state independent of any moral sanction. From his starting point the state could easily become an absolute, moving entirely by and within its autonomous *raison d'état*. Thus the strength of the state became an end in itself, and all means to this end appeared justified. "Where it is an absolute question of the welfare of our country, we must admit of no considerations of justice or injustice, of mercy or cruelty, of praise or ignominy, but putting all else aside must adopt whatever course will save its existence and preserve its liberty." Machiavelli's political philosophy was based upon realistic observation, but an observation limited by a one-sided pessimistic view of man's nature and intentions. "If men were entirely good this precept would not hold, but because they are bad, and will not keep faith with you, you too are not bound to observe it with them." With his pessimism based upon a Utopian perfectionism, he did not see that, although men are not "entirely" good, nevertheless they will keep faith with one another in many cases, and that on this rule as a moral precept the existence of civilized society depends, even if the rule be broken in individual cases.

But behind this severe and dispassionate appraisal of reality—an appraisal shared perhaps by many of his contemporaries—there was a passionate heart beating for Italy, a heart beating alone, out of tune with its contemporaries. In the last chapter of *The Prince*, "An Exhortation to Liberate Italy from the Barbarians," the rhythm of the book suddenly changes. Machiavelli saw Italy "without head, without order, beaten, despoiled, torn, overrun; and to have endured every kind of desolation." Above all, he saw her moral desolation. "It will be clearly seen that in Italy, by reason

of her corruption, there is little or nothing to hope, save by the daring and violence of some great man who may be able and willing to strive for her improvement." He had hoped that Cesare Borgia might become ordained by God for Italy's redemption, but Fortune had rejected him. Now he turned in his dedication of *The Prince* to Lorenzo de' Medici. The Italians, to whom "this barbarous dominion stinks," would welcome a liberator rapturously, so Machiavelli believed, and would make true Petrarch's hope in the sixteenth canzone of "Italia mia":

Virtù contro al Furore
Prenderà l'arme, e fia il combatter corto:
Che l'antico valore
Negli italici cuor non è ancor morto.

The liberator did not come. The Italians were not prepared to welcome a national liberation. No prince, no city, no citizens took up the cause of Italy, which existed in Machiavelli's days as little as in the days of Rienzo. Even Machiavelli did not desire primarily unity for Italy; what he wished was to rid her of the barbarian invaders. He longed for the rebirth of the old *virtù*, but his love was strongest for the small republican states of his contemporary Italy. Above unity he placed liberty; above Italy, his native Florence. His Italian patriotism was to bear no fruit; *virtù* was not to be born, corruption grew, and the Church, which Machiavelli had accused of "alone having prevented union in Italy," reasserted itself triumphantly. The star of Italy was sinking fast, the world of the Roman Empire centering around the Mediterranean was eclipsed by the new world emerging on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The Prince, liberator of Italy, was only a pious hope of the lonely patriot; the Prince, prototype of a new State, came to life immediately, and has lately grown to proportions beyond any hope of the keen political thinker.

3

Where Italy failed, France succeeded. The great Renaissance monarch Francis I (1515-1547) assembled at his court a brilliant

array of writers and artists who did much to foster an increased feeling of pride in the political and cultural achievements of the kingdom. One of the court authors even went so far in his praise of the monarch as to declare that the name of the *langue françoise* was derived from the royal name François. And in truth, the reign of Francis and the whole sixteenth century were a period of great enrichment for the French language. On August 15, 1539, Francis I ordered in articles 110 and 111 of the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterets (which initiated judicial reforms) that in the future all acts and pronouncements should be written and delivered in French, which not only excluded Latin but also replaced the local dialects. The reason which he gave was the necessity of clarity, of avoiding ambiguity and uncertainty; but beyond it appeared the dimly perceived goal of a unity of law based upon the unity of language as the foundation of the unified kingdom towards which the royalty aspired.

Administration and law were not the only sources of the flowering of the French language. The new humanism brought the need of higher education for the nobility who were unable to read Latin. Louis XII's historian, Claude de Seyssel, proposed the creation of a "litterature en françois," and he himself translated Greek and Latin authors into French. The kings of France took up Seyssel's suggestion and became patrons of the new literature, perhaps spurred on by the prologue of his "Justin," in which he admonished Louis XII to follow the example of Rome. "What did the people and the princes of Rome do when they held the world empire and aspired to perpetuate and eternalize it? They found no way as sure and as certain as that of magnifying, enriching, and sublimating their Latin language, which at the beginning of the empire had been very meager and very crude, and afterwards of spreading it to the countries and provinces and peoples who had been conquered by them, together with their Roman laws embedded in their language." The advice to integrate political aspirations with cultural vitality and radiant example fell on fertile soil; the French, true heirs of the ancient Romans and Greeks in that respect, founded their hegemony in the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries on the intensity, clarity, and rationality of their civilization.

In sixteenth century France, a brilliant pleiad of writers in prose and poetry made the French language the accomplished instrument which was accepted by all of civilized Europe as the common foundation of intellectual life. "The series of prose writers from Calvin to Montaigne, of poets from Marot to Regnier, elaborated a language yielding to no modern tongue in beauty, richness, flexibility and strength, . . . the merits of which have been triumphantly indicated by the confession and the practice of all the greatest writers of modern France." ⁸ Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585) praised those who had first dared to abandon the language of the ancients in order to honor that of their own land. Geoffroy Tory of Bourges in his *Champfleury* proposed in 1529 that the French should follow the example of the Romans, who had dominated the greater part of the earth and had prospered more and obtained greater victories "par leur langue que par leur lance." He wished that the French might do the same, "non pas pour estre tyrans et roys sur tous," but to give to sciences and arts clear and adequate expression in their well ordered language; then not only the educated class but also the people would benefit from books. There was no question, he insisted, of disregarding Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, but only "de cheminer plus seurement en sa voye domestique, c'est à dire escrire en françois, comme François que nous sommes." Joachim du Bellay's audacious hope expressed in his "La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise" (1550) that the French tongue, which was starting to take root, would grow to such heights that it could equal even Greek and Latin, became true.

While Machiavelli was writing his *Prince*, the great French humanists Guillaume Budé and Claude de Seyssel produced their version of the purpose and methods of princely government, Budé in his *De l'institution du Prince* (1516), Seyssel three years later in his *La Grand' Monarchie de France* (1519). Obviously their writings expressed an entirely different spirit. Machiavelli saw around him only corruption and decay, and cast about in vain for

the savior prince; the French humanists of his time greeted a king whom they hoped to see a king-philosopher and a father of the people, as Louis XII had been called; and their writings reflected the general feeling of rise and growth which animated the French during the Renaissance.⁹ It was upon the suggestion of Budé that the Collegium Trilingue, the Collège Royal (later called Collège de France), was founded; historical research and historiography received a new stimulus, although the most popular works in the first half of the sixteenth century still adhered to the legend of the Trojan descent of the Franks.¹⁰ In spite of the hold of antiquity over the French mind, the vulgar tongue slowly established its position. Jean Bodin in his address on the instruction of youth, delivered in 1529 in Toulouse, objected to the exclusive use of Latin in the schools and proposed to use the French language for scientific instruction. Less than twenty years later Louis Le Roy first lectured in French at a university and became the first author of a treatise on metaphysics in the vulgar language.

French society underwent great changes: Francis I, the first king "du bon plaisir," was supported by the jurists of his time (who played a role similar to that of the legists under Philip the Fair) in his attempt at centralization and autocracy. Francis succeeded in destroying the two pillars of medieval society—the feudal nobility and the Church; this change strengthened the power not only of the king, but also of the bourgeoisie, whose wealth was growing fast as a result of the new extension of commerce and the mobilization of riches, and who became the holders of all important offices. Yet nationalism was neither the source of inspiration nor the outcome of the consummation of this development. It did not create a stronger French nation; it tended to establish the absolute power of the king. Even for this, the foundation was not yet strong enough. Soon the monarchy and its newly won authority were engulfed in bitter religious wars, which, in spite of the efforts of a few tolerant and patriotic men, tore France into two hostile camps where religious zeal and personal ambition killed the germs of Renaissance patriotism.¹¹

Yet the Reformation contributed also to the development of the French national idea. The use of French for sermons and for

theological writings strengthened its position. The Huguenot leaders published in Switzerland books in which the sovereignty of the people as distinguished from the monarch, and the priority of the rights of the nation and the commonweal, were emphasized. But these first seeds of the theory of popular sovereignty were destroyed in France with the victory of the Catholic monarch. They were carried by Calvinism to other countries, to Holland, England, and New England, whence they were to return as full-grown plants to the France of the eighteenth century. Out of the religious wars in France the absolute monarchy, not popular rights, emerged victorious. Among the ruins of incessant religious strife a free spirit like Jean Bodin developed the theory of state sovereignty to found society on a firm secular basis. He was conscious of a new suprareligious unity of mankind to which the Indians of America and the natives of India belonged, a *respublica mundana* or *république universelle de ce monde* different from the medieval Christian Empire, which had not been truly universal. In the *Colloquium heptaplomeres* (1588), he showed himself conscious of the relativity of all religions; in his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1566), he represented the new forward-looking and optimistic universalism of the later Renaissance. But in the midst of religious strife and the conflicts of medieval communes and feudal rights, he recognized the necessity for a supreme territorial authority. When, at the beginning of the seventeenth century,¹² economic collapse and the general despair rendered the desire for internal peace irresistible, the power which emerged, unified administration, and restored prosperity was not the nation but the absolute monarchy, which now became the fountainhead of all political, religious, and cultural life.

4

In many ways the development in Germany was different from that in France, England, and Spain. In these countries the Renaissance period witnessed the emergence of strong states which outgrew the vagueness, and shapeless universalism, of the Middle Ages and became the determining elements in the formation of the

future modern nation. In Germany the Empire never abandoned the ancient earth-encircling claim, though this had no more substance than a shadow; it remained the hierarchical top of a feudal structure to which passed more and more of the real power as the feudal magnates of the Empire (but not the Empire itself) assimilated their administration to the example set by the new centralized states of the West. As the lifeblood grew thinner in the center, it began to flow more richly through the arteries and capillaries; but there were no veins to carry the blood back to the center, which grew more and more anemic.

Maximilian of Habsburg (1493-1550) hoped to revive the Empire's world claim and its internal structure; but, like all other princes of the Reich, he was more interested in his own dynastic territory than in a reform of the shapeless Empire inherited from the Middle Ages. As a nation the Germans continued in modern times to live in the Roman imperial idea, to regard themselves as the bearers of the universal empire, forever closely connected with the German nation. In the latter half of the fifteenth century this association of the Holy Roman Empire with the German nation became manifested in the new title of *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation*,¹⁸ which expressed the Empire's reduction to German lands but recalled that the universal empire everywhere, at least by right, belonged to the German nation, even if the actual possession was in abeyance.

Yet the foundations of imperial power dwindled; the Germans found themselves harassed by the growing strength of their neighbors. In the east the Poles and the Czechs regained territory, and the Turks were threatening to penetrate deep into German lands; in the south the German control of Italy, the dream of medieval emperors, was gone; in the west the French, after having defeated the English, were able to turn their attention eastward to the Rhine, and the Lotharingian bishoprics, fiefs of the Reich, passed under French domination. This political pressure was aggravated by the economic decay following the shift of trade routes. The great cities north of the Alpine passes and the Hansa lost their importance. While the Renaissance in Italy, France, and Great Britain saw a remarkable growth of cities and of their political

influence, Germany after the fifteenth century presented in its social structure a picture completely at variance with that of Western Europe. The rapid commercial and cultural rise of Italian cities left its impress on the Italian Renaissance; in France the Third Estate, in alliance with the monarchy, weakened the position of the aristocracy; in England the cities allied themselves with the aristocracy to limit the royal power, and were used likewise by the royal power to establish its control and ascendancy over the unruly aristocracy. In Germany the cities decayed in wealth and influence; politically they, like the Empire, lost their strength to the feudal aristocracy. While modern capitalism began to mold western social and political life, leading German spokesmen—Luther as well as Ulrich von Hutten—repudiated the penetration of modern capitalistic forms. They kept alive the medieval distrust of commerce and the trading class, and they clung to the antiquated feudal order, in the midst of economic changes. For them the differences of the economic order became, characteristically, moral issues; the backward agrarian regime which they wished to preserve in Germany was regarded as ethically sound and therefore typically German, the new commercial capitalism seemed wicked and therefore expressed the innate moral shortcomings of the Italians and the French.¹⁴

This social differentiation between Germany and the West was paralleled in the development of the Reformation in Germany under Luther as compared to that in Switzerland and the West under Zwingli and Calvin. Lutheranism found its chief support among the princes and the nobility to whom Luther turned for help, Calvinism among the trading middle classes, the urban artisans and intelligentsia, in line with the social structure of Geneva and Zurich. Originally Protestantism derived from the springs which had nourished the medieval Catholic world; it tried to find a new answer to the old problems, it did not wish to destroy the medieval world but to fulfill it. But from a common starting point Luther and Calvin directed the Reformation into different paths. The intellectual, moral, and social movements which sprang from the soil prepared by the teachings and the leadership of the two great Reformers went far beyond their doctrines and intentions. Luther-

anism had the most profound influence upon the social and intellectual development of Germany, especially of Prussia; Calvinism, upon the national character and history of Switzerland, Holland, and the Anglo-Saxon countries, and finally, though indirectly, upon the French Revolution.

Luther's attitude of passivity towards political and social questions led him to an acquiescence in and affirmation of the existing order. "Denke niemand, dass er die Welt ändern könnte. Sie ist immer gleich böse gewesen." (Nobody should think he could change the world, which has always been evil.) Salvation, the central problem for him, was strictly an individual concern which could be solved only by faith. Christ cared for souls, not for the social order. "Christus non curat politiam aut oeconomiam, sed rex est ad destruendum Diaboli regnum et ad salvandos homines." While the Catholic Church had always wished to improve state and society and to bring them nearer to God, Luther taught men that only their inner life and their faith mattered. They should not try to change the political or social order—that was God's concern alone. In their outward life they had to accept the existing order and obey the princes and magistrates. The state was evil, but a necessary evil, coercing sinful men, poena peccati and remedium peccati. It cannot be judged by natural morality, its order is obeying its own laws. The state was here—as in Machiavellian teachings, and out of a similar pessimism—declared autonomous and outside general morality. Luther violently opposed Zwingli, the Anabaptists, and the peasants, for in all of them he saw the work of the devil. God, and God alone, was for him a firm foundation in a world full of devils. Thus Lutheranism with its political apathy and its fundamental conservatism became the mainstay of the existing order, of the princes and all the privileged classes, and gave them the right to demand passive obedience.¹⁵

Calvinism developed in a different atmosphere. In his *Institutes of Christianity*, Calvin emphasized the fact that "in that obedience which we hold to be due to the commands of rulers we must . . . be particularly careful that it is not incompatible with obedience to Him to whose will the wishes of all kings should be subject. . . . We are subject to men who rule over us, but subject only in the

Lord. If they command anything against Him let us not pay the least heed to it." ¹⁶ In Calvin's theocratic republic State and Church formed two aspects of one community; in both of them the glory belonged to God alone, both were essential. Secular work could thereby gain the importance of a divine vocation. As the social and political order appeared closely related to the divine and spiritual, and historical life was viewed as a progress to God and perfection, Calvin rejected the separation of public and personal morals. He was deeply imbued with the example of the people of Israel presented in the Old Testament. The people and the *polis* took on a profound religious significance, the people had to be a "people saint," the State a "christiana politia." "The political order and the law of the Children of Israel appeared as so excelling, that a Solon or Plato, or even an angel, could not have imagined them." ¹⁷

Zwingli and Calvin were far removed from any concept of modern democracy. For them magistrates remained instituted by God. But in the freer atmosphere of Switzerland with its traditional liberties the following generation soon established the right of the people to insist upon a government conforming to the law of God. Zwingli's successor in Zürich, Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575), proclaimed in his sermons the right of resistance and revolt against tyranny and bad government. Calvin's successor in Geneva, Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605), insisted in his *Du droit des magistrats sur leurs sujets* that the commonweal and the rights of the nation were superior to those of the sovereign, and that a justified armed resistance was in no way contrary to Christian patience. "Les peuples auxquels Dieu a plu de se laisser gouverner ou par un prince ou par quelques seigneurs choisis, sont plus anciens que leurs magistrats, et, par conséquent, le peuple n'est pas créé pour les magistrats, mais au contraire les magistrats pour le peuple." This insistence upon the sovereignty of the people, whose original covenant with God was prior and superior to the covenant between the people and its magistrates, was emphasized by the practical example of Swiss democracy. Josias Simmler of Zurich published in 1576 his volumes *De Republica Helvetiorum*, a popular presentation of Swiss history and public law, intended for foreign readers and very widely distributed and translated. With great patriotic ardor,

using the uncritical humanist histories of Switzerland by Johannes Stumpf and Aegidius Tschudi, proud of the free institutions and the military virtues of the Swiss people, Simmler tried to prove that republics could be as good as the best monarchies, and that a citizenship united by a free covenant could create a strong state. The political implications of Calvin's theocracy and the example of Swiss liberties lived on among the Calvinists in Holland and England and gave birth to the free-church movement of the Anglo-Saxons. The differences between Wittenberg and Geneva widened, in their consequences, the estrangement between Germany and the West which had begun during the Renaissance.

5

The imperial idea dominated the German humanists. In the center of their thought stood the universal mission of the emperor, the Electors representing the whole of Christianity rather than only the German people. Sebastian Brant in his *Narrenschiff* (1494) and Hans Sachs forty years later in his *Histori: das römisch Reich* both stressed the universality of the Empire and its identity with the Roman Empire from Romulus to Charlemagne. The patriotism of the German humanists remained shapeless, extravagant, and fantastic, pursuing the empty dream of world domination. Many humanists saw in Maximilian a new Charlemagne who would restore a glorious empire as the center of mankind; they propagated a strong foreign policy to reassert the Empire's claim in Italy and in the West. Their hostility aimed equally at Rome (the grievances against which filled the fifteenth century), at France (against which Alsatian humanists developed a typical borderland patriotism), and at the Turks (against whom a new crusade was demanded).

Fifteenth century Germany's antagonism to Rome was expressed in a letter to Aeneas Sylvius (1457) in which the chancellor of the Elector of Mainz, Martin Mayr, complained of the impoverishment of Germany by the Roman *Curia*. "A thousand cunning devices are being resorted to ingeniously for the purpose of extorting money from us barbarians. Therefore our nation, once of

such great fame, who acquired with her courage and blood the Roman Empire and was the mistress and queen of the world, has become poor and a tribute-paying maid; in this misfortune she has now for many years been complaining of this miserable lot. Now, however, our heads have awakened as it were from their slumber and are beginning to consider measures with which to check this evil. They have determined to throw off the yoke and to regain their old liberties. But the loss to the Roman Curia will not be negligible if the German princes carry out these plans."¹⁸

The incipient German nationalism, largely confined to historians and poets, got its inspiration from this struggle against Rome and the Italians. The folk songs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were much more concerned with religious than with national questions, and outside the religious sphere their interest was dynastic or personal rather than patriotic. But German humanists voiced the general sentiment of the people against the opulent life led by the Catholic clergy, apparently at the expense of the Germans. This feeling of economic exploitation was made even more bitter by the knowledge that the Italians despised the Germans and considered them an easy prey. This feeling of national humiliation drove the German humanists to delve into the past and to draw from uncritically accepted legends the comforting knowledge that the German civilization was older and better than that of the Romans, and that the Italians had no right to treat the Germans as barbarians. Their efforts were helped by Poggio Bracciolini's discovery in 1455 of the manuscript of Tacitus' *Germania*, in the monastery of Hersfeld.

Triumphantly the German humanists reconstructed an ideal German type from this book, in which Tacitus contrasted the truthfulness, freedom, and simplicity of the barbarians with the degeneracy and servility of his countrymen. The humanists were only too ready to confound the Germans of their own day with the ideal type of the past. Thus, from the testimony of a Roman himself, they could assume the permanent superiority of the German character with its deeply innate feeling for loyalty and truth. German humanistic historiography soon served the one purpose of praising the German past and German virtues at the expense of all

other nations. Among the humanists before the days of Luther some claimed even Adam as a German who spoke Alamannic, a language which must have been man's original language—for did its name not signify *all men's* language? This language would once again be restored to its dominant position and replace all others when the Germans attained world control and established the true *pax Germanica* under an emperor called Friedrich.¹⁰ The attitude towards the Roman Emperors vacillated: sometimes they were claimed as Germans, sometimes they were vilified and abused, as when Luther called Caesar "Alexander's ape who destroyed government and commonweal." Luther even broke with the theory that the present Empire was a continuation of the Roman Empire. In his *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* he emphasized the fact that the Roman Empire had long ago been destroyed by the Mohammedans, that the Donation of Constantine had been revealed as a fraud, and that therefore the Pope had no power to transfer the Empire from the Romans and Greeks to the Germans.

When the humanist poet Heinrich Bebel was crowned laureate by Maximilian at Innsbruck in 1501, he claimed in his address that the Germans had conquered practically the whole earth and had subjected many people, who by now had forgotten that they had ever been anything but Germans. The superiority of the Germans could be seen clearly in the fact that whereas the great heroes of antiquity had been motivated only by their avidity for glory and power, the Germans had acted out of a desire for justice and virtue. No people on earth, he said, had contributed more to Christianity than the Germans; and it was for that reason that they had been found worthy to rule the world. More realistic in his claims than the Swabian Heinrich Bebel was the Alsatian Jakob Wimpheling (1450-1528), who wished to prove that Alsace had always been German. In a pamphlet addressed to the magistrates of Strasbourg he reiterated with great emphasis the claim that Charlemagne had been a German ruling over the French (whereas no Frenchman had ever ruled in Germany), and that his blood still flowed in the veins of some leading German princely houses, while it had long ago become extinct in France. "It must be known that the Germans

are different from the true Frenchmen by the color of their hair, their face, their tongue, their character and customs. Also the Germans are in the habit of winning their victories by the physical honesty of their men whereas the French win only by the quantity of their man power."

The most interesting and fertile mind of this generation of humanists was Konrad Celtes (1459-1508). He knew all the German lands intimately from many years of wandering, he bewailed the loss of Italy and France as much as that of Poland and Transylvania, and he regretted the fact that the mouths of the German rivers had fallen into foreign hands. He hoped that the day would soon come when German students would no longer have to cross the Alps to study in Italy, when Italians would flock to the new universities north of the Alps and recognize the superiority of German poetry. He translated the *Germania* of Tacitus into German, and was indefatigably on the lookout for old manuscripts and new discoveries in the field of German antiquities. He derived the word *Germanus* from the Latin adjective for "fraternal." By that etymology he proved the high moral standards of the ancient Germans who had been called *Germani* by the Romans because they lived fraternally together, "quod fratrum solebant inter se vivere more." He hoped to write a German *Aeneid* and an imitation of the *Italia Illustrata* for Germany, an attempt undertaken without success by many of the leading German humanists.

The nationalism of the German Renaissance literati deepened the historical consciousness of the Germans, though in an uncritical and unscientific way, and constructed for them a glorious past not only independent of Christianity and the Romans, but superior to them and more ancient. The antiquity of the Germanic tribes, their victorious peregrinations and migrations throughout the world, were discovered and fantastically embellished. The claim to dominion was supported ethically as well as historically. The equation of German and good, of alien and evil, led necessarily to a nationalistic exuberance which thrived in the amorphous state of German politics; in the ill defined political reality, which seemed to open up historically limitless horizons, national state and world empire merged. Thus, the German Renaissance nationalism re-

mained impractical in the field of politics and social organization, and entirely nonpolitical in reality. The period of its influence was too short to develop any central idea or social nucleus around which the nation could have been integrated in its growth; it helped to prepare the soil for the Reformation, but that new emphasis upon faith and upon Christianity stifled the incipient nationalism which was to come to life again only three centuries later, in German Romanticism.

6

For a short moment it seemed as if Luther and the Reformation might express and integrate the vague and bewildered aspirations of the German people. When Luther stepped forth in 1517 he acted solely out of his individual religious experience. His courageous fight against the sale of indulgences, his passionate and powerful words, made him appear as the longed-for reformer who would regenerate the people and the Empire, and help them find an answer to the crying needs of a troubled period. The response of the people, their readiness for reform, carried Luther for a while into the center of social and national hopes. At the Diet of Worms he was a national figure, the embodiment of the hopes for a new powerful Empire, for the cure of misery and social injustice, and for a general reformation of the Church and the faith. He seemed to lead the struggle against all the evils which had beset the German people for the past century, and which had found their expression in perplexed writings, in deepened piety and in social unrest. In his *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* Luther voiced the feelings of the Germans of his time. "What has brought us Germans to such a pass that we have to suffer this robbery and this destruction of our property by the Pope? If the kingdom of France has resisted it, why do we Germans suffer ourselves to be fooled and deceived? . . . Do we still wonder why princes, noblemen, cities, foundations, convents, and people grow poor? We should rather wonder that we have anything left to eat." ²⁰

The hopes set upon Luther soon proved vain. Luther disassociated his Protestantism from the Empire and from the battle against

the social iniquities of the time; instead, Protestantism supported the local princely powers and the established order of class and caste. Very soon the concern of the Lutherans for national matters ceased entirely, and their only problem was the religious struggle against the Antichrist in Rome, a struggle not confined within any national or political frontiers.²¹ The connection of Lutheranism with the rise of nationalism in Germany is slight. Luther's translation of the Bible had a great, though indirect, influence upon the growth of a German national consciousness, as advancing Protestantism everywhere, with its emphasis on Bible and sermon, helped to consolidate the vernacular languages and to lend them a new dignity.²² Latin was dethroned at the very moment when, in an unprecedented way, it had started to become the universal language for a growing class of educated men, when it was restored to classical purity and was no longer propagated by the Church alone but by the educated lay class as well.

In this situation it was certainly of importance that Protestant translations of the Bible and Protestant sermons created for European peoples a new literature accessible to the common man, a unified literary language, and thereby a strong tie which could serve as a foundation for the later growth of nationalism. But the Protestant Bibles and prayer books were not motivated by a national spirit; they were intended to serve religious ends. In several cases the Protestant nobility in a country sponsored the translation of the Bible into the vernacular of an alien subject race in order to spread the Gospel among them, and only a long time afterwards was the national revolt of the subject race seen as an unexpected and distant consequence of these translations, which through a strange shift of circumstances became one of the many factors in the composite and complex process of the growth of nationalism.

Luther necessarily disappointed those Germans who had seen in him an ally in their own vague fight for a German nationalism. The only one among them who became an untiring apostle and agitator for a new national consciousness was Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523).²³ This wandering scholar and knight spent his life in a brief fervent effort, but he had as small a following in his own country as did Machiavelli in Italy. His call died away unheard.

Erbarmt euch übers Vaterland,
Ihr werten Teutschen, regt die Hand.
Jetzt ist die Zeit, zu heben an
Um Freiheit kriegen, Gott will's han.

But the thoughts of this solitary poet and pamphleteer contained many of the germs which were later to grow into the foundations of German nationalism.

Though similar in their positions as lonely forerunners of the later nationalism of their peoples, Machiavelli and Hutten represented two different types. Machiavelli was a burgher of one of the most developed and progressive communities of the time: Hutten was one of the last knights, a member of a dying class whose ideals of the past he shared and extolled. Machiavelli was one of the clearest thinkers of his time, a keen rationalist, a statesman well experienced in the handling of affairs and men: Hutten was a poet and an enthusiast, an agitator emotional in his appeal. Machiavelli had thrown off completely the spell of the medieval conception of Empire and Church, his mind was entirely secular: Hutten continued to live in a fantastic medieval world of Empire and Church; the ideals of medieval piety were so strong in him that he wished at one time to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and he could say, "As Christ is the Lord of Heaven, so is the German Emperor the Lord of the Earth."

Hutten needed the imperial idea to legitimate the imperial power, "but he saw the Empire also in a new light. The Emperor was the embodiment of the virtues of the German people. He was indeed the heir of the Roman Empire, but also of the imposing German legacy reaching from the victories of the Cimbri and the Teutons, from the wars of Arminius through the times of the Carolingians and Ottos until now."²⁴ Hutten accepted the vague imperialist dreams of the German humanists and the new half-legendary background of antiquity upon which they had founded the German claim to dominion and to moral superiority. Hutten knitted the past and the present into a closer historical and moral unity than any of his predecessors had done. He discovered Arminius as a symbol of this unity and made him the hero and patron of German

nationalism. On his journey to Italy, from which he returned firm in his aversion for the Italians, he became acquainted with the newly published *Annals* of Tacitus, in which he found the story of Arminius and his victory over the Romans. From then on, Arminius became for him not only a personal hero with whom he wished to identify his own life and destiny, but also the embodiment of the moral virtues and the political struggle of the whole German people throughout history.

In imitation of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, Hutten published several "conversations," the last of which extolled Arminius as the *Brutus Germanicus*, the fighter against tyranny for liberty, the *Cheruscus liberrimus, invictissimus et Germanissimus*. In the dialogue the "most German hero" claimed preeminence over the three greatest heroes of antiquity—Alexander, Scipio, and Hannibal. His claim was recognized; but Minos, the judge of the Underworld, having already given the leading place to the three heroes, could not reverse his judgment. Therefore he accorded to Arminius the first rank among the liberators of the fatherland, above the two Brutuses—for, fighting Rome with all means at his disposal, including cunning and duplicity, Arminius had vindicated the right of the fatherland against the most unjust tyrants.²⁸ Liberty gained a new meaning with Hutten. It was not, as with Luther, the liberty of the Christian, nor, as with the Germans traditionally, the liberties of the Estates, classes, and orders within the Empire; it was national liberty, the liberty of the Germans against Rome, against "alien" oppression—an oppression felt with particular bitterness because throughout this struggle the oppressors, an effeminate and cowardly people, seemed morally inferior to the Germans:

Ein weibisch volck, ein weyche schar,
On hertz, on mut, on tugent gar,
Der keiner hatt gestritten nye,
Von kryegen weissz nit was, noch wie,
Da seind wir uberstritten von.
Im'hertzen thut mir wee der hon.²⁹

Hutten integrated the German economic, religious, and political struggle against Rome into a powerful appeal to German national-

ism. The struggle was to him not an accident, it was the substance and meaning of all German history, not only political but ideological—liberty against tyranny, virtue and truth against moral weakness and falsehood. But Ulrich von Hutten found no active support in his generation: Maximilian, Charles V, and Luther, all failed him. In 1521 he addressed Charles V in a furious outcry, full of national pride and personal despair: "For why should Germany have merited to perish with thee instead of for thee? Lead us rather into open danger, into war, into conflagrations; let all nations conspire against us, let all people bear down upon us, let us be harassed by the weapons of all, so that we may be allowed to try out our virility in the danger rather than succumb and serve so humbly, so unmanly, without struggle and bloodshed, like women." And in Luther he realized a difference of approach.²⁷ "Mea humana sunt, tu perfectior iam totus ex divinis dependis." When Hutten reached the end of his brief life he had learned that neither the two great medieval forces, imperialism and religion, nor the German princes, Estates, and people comprehended his new nationalism. "Allein ich alles hab gethan dem vatterland zu nutz und gut." His efforts ended in dismal failure: yet the character of his German nationalism contributed to the shaping of its future course.

7

At the very time that the Renaissance and the Reformation laid the foundations of religious and national pluralism, Charles V reasserted, in a last great effort, the medieval tradition of religious and political universalism. A new imperial power, no longer centered in Germany, but in Spain, attempted to adapt itself to the new conditions of an expanding world. Though the Iberian Peninsula, like its Eurasian counterparts, the Russian plain and the Balkans, preserved the traits of the Middle Ages longer than any other area in Europe, it was the gate through which medieval Europe, confined to the Mediterranean and its trade routes, passed into the new world and the new age that was opened up by the Iberian discovery of the oceans. This borderland, separated from Europe by the mountain barrier of the Pyrenees, linked to Africa by cul-

tural and political ties, this meeting place of two civilizations and two worlds, now became the starting place for a third world. During the course of a short century the three newly discovered oceans—the Atlantic, the Indian, and the Pacific—lapped the shores of four continents which had their focus in the Iberian Peninsula. The year 1492 inaugurated a period of unprecedented splendor, of unbelievable greatness. Charles V ruled over an empire infinitely greater and more fabulous than the Roman Empire had ever been. In the sixteenth century, the golden century of Spanish history, Spain not only held the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire; she ruled the Netherlands and Burgundy, Italy and Portugal, and a vast dominion beyond the seas. Her troops sacked Rome in 1527; and in 1571 her fleet defeated the enemy with whom Christianity had for more than nine hundred years contested the control of the Mediterranean. Spain seemed destined, as no nation before her, to a universal mission.

But the mission which the new conquests and the ambitions of Charles V imposed upon Spain was far beyond her real strength and resources. Although the Iberian Peninsula was a well defined natural unit it had never reached the stage of national integration. The orographic and climatic conditions of the land, the character of its inhabitants, the inveterate traditions of its provinces, resulted in diversity and strife rather than in a common effort. After one century of world domination the land remained poor, its inhabitants impervious to the possibilities of new standards of production, the reality of their daily life mean and sordid. An escape from these conditions seemed to lead only into romantic adventure, mysticism, and dreams. The high-soaring imperialism of Charles V could strike no firm roots in the soil of Spain.

Destiny seemed to have singled him out as the last militant champion of medieval universalism. All its great traditions converged in his birth and growth. His great-grandfather Charles the Bold of Burgundy, whose name he bore, had planned to re-create the Lotharingian Empire of the Carolingians from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. His grandfather Maximilian, from whom he inherited the lands of the Habsburgs and the imperial crown, had been the "last knight" and the last hope of an imperial renaissance.²⁸

The grandparents of Charles V on his mother's side had unified Spain and had left it and the New World to him as a legacy. He grew up in the Netherlands, then the richest and most progressive part of Europe, in contact with the world of letters and the spirit of humanism. His first tutor was an Italian, Mercurino Gattinara, whose ideas had been formed by Dante's *De Monarchia*, and who expected from Charles V the realization of the hope of a universal monarchy. As a boy of sixteen he became King of Spain in 1516. Three years later Ferdinand Magellan, in the service of Charles, set out on the first circumnavigation of the globe, and Charles himself was elected Holy Roman Emperor. Immediately he was forced to take up the issue that dominated his life, the unity of Christendom and Empire. He wished to defend their security against the Turks—he had to defend their existence against Luther. Just as Maximilian had been called the last knight, so one might call Charles V the last Catholic Emperor. He made Spain the crusader for the Catholic idea.

The means used by Charles V to vitalize the medieval imperial idea were characteristic of the new age of royal power and dynastic statism. His imperial vision rested upon dynastic foundations—the road mapped out by his grandfather Maximilian. In pursuance of this policy he married his son Philip to the Queen of England; and if a son had been born into this wedlock the Habsburgs would have concentrated more power in their hands than any royal house in history. This dynastic imperialism, medieval in its dream, modern in its reality, was resisted by the leading Catholic princes of the time. In his fight against Charles V, Francis I of France, who even allied himself with the Turks against the Christian Empire, represented the nascent idea of a national state. The Pope, a territorial prince of the Renaissance, interested in the furtherance of his own dynastic aims, took up arms against the imperial champion of the Catholic faith. The brunt of the new Habsburg imperialism was carried by Spain, the heart of the Empire, "the foundation, protection, and strength of all the others."

The imperial idea could rest in Spain upon a long tradition. Spaniards proudly reminded themselves that some of the greatest Roman emperors had been Spaniards. Whereas other nations had

sent tribute to Rome, Spain had provided the imperial city with rulers like Trajan, Hadrian, and Theodosius the Great. In Spain alone, at the end of the fifteenth century, the crusading spirit, after eight centuries, had not only survived but grown in fervor. In 1492 the long period of the *reconquista* of Spain from the Mohammedans, who had planted their banner on Iberian soil in 711, came to an end with the recovery of the last Moslem stronghold in Western Europe. In the same year Columbus sailed westward in a crusading spirit. In the sixteenth century Spain, isolated from Europe up to that time and turned against Islam, was drawn into European politics. She became their center, and at the same time the center of an effort to spread throughout Europe and the New World the crusade against infidels and heretics. In that glorious century Spain, the seat of great learning and great art, had an invincible infantry and a navy that ruled the seas, and was not only the world center of power but also the heart of Christianity.

Out of a struggle of seven centuries arose the world empire of the *Hispanidad* on which the sun never set. Even from the beginning the imperial title had not been unknown to medieval Spain. In the northwestern corner of the Peninsula, Alfonso III (866-910) of León called himself *magnus imperator*; and his successors claimed the titles of *imperator legionensis* and *magnus basileus*. In the twelfth century Castile had been joined with León, and her kings (down to Alfonso VII, the last who was expressly crowned emperor of León in 1135) claimed to be *imperatores super omnes Hispaniae nationes*.²⁰ By that time Portugal, separating from León in 1095, had grown into an independent county, and in the east, near the Basque kingdom of Navarra, the kingdom of Aragon on the Ebro had united with Catalonia, the old Spanish March of Charlemagne. Castile, Aragon, and Portugal determined the history of the Iberian Peninsula in the later Middle Ages and carried the crusade against the Moors to a successful conclusion.

The *reconquista* had been a slow process. In the early Middle Ages, Christians and Mohammedans had lived together in the Iberian Peninsula with no feeling of hatred or hostility. For more than three centuries the Mohammedans, who had occupied all the fertile lands, were infinitely superior, not only politically but in-

tellectually. Islamic Cordova was the economic and political (as well as cultural) center of the whole peninsula. As allies or vassals of Mohammedan princes, Christian princes fought indiscriminately against other Christians or other Mohammedans. The national hero of Spain, Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar (c. 1035-1099), whose honorary title "the Cid" is derived from the Arabic *Sidi*, or My Lord, fought frequently in the service of Mohammedan princes; and the legend glorifies his victories indiscriminately—both over Christians and over Mohammedans. He was the expression not of a national ideal but of the ideal of chivalry which united Mohammedan and Christian knights alike. His cultural life was deeply colored by Islam and its rational civilization.⁸⁰ The crusading spirit grew into its own only in the later Middle Ages—and then it drew its strength from the severe and barren plateau of Castile. Whereas Aragon had become a great center of learning in constant intercourse with France and Italy, Castile, inaccessible within its mountain barriers, was shut off from Europe, hostile to foreign influences, withdrawn into itself. Barcelona blossomed as the seat of an early Renaissance civilization; the kings of the Aragonian dynasty ruled in Sicily and Naples; Aragon and Catalonia were a Mediterranean power. But the nobility of Castile were attracted by the wealth of the southern provinces of Spain, by the higher civilization of the flourishing plains tilled and ruled by the Moors. Castile and Aragon were different in tradition, history, and spirit. Even the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469 failed to produce more than a purely dynastic tie between the two countries. Yet the two Catholic monarchs were able in 1492 to bring the age of the *reconquista* to a close, and in the same year to start the *conquistadores* off upon their new crusades.

But Spain was no unit. The kingdoms and provinces remained isolated in their historical traditions and geographic fastness. Nor was there any religious unity in the peninsula. In many sections the Catholics were outnumbered by Mohammedans and Jews, and the Islamic and Hebrew civilizations continued to exercise a great attraction, especially upon the nobility, who now mixed as freely with the Jews as formerly with the Moors. There were few families

of the aristocracy and few high dignitaries of the Church in whose veins there did not flow some Jewish or Moorish blood. This religious disunity stood in the way of the growth of national unity. The obstacles to cultural and political amalgamation were greater in Spain, in an age when religion was the determining factor, than in any other country. Soon, with Lutheran propaganda rapidly winning converts and the Moors plotting with their brethren in faith in Northern Africa and Turkey for the reconstitution of Islamic Spain, all chances for integration seemed lost. Under these circumstances the royal power began the battle for the unity of faith and the purity of blood—the *limpieza de sangre*—which was to integrate the Spanish nation around the throne and the Church.

The Catholic Majesties instituted the Holy Inquisition in 1478 as an instrument with which to forge the unity of the State, to break the independence of the nobility and the clergy and to weed out all heresy. The Inquisition fought Mohammedans and Jews as enemies of the faith, who hindered the unification of the nation. It was an instrument of religious reformation, created to combat laxity of faith and life; out of its flames arose the burning and austere zeal of the Spanish Counter-Reformation. Admission to high office and to the military orders was made dependent upon proof of purity of blood over at least four generations. The Popes opposed this demand, but they were impotent against the Inquisition. Later on, the Inquisition persecuted Lutherans, humanists, followers of Erasmus, and heretic mystics. Disregarding old and recognized privileges of provinces and classes, it established a unity of jurisdiction for the whole territory of Spain. Through the immense fines and property confiscations which it imposed, it augmented the royal treasury and forced the rebellious spirit of the nobles into submission. Here we find the spirit of *cuius regio illius religio*, of *un roi, une loi, une foi* fully at work. It helped to identify State and Church and tried to forge a unity of faith, life, and loyalty, out of the vastly different traditions, religions, and races of Spain. And it used a method which "doomed the Spanish people to two centuries of vicious progress on a false path, and, by affording them a unity which in the nature of things could not be per-

manent, enabled them to impose themselves upon the world to an extent out of all proportion to their capacity, resources, and real strength."⁸¹

On this foundation was built the Golden Century of Spain. State and Church had been welded into the closest unity, but the integration of the nation had not been achieved. The Catholic Majesties could identify their rule "at the very outset with the advancement of the Faith, and with the successful completion of the national task,"⁸² but they could not fuse the different administrations of the provinces. The Church alone became a truly national institution, almost independent of the Pope, jealous of its prerogatives and autonomy as against the Holy See; yet it was at the same time universal and filled with a missionary zeal. Under Philip II the Church became the *raison d'état* of the Spanish State and the foundation of its world-embracing imperialism.⁸³ The Spaniards of the sixteenth century were, in their own eyes, of a unique purity and nobility of faith and blood, world conquerors and warriors for the one true universal religion. The conqueror remained the crusader. The religious and the national ideal fused, but the national ideal was imperial, while the religious ideal was universal.

The Catholic Majesties and the Inquisition did not succeed in integrating Spain. They left the country "a congeries of separate states, differing from one another in race, in traditions, in language, and in government, and bound together solely by the fact that they possessed a common kingship—a loose-jointed, heterogeneous empire, the fundamental principle of whose administration was that of decentralized despotism."⁸⁴ The New World had been conquered for Castile and León, the Aragonese had no part in it. It was not till the year 1596 that identical privileges for emigration to the Americas were extended to all the inhabitants of Spain, including the Aragonese. Philip II, in an effort to carry the centralization and unification of Spain further, chose a new capital in the center of the country—a town void of any historical or cultural tradition, situated in the midst of a barren and treeless plateau suffering from oppressive heat and fiery dust storms in summer and icy northern gales in winter. After 1560 Madrid was the "only court" in Spain.

Philip II's century was not only the century of Spanish world

power but also that of Spanish learning and arts. A new national pride filled the heart of the Spaniard. Castilian, the language of the court and of great literary works, became the official language of the country and gained supremacy over the other regional tongues. In his address on reform of education, Simon Abril suggested to Philip II that the physicians should use "clear Castilian instead of an obscure and barbarous Latin," and that civil law should be expressed "en lengua común y popular." The glory of the Spanish language spread throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, "partly by fugitive Spanish Jews who tenaciously retained their Castilian for generations and centuries."³³ Leading humanists and churchmen like Luis de León (1527-1591) ennobled the vernacular by using it in their theological writings and in their verse. León sounds the new pride in the national language in the Preface to the first part of his *De los nombres de Cristo*, when he exhorts all *buenos ingenios* to write "en nuestra lengua, para el uso común de todos." Generally Luis de León may be said to voice the sentiment of his time. "If we examine the whole history of the past, we will find nothing greater or more unexpected than that which happened in the time of our fathers, when the Spanish, crossing the vast deep, discovered a new world, not smaller, perhaps much larger, than the Empire of Rome." He found the new epoch prophesied in the Bible and very ingeniously proved that the Spaniards were a predestined people, "although whether it is to be envied or pitied on that account would be no easy matter to decide."³⁴

The Spain of the Golden Century was the home of the religious fervor and the militant passion of the struggle against the Protestant Revolution. The conflict demanded a ruthless insistence upon unquestioned unity, a horror of the slightest contamination by the new ideas, a rigidity against any concession which might undermine the whole structure. The Society of Jesus was nurtured by the spirit of Spain. Under Charles V, Spain had participated, for a short while, in the open spaces of the world; under Philip II she withdrew again, distrustful of all foreign influences, all contact with new ideas. The currents of European thought and social development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries hardly crossed

the Pyrenees; sheltered by this unsurmountable barrier, a new scholasticism was revived. After a short glorious period of world leadership, Spain ceased to be of Europe intellectually and economically. Though she had been, after France, the first state in Europe to lay the foundations of nationhood and national unification, she was unable to enter modern nationhood in the eighteenth century.

For the wave of national pride, the consciousness of a national mission which spread over Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had nothing in common with modern nationalism. It did not transform the Spanish people, it did not awaken new energies in them; it gave them no new cohesion which would have enabled them to leave the Middle Ages behind and to establish the social, intellectual, and economic life of the country on new foundations. Therefore the Spaniards were incapable of maintaining the greatness which a brief century had showered upon them. Their attitude towards economic life remained medieval and Oriental. They despised manual work, trade, commerce, and agriculture. With the expulsion of the Mohammedans and Jews not only the traders but also the artisans and the peasants left the land. Nobody took their places; the Castilians looked down upon these trades as the manual work of inferior races and cursed infidels, for they considered themselves noblemen by birth and destiny. Everyone wished to be at least an *hidalgo*—an *hijo de algo*, a son of somebody. A *furor nobiliarius* had seized the Spaniards; the glory of the past filled them with conceit; for the present they lived in illusions, far from the saddening reality around them. The influence of the Church increased idleness. As early as 1570 a quarter of the adult population was clerical, and in 1626 Spain had 9,088 monasteries and innumerable nunneries. For a short time the cultural flowering of Spain went on simultaneously with her political and economic decay; but in 1621 Spain was an "exhausted, depopulated country, riddled by corruption from top to bottom, swarming with beggars and hangers-on of the court, of the nobles and of the monasteries."³⁷

The picture of desolation was further darkened by the final expulsion, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, of the descendants of baptized Moors, the number of whom amounted

probably to half a million. Under these conditions Spain was unable to fulfill the mission to which she felt herself called—to be the center of world unity and of world faith. The Spanish kings had been animated by a sincere intention of drawing the Indians, by a vast education program, into the one Catholic civilization. But this farsighted policy broke down after 1600. The royal subsidies to the Indian University in Tlaltelolco were discontinued. The vision of the equality of the Indians with Spaniards in a vast Indo-Iberian Empire faded; a period of cruel oppression began.⁹⁹ In the Americas as well as in Spain the Empire decayed.¹⁰⁰ The integration of Spain into a modern nation, the vitalization of her empire, remained a dream, and Spain relapsed into seclusion from the general current of European development. The seventeenth century no longer belonged to Spain, but to England, the country which first succeeded in welding her state and people into a modern nation. Like Spain, England had been a European borderland, backward and poor, and had been awakened only with the dawn of the Atlantic era. But whereas Spain remained impervious to the intellectual, economic, and religious revolutions, England was nourished by them and became in the seventeenth century the home from which they radiated to the New World and to the European continent.

8

The Norman Conquest created in England, in spite of its insular situation, certain difficulties in the formation of a continuous national consciousness. The amalgamation of the three main racial strains—the Celts, the Saxons, and the Normans—proceeded only slowly. The national legend of the England of King Arthur's Round Table was of Celtic origin; Richard Plantagenet Cœur de Lion, a prince who felt himself French and had no esteem for the English, became a national hero. Only in the fourteenth century did the English language gradually replace French in law courts and in official life; it was about 1450 that English became dominant in legal documents. Parliament began to hold its sessions in English in 1362, giving as the reason the fact that the French language was

little understood by the people. But French literature retained its predominant influence among the educated classes, and it could be said of Chaucer that he was "remarkable for being one of the few masters in the very front rank of our literature whose work seems almost devoid of any definite patriotic impulse."⁴⁰

Until the end of the fifteenth century poverty and backwardness drove the English armies to the rich and fertile lands across the Channel. Froissart, certainly no unfriendly observer, spoke of the English as "covetous and envious above measure of other men's wealth." England's population of somewhat more than three millions was then only half that of Spain, about a quarter of that of France, and about a fifth of that of Germany. The end of the Hundred Years War and the rise of the house of Tudor marked a milestone in the development of the English nation. The defeat of France and the withdrawal from the continent strengthened England in the long run and laid the foundations for her greatness. Protected by the wall of the sea she felt herself safe against any attack from across the Channel. Thus she could turn all her energies in an entirely new direction, towards the Atlantic Ocean. This turning point in English history coincided with the turning point of European economic and political life, when the center of the continent shifted from the Mediterranean, far away from the British Isles, to the Atlantic Ocean, beyond which new worlds of fabulous riches beckoned. Favored by these changes, England could develop earlier than any other European country certain fundamental conditions for the growth of modern nationhood and thus prepare the ground for the full development of modern nationalism in the seventeenth century.

With the absence of foreign wars and with the growing expansion of economic life, the system of classes and castes, which elsewhere continued in its rigidity and checked the growth of nationalism, broke down in England. The common discussions in Parliament about the welfare of the land as a whole promoted the growth of a national feeling. The fact that no foreign wars threatened the country removed the need of a strong centralized authority and increased the power of Parliament and of local self-government. The predominance of yeomen archers in the English

army, in contrast to the continental armies, which had the knightly cavalry as their backbone, also played a part in shifting the emphasis from feudal loyalty to a more national sentiment. The aristocracy, greatly reduced in numbers by the internal Wars of the Roses, lost much of their warrior spirit. Under the changing conditions, the new aristocracy became wealthy landowners interested in prosperity and governed by business instincts. They were not separated by insurmountable barriers from the rising Third Estate. Rich traders bought landed estates and followed the life of the nobility; younger sons of the nobility, whose only career on the continent was as officers in the army, became merchants in England. In such an atmosphere of national security, expanding wealth, and parliamentary influence, the conditions for the growth of individual liberty and respect for the processes of law, and for the security and calculability of transactions guaranteed by law, developed. Public opinion became a factor carrying weight in the decisions of those in authority; the emancipation of individuality and private initiative from the bonds of medieval tradition and feudal society coalesced with the slow growth of a feeling of self-confidence and self-reliance which became characteristic of the English in the sixteenth century.

The accession of the Tudors to power (1485) terminated the long civil wars in which the strength of the feudal barons of England had become exhausted, and laid the foundations for that homogeneity which was the necessary condition for the later development of nationalism. Henry VIII, a typical product of the Renaissance, played for English history and nationalism a role similar to that of the absolute kings on the continent; and the result of his reign was the growth of a conscious English etatism. He represented the new tendency for strong monarchy, he identified his own personal craving for power, pleasure, and wealth with the nascent national demand for greatness and growth. He destroyed, finally, the bond which tied England to medieval universalism. He accepted the title of Majesty, reserved until then for the Emperor. He established the national English Church, a Church in its beginning supported by reasons of state rather than by the life-giving forces of nationalism. He established England's and Ireland's in-

dependence from the Pope, he united Wales with England, he assumed through an act of Parliament the title of King of Ireland, and he started to build English naval might. He uprooted the last traces of feudal power in England and did much to raise the strength of the middle class and the gentry, in whom the Tudors found their support. The new wealth which began to pour into England quickened the shift in the prestige and influence of the social classes.⁴¹

In the Elizabethan period the Renaissance came to fruition in England at a time when it was already on the wane on the continent, and when the new impulses of the Reformation dominated men's minds. The growth of power and wealth, the beginning of colonial expansion, the increased literary activity, produced an intense patriotic pride, which had, however, nothing yet of the deeply rooted, ever present, and all-pervading character of modern nationalism. The Renaissance still carried on the heritage of the Middle Ages in its emphasis upon the internationality of learning, upon the one great republic of letters which was the secularized *respublica Christiana*, a feeling well expressed by Samuel Daniel (1562-1619) in his verses:

It be'ing the proportion of a happie Pen,
Not to b'inuassal'd to one Monarchie,
But dwell with all the better world of men,
Whosé spirits all are of one communitie;
Whom neither Ocean, Desarts, Rockes nor Sands
Can keepe from th'intertraffique of the minde,
But that it vents her treasure in all lands,
And doth a most secure commercement finde.⁴²

The Reformation itself preserved strong universalistic aspects. But the great cultural strides which, for the first time, England made in the last part of the sixteenth century, to catch up with the development in Italy and France, gave to the English a new feeling of importance, although for many years to come the civilization of the two continental countries remained the example and the inspiration of English intellectual life. The new pride led to a closer observa-

tion of English life, its institutions and peculiarities, its traditions and history. Therein the English writers and antiquarians followed again the general trend of the Renaissance, with its newly awakened interest in research into the national past. Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum: The Manner of Governement or Policie of the Reahne of England* (1583) clearly points out the extent to which, in the Tudor period, the king was the center of all national life. "To be short, the prince is the life, the head, and the authoritie of all thinges that be doone in the realme of England."⁴³

The splendor of the Elizabethan monarchy induced many Englishmen to stress their equality with Frenchmen and Italians, nay, even their superiority. Richard Carew (1555-1620), who had translated the first five cantos of Tasso's *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or the recouerie of Hierusalem*, wrote *An Epistle concerning the excellencies of the English tongue*, in which he claimed preeminence for the English language over all others, because it had borrowed from them all. William Camden (1551-1623), his contemporary, wrote after the example of the *Italia Illustrata* of Blondus a description of Great Britain, having traveled throughout the land. His *Britannia, sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adjacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica Descriptio* (1586) immediately became a great success, and went within a short time through several editions of the Latin original and of the English translation. This patriotic pride found its most famous expression in the last years of Elizabeth. It was then that Samuel Daniel wrote in his *Musophilus*:

And who, in time, knowes whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue, to what strange shores
This gaine of our best glory shall be sent,
T'inrich vnknowing Nations with our stores?
What worlds in th'yet vnformed Occident
May come refin'd with th'accents that are ours?

And at the same time Shakespeare praised

This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself

Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

A few years previously John Lyly in his *Euphues and His England* (1580) had expressed a feeling which was to become common in the seventeenth century: "So tender a care hath HE alwaies had of that England, as of a new Israel, HIS chosen and peculiar people."⁴⁴

In the sixteenth century the foreigners who had played a leading role in English economic and cultural life began to lose their predominance.⁴⁵ The growth of the English middle classes and English learning rendered them gradually superfluous. The new feeling of English vitality, together with the new opportunities offered to a nation on the Atlantic shore, made itself felt in the beginning of English colonial enterprise. Contrary to the suggestion of racial mysticism, the English are not a race endowed by nature for adventures on the sea. No "Viking" blood has called them to discoveries and explorations. Down to the sixteenth century the English were a purely land-bred people. The great age of exploration belonged to the Iberians; in love for the sea and boldness of enterprise, the English were then inferior to all the Mediterranean peoples and even to the French. Only slowly, in the age of Elizabeth, did the English become a great seafaring nation and build an empire based upon navy and commerce;⁴⁶ the exploits of Sir Walter Raleigh and the narrations of Richard Hakluyt spurred imagination on to domination of the seas. But it is characteristic that even at the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the greatest English poet, in the infinite variety of his human types, does not create for us a single English sailor.⁴⁷

Thus, the Tudor period laid the foundations for the growth of English nationhood. The consciousness of the English state centered around its monarch; English etatism dates back to that period. But the English people and English culture had not yet come into their own. Even in the Elizabethan period a widespread fear persisted that the English language had only a very limited future. Literary criticism remained almost completely dominated by the

classical standards of the past. There was as yet little feeling for English literature as such, and therefore great contemporary English poets were measured by universal classical standards and not recognized in their own right.⁴⁹ Shakespeare was regarded as a "popular" writer throughout his life, inferior to Ben Jonson with his superior classical training and his observance of the classical heritage. The continuing domination of classical tradition, with its emphasis on eternal rather than national literary standards, held men back—as Bacon said, "by a sort of enchantment"—from the realization of the greatness of their own achievement. Only with the beginning of the seventeenth century is a recognition of the English genius as peculiarly English expressed, and the point emphasized that rules of poetry and taste change with peoples and ages. Modern poetry may be equal or superior to classical poetry even if it varies fundamentally from the standards of the latter. Thus Samuel Daniel defended rhyme as suitable to the English language although unknown to classical poetry, and English architecture against the imitation of ancient styles. The moderns, he said, need not model themselves upon Greeks or Romans, for "we are the children of nature as well as they."

This assertion of autonomy and of the possibility of progress was best mirrored in Francis Bacon's new attitude towards science. He represented the Tudor Renaissance in its utilitarian and experimental realism, in its faith in a universal, rational morality, and in its desire for power over nature. But he went farther than his contemporaries; he first firmly proclaimed science as the foundation of man's power, "Hominis imperium sola scientia constare, tantum enim potest quantum scit." It was the new feeling of life in the rising third estate which he summed up in the famous glorification of knowledge "Scientia est potentia." He foresaw unlimited progress, "Genus humanum novis operibus et potestatibus continuo dotare"; he was filled with the consciousness of being the first to point the way to a new use of science. "Finis scientiarum a nemine adhuc bene positus est." According to Bacon the aim of science is the good of society, "the relief of man's estate." In his *Novum Organum, Containing Rules for Conducting the Understanding in the Search of Truth and Raising a Solid Structure of*

Universal Philosophy (1620), he proclaimed scientific experiments the organ for understanding the world and for interpreting nature by observation, induction and experimentation.

A comparison of Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1626) with an earlier work like More's *Utopia* (1516) reveals a significant change in the attitude towards science and its power. Bacon laid much less stress on changes in economics or politics. He regarded science as the vehicle for bringing in the millennium. All the last part of *The New Atlantis* was a glorification of scientific inventions and inventors. "The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible." This belief led inevitably to optimism, to the faith that man could learn how to command Nature in such a way as to improve upon her. It was under this inspiration that the pessimism predominant at the beginning of the seventeenth century—Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* was published in 1621—was altered. In *Novum Organum*, Bacon first analyzed the reasons for despair as generally advanced by those who were of the opinion that the ancients had done all the great things, and that nothing was left for the moderns; he then proceeded to analyze the reasons for hope, founded on his conviction that, by using the right method, man can and will command the world. Much quoted in the seventeenth century was the passage in his *Advancement of Learning*, still famous, in which he gave a new interpretation of the meaning and value of antiquity. "Surely the advice of the prophet is the true direction in this matter, 'State super vias antiquas, et videte quatenus sit via recta et bona, et ambulate in ea.' Antiquity deserveth that reverence, that men should make a stand thereupon and discover what is the best way; but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression. And to speak truly, 'Antiquitas saeculi juvenus mundi.' These times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient, and not those which we account ancient *ordine retrogrado*, by a computation backward from ourselves."⁴⁰

This confidence in the future and in the growing powers of man through science set the tone for the future. Bacon's contemporaries still believed that all great things had been done in the

past, that humanity was entering the stage of senility, and that the end of the world was approaching. On the strength of mystical calculations this event was anticipated either in 1600 or 1666. Godfrey Goodman published in London in 1616 a book called *The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature proved by the Light of our Reason*, in which he insisted that men were growing smaller, that no living generations could be compared to the giants of antiquity, that compared with the age of the patriarchs lives were getting shorter, that animals were losing the strength and size of the ancient animals, and that the heavens and the elements were wearing out. In similar vein at about the same time John Donne wrote in his *An Anatomie of the World, wherein . . . the frailty and the decay of this whole World is represented*:

So thou sicke World, mistak'st thy selfe to bee
Well, when alas, thou'rt in a Lethargie. . . .
If man were anything, he's nothing now.⁶⁰

But at the beginning of the seventeenth century new arguments began to be voiced, according to which the causes for the difference of historical periods and their attitudes were to be found, not in any essential difference between ancient and modern men, but in differences of climate, environment, and national temperament. Later generations, therefore, had no less chance of greatness than the ancients. A growing historical way of thinking, an incipient understanding of literature against its historical and social background, coalesced with the growing pride in scientific progress into a slowly crystallizing national consciousness, into an optimistic belief in man's potentialities and national achievement. Not only Bacon's but other widely read books⁶¹ supported the new confidence. The seventeenth century controversy between the ancients and moderns was fought in England less on the battlefields of *belles lettres* and aesthetic criticism (as it was in France) than in the field of experimental research and scientific progress. Thanks to this new spirit of scientific interest, the English achieved in the seventeenth century the leading position in this field, and men from all countries looked to the Royal Society of London for the Im-

proving of Natural Knowledge as the center for experimental research in Europe.

This scientific spirit pervaded also the Church of England, which, unlike the continental churches of the time, did not oppose the new science, but participated in the work of the Royal Society through the efforts of many of its clergy. The first historian of the Royal Society, himself a bishop, stressed in 1667 its universal importance.⁵² The members of the Society "openly profess, not to lay the Foundation of an English, Scotch, Irish, Popish, or Protestant Philosophy, but a Philosophy of Mankind. . . . If I could fetch my Materials whence I pleas'd, to fashion the Idea of a perfect Philosopher; he should not be all of one Clime, but have the different Excellencies of several Countries." In this universal task the English assumed undisputed leadership. Their attitude "had rous'd all our Neighbours to fix their Eyes upon England. From hence they expect the great Improvements of Knowledge will flow." Thus England "may justly lay Claim, to be the Head of a philosophical League, above all other countries in Europe. . . . If there can be a true Character given of the universal Temper of any Nation under Heaven; then certainly this must be ascrib'd to our Country-men; so that even the Position of our Climate, the Air, the Influence of the Heaven, the Composition of the English Blood; as well as the Embraces of the Ocean, seem to join with the Labours of the Royal Society, to render our Country a Land of experimental Knowledge. And it is a good Sign, that Nature will reveal more of its Secrets to the English, than to others; because it has already furnish'd them with a Genius so well proportion'd, for the receiving and retaining its Mysteries."

The idea of the superiority of the moderns thus soon merged with the superiority of the English, as leaders in the new science of which even the ancients had been ignorant. Man's trust in reason (as advanced by Descartes), in his senses and in observation (as advanced by Bacon), found its most fertile soil in England, helped by the new feeling of liberty and tolerance germinating in the seventeenth century English Revolution. Even Bishop Sprat stressed the spirit of tolerance in 1667 when he wrote his *History of the Royal Society*: "It is dishonourable, to pass a hard Censure

on the Religions of all other Countries: It concerns them, to look to the Reasonableness of their Faith; and it is sufficient for us, to be establish'd in the Truth of our own." The new premonition of the immense possibilities which were opening up for the English, and through the English for mankind, found its enthusiastic expression in John Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*—the year of wonders 1666, which, by many people on the continent, was regarded as the date set for the end of the world.

But what so long in vain, and yet unknown,
By poor mankind's benighted wit is sought,
Shall in this age to Britain first be shown,
And hence be to admiring nations taught.

Instructed ships shall sail to quick commerce,
By which remotest regions are allied;
Which makes one city of the universe,
Where some may gain, and all may be supplied.
Then we upon our globe's last verge shall go,
And view the ocean leaning on the sky:
From thence our rolling neighbours we shall know,
And on the lunar world securely pry.⁸⁸

In the seventeenth century the English were not only more engrossed in the new science than other contemporary peoples, they were also ahead of any other nation in political theory and political interest. While Italy and Spain were declining, while Germany was devastated economically and intellectually by the long-drawn horror of the Thirty Years War, and while the French nation afforded the magnificent spectacle of a stable society on a classical basis, the English people were being deeply stirred by the convulsions of the Revolution. The tendencies of a nascent nationalism which had germinated under the Tudors now broke through in a volcanic eruption. It filled the English people with a new sense that they, the common people of England, the chosen people, were the bearers of history and builders of destiny at a great turning point from which a new true Reformation was to start. For

the first time the authoritarian and aristocratic tradition on which the Church and the State had rested was challenged in the name of the liberty of man. The English Revolution was a synthesis, of far-reaching importance, of Calvinist ethics and a new optimistic humanism. Being a Calvinist revolution, the new nationalism expressed itself in an identification of the English people with the Israel of the Old Testament.

9

The Puritan Revolution, in spite of its profound national and social implications, was fundamentally a religious movement for the assertion of those tendencies of the Reformation which had been suppressed by a ruthless authoritarianism in Germany. The theocratic radicalism of Calvinism joined with the primitive democracy of the Anabaptist and spiritualist movements in a demand for the creation of a truly Christian Commonwealth, looking towards a universal Protestant polity. The primary inspiration of the Revolution was drawn from sources similar to those which, in a much earlier stage of social development, had inspired the Hussite movement. But in the far advanced stage of English social and intellectual development the religious reformation turned into a great and liberating intellectual revolution which initiated the social and political movements of the modern age. The religious enthusiasm of the Puritan Revolution blazed the trail for a new liberty.¹⁴ The feeling of a great task to be achieved was not restricted to the upper classes; it lifted the people to a new dignity. They were no longer the common people, the object of history, but the nation, the subject of history, chosen to do great things in which every one, equally and individually, was called to participate. Here we find the first example of modern nationalism, religious, political, and social at the same time, although it was not yet the secularized nationalism which arose at the end of the eighteenth century. But it was infinitely more than the etatism and patriotism of the Renaissance and of the age of absolute monarchies: a people aroused and stirred in its innermost depths, feeling

upon its shoulders the mission of history and finding a new meaning and a new luster in the word "liberty."

Some English writers of that time sought a mooring for this new liberty in the past, in the traditions of English common law as against the rigidity of Roman law, in a reassertion of the Saxon common people against the Norman conquerors who had "destroyed all English liberties." Similar tendencies were to emerge in the French Revolution. Politicians and scholars, monarchists as well as republicans, tried to justify their present position by an appeal to the past—not in what was later to become romantic nationalism, but in an effort to strengthen their claims and demands as well as to protect their vested interests by the authority of the past. The awakening common people constructed a legendary past of freedom and equality as the background for the struggle of their ancestors against their "Norman masters," and regarded the liberty of all Englishmen as historically grounded.

But far more important than this ephemeral effort at a reinterpretation of the past was the immense surge towards the future, towards a new nationalism represented at that time by the English—destined, however, for all humanity, and based ultimately on the new ideas of natural law and reason. The English Revolution, in spite of all its religious and national limitations, reached out for the new guiding stars of natural human rights common to all men as created in the image of God. The new nationalism was fundamentally liberal and universal, carrying a message for all mankind and implying (if not always granting) the liberty and equality of every individual. On the road to this universalism based upon liberty and reason, the English people were to be the leaders and teachers. They were to be an entirely new people, created out of Puritans and sectarians, out of English, Scotch, and Jews, out of all who were of the right mind, a godly people. "It is true that Cromwell and his Puritan contemporaries cherished a sort of nationalism; but the community or nation for which they cherished this feeling was a community decided not by blood but by faith. The English nation for which they were passionate was a nation by adoption and grace, after the manner of the Old Testament.

... It is a nationalism which runs easily and naturally into internationalism. . . . The chosen people of one nation, and the whole of that nation through them, have a community and a fellowship with the chosen peoples of other nations, and with other nations through them."⁵⁷

This religious nationalism was experienced by the English people as a revival of Old Testament nationalism. As the writers of the Renaissance were inspired to a new feeling of patriotism in Italy, Germany, and France by their identification with classical authors, so the English at the time of the Puritan Revolution were inspired by their self-identification with the Hebrews. But these attitudes were of fundamentally different consequence. It is sometimes difficult with Renaissance nationalism to determine whether the authors really meant or only quoted such sentiments, whether they only imitated the ancients or transformed the inspiration into a new life of their own; and this Renaissance nationalism remained confined to the small educated class who read the ancient authors, and was therefore only a passing phenomenon, quickly to be engulfed by the rising tide of the new theologizing. The English nationalism of the seventeenth century, however, became an indelible part of the minds and hearts of all Englishmen. It was not confined to the educated class, but became a bond uniting the whole people: for its vehicle was the book open and known to every Protestant. "England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible."⁵⁸

It was above all the Old Testament which inspired Cromwell and his generation. The whole thought and style of the period was deeply colored with Hebraism. The three main ideas of Hebrew nationalism dominated the consciousness of the period: the chosen people idea, the Covenant, the Messianic expectancy. They were put forward with the old religious fervor, clothed in the very words of the Old Testament; but they radiated the new light of rationalism and liberty. In the struggle of the individual conscience against absolute authority, in the spiritual as well as the political field, the fight for religious and for civil liberties coalesced into one enthusiastic effort which rooted the new liberty in the ethical ideal of prophetic religion. Like Israel in antiquity, the English

now were called to glorify God's name on earth, to achieve the final Reformation and to teach nations how to live. Cromwell was compared with Joshua, and poets like Andrew Marvell (1621-1678) and Edmund Waller (1606-1687) glorified England as the center of a new *Weltpolitik* of universal liberty:

Whether this portion of the world were rent,
By the rude ocean, from the continent,
Or thus created; it was sure designed
To be the sacred refuge of mankind.

Hither the oppressed shall henceforth resort,
Justice to crave, and succour, at your court;
And then your Highness, not for ours alone,
But for the world's protector shall be known.⁶⁷

This new liberty found its most masterly expression in Milton's writings. When he returned from Italy in 1639 "rapt in a vision of a regenerate England, he definitely conceived of himself as one on whom also a burden was laid, and looked forward, as his share in the sacred task, to the composition of a great poem that should be 'doctrinal to a nation.'"⁶⁸ This poem was never written, because Milton soon felt himself compelled into active political life, into the service of God and his nation. "I saw that a way was opening for the establishment of real liberty; that the foundation was laying for the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition; that the principles of religion, which were the first objects of our care, would exert a salutary influence on the manners and constitution of the republic."⁶⁹

Milton was a man of the Reformation, but at the same time he carried the spirit of the Renaissance forward into his century. In all his deep religiosity lies a new jubilant this-worldliness. Man and society were in the center of his concern. He asked everyone "to place . . . his private welfare and happiness in the public peace, liberty and faith." "The great and almost only commandment of the Gospel is, to command nothing against the good of man, and much more no civil command against the civil good." "The general

end of every ordinance, of every severest, divinest, even of Sabbath, is the good of man; yea, his temporal good not excluded."⁶⁰ His faith in human nature, his desire for the betterment of life, were based on his pride in man's reason, in the right of the individual conscience. He saw in Custom and Authority archenemies of himself and of humanity. His plea for the liberty of unlicensed printing in the *Areopagitica* (1644) culminated in the outcry, "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."⁶¹ In his first *Defence of the People of England, concerning their right to call to account kings and magistrates and after due conviction to depose and put them to death* (1650), he went beyond the declaration of the liberty of men to proclaim their fundamental equality. "No man who knows aught, can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself. . . . It being thus manifest that the power of Kings and Magistrates is nothing else, but what is only derivative, transferred and committed to them in trust from the People, to the Common good of them all, in whom the power yet remains fundamentally, and cannot be taken from them, without a violation of their natural birthright."

His main concern, however, remained the liberty of man, the autonomy of the rational being who is growing to full maturity and coming into his own. One may say that Milton was obsessed with the idea of liberty. It played an important part even in his poetry; and its conception deepened as the troubled years brought the recognition of the problems attendant upon it. Liberty to him was religious, political, and personal; he pleaded for liberty as the end of education, for liberty in marriage, for liberty in printing and publishing. He realized that liberty is a moral as well as an institutional problem, that its concomitant is personal responsibility: the freedom and dignity of choice puts a tremendous burden of responsibility upon man and nation for their every decision. The real mark of freedom, he thought, is Reason. Men can be free only so far as they control their lower faculties—appetites, desires, and senses—by reason. "If men within themselves would be governed by reason, and not generally give up their under-

standing to a double tyranny, of Custom from without, and blind affection within, they would discern better, what it is to favor and uphold the Tyrant of a Nation." ⁶²

Milton found this new liberty represented in the English people of his time. An immense pride in their leadership of mankind rings through his words. "Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. . . . Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of heaven, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this Nation chosen before any other, that out of her as out of Sion should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all Europe. . . . Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church, even to the reforming of Reformation itself: what does he then but reveal Himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his Englishmen; I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vast City; a City of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; . . . What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies. . . . For now the time seems come, wherein Moses the great Prophet may sit in heaven rejoicing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfilled, when not only our seventy Elders, but all the Lord's people are become Prophets." ⁶³ Thus a nation of free men has emerged, free politically as well as spiritually, without kings, aristocracy or priesthood—all of them prophets, a saintly people, a new Israel. *The government of this new commonwealth will therefore correspond to the theocracy of ancient Israel.* "But God will incline them to hearken rather with erected minds to the voice

of our Supreme Magistracy, calling us to liberty and the flourishing deeds of a reformed Commonwealth; with this hope that as God was heretofore angry with the Jews who rejected him and his form of Government to choose a King, so that he will bless us, and be propitious to us who reject a King to make him only our leader and supreme governor in the conformity as near as may be of his own ancient government; wherein we have the honour to precede other Nations who are now labouring to be our followers." ⁶⁴

Thus Milton came to identify the English people with the cause of individual liberty, freedom of conscience and the dignity of reason. In this new spirit he wished Parliament to order the whole life of the nation—a regenerated nation—from education to "the management of our public sports and festival passtimes." It was Britain's privilege to become the home of the new liberty. "Britain which was formerly styled the hot-bed of tyranny, will hereafter deserve to be celebrated for endless ages as a soil most genial to the growth of liberty." But this liberty was in no way destined for Great Britain alone. It was human liberty carrying a universal message to all nations, even beyond the bounds of Christianity. In a famous passage Milton saw the whole of mankind watching and imitating the English Revolution. "I seem to survey, as from a towering height, the far extended tracts of sea and land, and innumerable crowds of spectators, betraying in their looks the liveliest interest, and sensations the most congenial with my own. . . . Surrounded by congregated multitudes, I now imagine that, from the columns of Hercules to the Indian Ocean, I behold the nations of the earth recovering that liberty which they so long had lost; and that the people of this island . . . are disseminating the blessings of civilization and freedom among cities, kingdoms, and nations." ⁶⁵

A new age had started, England was moving in gigantic strides at the head of mankind, under the leadership of men like Cromwell and Milton himself. Milton knew Cromwell as the great leader to liberty; in spite of his enthusiastic admiration for Cromwell and his work he did not hesitate to warn him, when it appeared for a moment that Cromwell wished to make himself an autocrat, "for

such is the nature of things that he who entrenches on the liberty of others is the first to lose his own and become a slave." The hero for Milton—and herein lies the liberating importance and the generous vision of the English Revolution—was not the man radiating power, the leader to conquest and expansion. "He alone is worthy of the appellation who either does great things, or teaches how they may be done, or describes them with a suitable majesty when they have been done; but those only are great things which tend to render life more happy, which increase the innocent enjoyments and comforts of existence, or which pave the way to a state of future bliss more permanent and more pure."

No one has expressed as powerfully and faithfully as Milton the fundamental ideas of the English Revolution of the seventeenth century. The greatest English poet of the age had devoted the middle years of his life entirely to the service of the commonwealth. Unlike Cromwell, Milton survived the apparent downfall of his vision. But in the years of the Restoration he remained like Abdiel faithful to the great vision of light which he had seen, undaunted by the darkness around him,

Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
Nor number nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
Though single.

And to him as to Abdiel the proud and comforting words were spoken:

Servant of God, well done! Well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintained
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms,
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence; for this was all thy care—
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged thee perverse.

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If Milton can be regarded as representative of the ideas of the Puritan Revolution,⁶⁶ Cromwell is its incarnation. He has been called "the most typical Englishman of all time." "All the incongruities of human nature are to be traced somewhere or other in Cromwell's career. What is more remarkable is that this union of apparently contradictory forces is precisely that which is to be found in the English people, and which has made England what she is at the present day."⁶⁷ Cromwell's leadership marked the definite transition from religious medievalism to modern England, to the domination of middle-class and trade interests. His mind was a curious mixture of religious (or, more precisely, Old Testament) enthusiasm and a clear and rational discernment of the value of individual liberty. He, more than any other, awakened the consciousness of the English as the chosen people, a consciousness in which every Englishman was called to participate. Religious enthusiasm was increased by the visible blessings conferred upon England at that time: the firm establishment of the union with Scotland, the consummation of the conquest of Ireland, the expansion of the colonial empire, the increase in the power of the navy, the growth of trade and commerce. Cromwell fought for the "freedom of the individual conscience" in religious matters, for the "true freedom of the Christian man," but religious and civil liberties went hand in hand with him. Two great causes were raised by him for the first time into the clear light of history. "Liberty of conscience, and liberty of the subjects—two as glorious things to be contended for, as any God hath given us," he proclaimed in his speech before the Parliament on September 4, 1654. The "free Church" demanded a "free State"; his religious nationalism was full of modern political and social portent. His chosen people were no longer the Christians but the English, though they remained representative of the Christian and universal cause.

The cause for which he fought was indeed supranational, the ideal of what he deemed Protestantism and of the universal concern of humanity and liberty; but this cause coincided for him with the interest of the English people, who, in that hour of history,

were fighting the Lord's battles. They were fighting them, however, only so long as they remained true to His ethical teachings, a saintly people, living in the service of God and blessed by Him for their righteous life. The English people at this period of history were to Cromwell a new Israel. Again and again the words applied to them were words and images taken from the Old Testament. Cromwell's Ironsides went to battle inspired by hymns and songs from the Old Testament. A soldier's pocket Bible, printed in 1643 to show from the Holy Scriptures "the qualifications of His inner man, that is a fit Souldier to fight the Lord's battles," contained almost exclusively quotations from the Old Testament. Like the Prophets, Cromwell felt the immense gravity of the burden laid upon him and the desire to evade its heavy yoke. "I can say in the presence of God," he said a few days before his death, "in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth, I would have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertook such a government as this is." The night before his death, however, he was heard to say, "I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and His people, but my work is done."⁶⁸

With all his religious enthusiasm Cromwell foreshadowed clearly the coming secular nationalism. In 1656 he said: "That subject upon which we shall make our discourse is somewhat of very great interest and concernment, both for the glory of God, and with reference to His interest in the world. I mean His peculiar, His most peculiar interest, His Church, the Communion of the faithful Followers of Christ;—and that will not teach any of us to exclude His general interest, which is a Concernment of the Living People, not as Christians, but as human creatures, within these three Nations, and with all the dependencies thereupon." He was even more outspoken the following year when he defined "the two greatest Concernments that God hath in the world. The one that of Religion . . . the other thing cared for is the Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation. . . . If anyone whatsoever think the Interest of Christians and the Interest of the Nation inconsistent or two different things, I wish my soul may never enter into their secrets!" And three years before, in speaking of the wars and labors in

Ireland and Scotland, he proclaimed as the aim, "to put the top-stone to this work and make the nation happy."⁶⁰

Throughout his activities and wars Cromwell was always filled with a conviction that the English were entering a new and great age unparalleled by any period in the past since the days of Israel, and that they were "a people that have had a stamp upon them from God; God having, as it were, summed up all our former honor and glory in the things that are of glory to nations, in an epitomy, within these ten or twelve years last past."⁷⁰ English nationalism was born in the great decisive hour of its history by repeating the experience of the chosen people and of the Covenant. In his first speech to the Little Parliament in 1653 Cromwell told its members: "Truly God hath called you to this world by, I think, as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time. . . . Truly you are called by God as Judah was, to rule with Him, and for Him. . . . Thus God hath owned you in the eyes of the world; and thus, by coming hither, you own Him: and, as it is in Isaiah 43:21,—its an high expression; and look to your own hearts whether, now or hereafter, God shall apply it to you: 'this people,' saith God, 'I have formed for Myself, that they may show forth My praise.' I say, its a memorable passage; the Lord apply it to each of your hearts!" One year later, again before Parliament, he said that "the only parallel of God's dealing with us that I know in the world [is] Israel's bringing-out of Egypt through a wilderness, by many signs and wonders, towards a place of rest." And in 1657 he summed up yet more strongly his conviction of God's guidance. The soil of Great Britain, he said, "is furnished,—give me leave to say, for I believe it is true,—with the best People in the world. . . . And in this People, in the midst of this People, you have, what is still more precious, a People that are to God 'as the apple of His eye,'—and He says so of them, be they many, or be they few! But they are many. A People of the blessing of God; a People under His safety and protection, a People calling upon the Name of the Lord; which the Heathen do not. A People knowing God; and a People fearing God. And you have of this no parallel; no, not in all the world! You have in the midst of you glorious things. . . . You have a good Eye to watch

over you. . . . A God that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath visited these Nations with a stretched-out arm; and bore His witness against the unrighteousness and ungodliness of man, against those that would have abused such Nations. . . . He 'hath done things wonderful amongst us,' 'by terrible things in righteousness.' He hath visited us by wonderful things."⁷¹

Gesta Dei per Anglos: but in Cromwell's view England fought at the same time for human civilization and for liberty, a liberty in which everyone, even Irishmen, should share. It was this spirit which pervaded his Declaration to the People of Ireland in 1650, which he intended "for the undeceiving of deluded and seduced people." Although his lack of knowledge of Irish history and of Irish social conditions caused him to misunderstand the situation in that unhappy land, he was sincerely convinced that the English army brought to Ireland a truly human life for all. "I can give you a better reason for the army's coming over. England hath had experience of the blessing of God in prosecuting just and righteous causes, whatever the cost and hazard be. And if ever men were engaged in a righteous cause in the world, this will be scarce a second to it. . . . We come to break the power of a company of lawless rebels, who having cast off the authority of England, live as enemies to human society . . . we come (by the assistance of God) to hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English liberty in a nation where we have an undoubted right to do it;—wherein the people of Ireland (if they listen not to such seducers as you are) may equally participate in all benefits, to use liberty and fortune equally with Englishmen, if they keep out of arms."⁷²

"Liberty" in the sense of individual liberty, and "fortune" in the sense of pursuit of happiness, both based upon the civilized security of the due process of law: this, the English Revolution of the seventeenth century began to establish for England and carried as its message to other nations. The seeds of modern secular civilization were planted and nurtured in a primarily religious revolution. The Puritans occupied in it a central position similar to that of the Jacobins in the French Revolution. Like the Jacobins in France, the Puritans left indelible traces on the character of nationalism in Great Britain and even more in New England. But

the importance of the Puritan Revolution went infinitely beyond the circle of the Puritans. When the immense tension under which these crusaders for a new and more godly life labored, broke down in the fatigue and disillusionment which preceded the Restoration, contemporary observers might well have thought the Puritan enthusiasm and strife vain. But the birth of nationalism in the Puritan Revolution determined and still determines the character of English nationalism. England was the first country where a national consciousness embraced the whole people. It became so deeply ingrained in the English mind that nationalism lost its problematic character with the English. It is for this reason that English thought in the nineteenth century offered so little meditation about nationalism, its theory and implications, compared with Italian, German, or Russian thought, where the problem and the problematic character of nationalism occupied a central position.

From its origin English nationalism preserved its peculiar characteristics; it has always been, and still is, closer than any other to the religious matrix from which it rose,⁷³ and is imbued with the spirit of liberty asserted in a struggle against ecclesiastical and civil authority. It never made the complete integration of the individual into the nation the aim of nationalism; it always put a great emphasis upon the individual and upon the human community beyond all national divisions. The Calvinist awareness of the infinite value of every individual continued to protect English social organization against uniformity in civil as much as in religious matters. Religious life and sentiment in England were rarely withdrawing into the sanctuary of inner life and inner liberty. They were full of social activism, of a feeling of responsibility for the betterment of conditions in this world, conscious of the common root of religious and political liberty as the foundation for a true commonwealth. The religious and liberal character of English nationalism determined also the peculiar development of English socialism in the nineteenth century, so different from the socialist movements on the European continent. English socialism carried the deep impress of the Independentism of the seventeenth century, religious, liberal, and humanitarian, and so also did English imperialism.⁷⁴

The birth of English nationalism ⁷⁵ likewise coincided with the rise of the new middle classes. Both developments had been prepared under the Tudor monarchs, both came to their fruition in the seventeenth century. One of the factors involved in the birth of English nationalism was the rise of new social forces, the expansion of trade, the need for new social relations and their infusion with new emotions and loyalties. The new classes which came to power in the seventeenth century saw their own activities, their accumulation of wealth, their search for trade and outlets for their energy, in the light of this new nationalism. Their consciousness of the new power which accrued to them and through them to the nation, the pursuit of their own happiness and the fortunes of their nation, went hand in hand with the consciousness of a mission, of a religious and moral duty, of an obligation to mankind. The new liberalism, the new faith in man and in reason, the new confidence in the blessings of God, infused into the new acquisitiveness, into the new capitalism, not only a feeling of progress and assurance, but also (at least potentially) a dedication to the service of something higher than individual gain or national interest. Continental observers often spoke sarcastically of English worship of both God and Mammon, and suspected cant whenever the English invoked moral principles. But, as a result of the origin of English nationalism, the manifestations of the English power, even if often brutal and bent upon exploitation, have always been accompanied in the long run by a deep moral undercurrent, fundamentally Christian and liberal, which has been one of the most potent factors in shaping modern civilization, a universal message spread not only over Europe but, by means of the British Empire and its ramifications, over all mankind. English imperial politics in the nineteenth century was power politics; but, in contrast to German or Russian power politics of that period, never only power politics. It seldom wholly lost the demand for and the promise of political and intellectual liberty and equal justice under law, and in its best representatives may always be discerned traces of the Puritan Revolution's enthusiastic hope and anticipation of the establishment of a universal Kingdom of God on this earth.

The Restoration necessarily brought a temporary end to this

enthusiasm, a welcome relaxation from the strain of the revolutionary years. But in spite of all appearances to the contrary, the Puritan Revolution had not been defeated. Its essential traits, mitigated, relativized, humanized, returned with the Glorious Revolution, just as the Jacobin Revolution was revived in a sober, bourgeois way with the accession of Louis Philippe. Compared with the heroic days of the Revolution, it seemed almost an anticlimax, but it was the spirit of liberalism, rationalism, and optimism brought down from heaven to earth, from the exaltation of superhuman effort to the commonplace of everyday life. John Locke was no Cromwell or Milton, but in his *Two Treatises of Government* and in his *Letters on Toleration* he carried on their work and definitely shaped the character of English (as well as American) nationalism.

Locke had an infinitely deeper influence on English political thought than had his older contemporary Hobbes. They had much in common: a fervent rationalism, an experimental philosophy, the theory of the state as an expediency. Both had lived through the Puritan Revolution: Hobbes as a man well advanced in years, Locke in his youth. The experience of the Civil War had left upon Hobbes the desire for order to which individual freedom had to be sacrificed; he was deeply pessimistic about the nature of man, whose actions seemed to him based exclusively on fear and self-interest. His chief work (1651) derives its title, *The Leviathan*, from an Old Testament monster who, according to Hermann Gunkel, is the "personified chaos," the force which wishes to turn back the order of God's creation into chaos. On the title page of the original edition Hobbes placed the words from Job about the monster's incomparable power: "Non est potestas super terram quae comparatur ei." Hobbes' state was not an instrument for social good, but an essential brake upon man; law was nothing but the command of the sovereign actually in power. As there was no morality independent of the will of the sovereign, only the anarchy of the jungle could exist between sovereign states.⁷⁰ It is rather strange that from his rational utilitarian point of departure Hobbes did not take the logical step of proclaiming the need for a world

state under one sovereign to banish chaos and fear and to establish a true order.

The extreme secularism and absolutism of the *Leviathan* was in many ways the expression of the feeling of a man of the Renaissance, rather repulsed by the reformatory enthusiasm of the Civil War. In opposition to Hobbes, Locke believed in the fundamental goodness of man, in the social character of the state of nature, in which violence or war occurred only if men abandoned the rule of reason. His main position was already clearly expressed in 1667 in his unfinished and unpublished "Essay Concerning Toleration," in which he said: "I shall lay down this for a foundation which I think will not be questioned or denied, viz.: That the whole trust, power, and authority of the magistrate is vested in him for no other purpose but to be made use of for the good, preservation and peace of men in that society over which he is set, and therefore that this alone is and ought to be the standard measure according to which he ought to square and proportion his laws, model and frame his government." And in the same essay he wrote: "Though force cannot master the opinions men have, nor plant new ones in their breast, yet courtesy, friendship, and soft usage may." "These principles he proclaimed twenty-three years later, after the Glorious Revolution (and in its justification) in his *Two Treatises of Government* and in his *Letters on Toleration*. In a characteristic fashion, the first Treatise of Government began and at the same time summed up its humanitarian and national point of view: "Slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that it is hardly to be conceived that an 'Englishman,' much less a 'gentleman,' should plead for it."

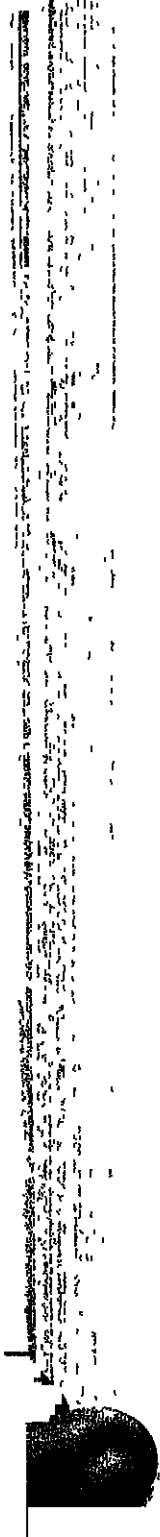
What Locke demanded in his *Letters on Toleration* was not fulfilled: "Absolute liberty, just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty is a thing that we stand in need of." The actual Toleration Act fell far short of Locke's expectations. But the road was opened, and the significance of this opening was recognized by Locke himself in the letter which he wrote on June 6, 1689, to his Dutch friend Philip van Limborch: "I doubt not you have

heard before this that toleration is now established among us by law; not with such breadth as you and true men like you, free from Christian arrogance and hatred, would desire; but 'tis something to get anything. With these small beginnings I hope the foundations will be laid on which the church of Christ can be built up." Parliament proved reluctant to carry toleration to its logical conclusion; as was its custom, it was not in a philosophical mood. Yet it had set out on a road on which it was to go forward slowly and gradually, haphazardly and illogically, but without turning back, in accordance with the character which Macaulay attributed to the history of England: "Never to innovate except when some grievance is felt; never to innovate except so far as to get rid of the grievance; never to lay down any proposition of wider extent than the particular case for which it is necessary to provide—these are the rules which have . . . generally guided the deliberations of our two hundred and fifty Parliaments. Our national distaste for whatever is abstract in political science amounts undoubtedly to a fault. Yet it is, perhaps, a fault on the right side. That we have been far too slow to improve our laws must be admitted. But, though in other countries there may have occasionally been more rapid progress, it would not be easy to name any other country in which there has been so little retrogression."

In his *Treatises of Government* Locke performed one great service to the class which at that time had come into power in England and in Holland.⁷⁸ He placed a new emphasis upon property and its enjoyment in safety and security—"the great and chief end of men uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property,"—and, more important, he gave in the fifth chapter of the second book a new justification for property, based not upon conquest but upon man's labor and toil. Yet he served more than his class by the two fundamental principles which he formulated and expounded in his *Treatises*; namely, that the individual, his liberty, dignity, and happiness, remain the basic element of all social life even within the state, and that government is a moral trust dependent upon the free consent of the governed. These two principles not only underlay the whole development of English domestic policy

since its rise to conscious nationhood, but were to be found as a restraining and regulating influence in British foreign policy. They have formed the core of English nationalism. They have given England the leadership of mankind for a whole century.

While in France, and in general on the continent, the authoritarian absolutism of King and Church emerged victorious from the struggles of the seventeenth century, England was the only country where absolutism had been broken. There and there alone had the control of national affairs passed into the hands of a Parliament with an increasingly preponderant House of Commons; the rights of the individual had been protected by a Bill of Rights; judges had become independent of the executive power; the Toleration Act had embodied the principles of Cromwell; and, in conformity with the passionate plea of Milton, the censorship of the press had been abolished. A freely and vigorously expressed public opinion grew up and secured its influence upon the conduct of national affairs. A nation had come into being, directing its own destiny, feeling responsible for it, and a national spirit permeated all institutions.⁷⁰ It sprang from a unique consciousness of the identity of divine, natural, and national law, based upon the dignity and liberty of every individual as God's noblest creature, upon his individual conscience inspired by the inner light of God and reason alike. With the English nation liberalism became founded not only on rational laws but on its historical experience of the seventeenth century, the decisive moment in the process of the growth of English nationalism to full maturity. It was only a century later that, under the influence of English ideas, but on a much vaster scale, the French people opened a new chapter in the history of nationalism and of the liberation of the human mind.



CHAPTER V

The Sovereign Nation
Prince and People

The best prince is, in the opinion of wise men, only the greatest servant of the nation.

(Jonathan Swift, *Writings on Religion and the Church*, *Works*, vol. V, p. 114.)

Les bons princes se souviennent toujours qu'ils . . . ne conduisent pas des bêtes, mais des âmes, que Dieu a rachetées de ce qu'il avait de plus précieux, qu'il leur en demandera un compte rigoureux et qu'une guerre injuste est presque le plus grand des crimes qui se puissent commettre.

(Leibniz, letter to Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels [Jean Baruzi, *Leibniz et l'organisation religieuse de la terre*, p. 23].)

Sachez qu'il est plus honorable d'être approuvé par des hommes qui raisonnent que de dominer sur les gens qui ne pensent pas.

(Voltaire, *Questions sur les miracles*, 10th letter [*Œuvres*, 1785 ed., vol. LX, p. 234].)

I

The seventeenth century is the Great Divide between the age in which all political and social concepts bear the decisive impress of the religious and universalist tradition, and an era in which the political idea of nationalism, secular and parochial, becomes dominant and creates its own symbols for the integration of human thoughts and emotions. Out of this crisis the second Renaissance emerged, more permanent and far deeper-reaching than that of the fifteenth century. In the seventeenth century brutality of life and violence, disregard of social responsibility and humanitarian sensibility prevailed; the eighteenth century marked the beginning of an unprecedented refinement in human relations. Man appeared, invested with a new importance, claiming a breath-taking growth to liberty and maturity. In this process of great complexity, the composite texture of the collective mind of the generation offers a most surprising pattern of survivals and anticipations, in ever different and unique shades.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the national states of Western Europe continued to regard themselves as parts of the one Christian polity—still felt to be a unity higher than any of the national divisions into which the continent was splitting up. National policies were pursued with a universal goal set firmly before the people as their guide; they became legitimate only by reference to the common fountainhead of all life and all purpose. In their struggle for the hegemony of Europe the Houses of Austria and of France supported their aspirations by the claim of being the true protectors of the Church and the most faithful sons of Christianity. The Turk still seemed a great danger to Christianity and a common enemy of Europe; the spirit of the Crusades was not yet entirely dead.¹

Within this continuing frame of Christian universalism, the new principle of the balance of power arose, as a means of protection

and self-preservation in a society in which a higher binding authority above the individual state or prince was no longer recognized. The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 confirmed this new principle of a "just equilibrium" among the competing nations of Europe. Universalism was breaking up, not in favor of nationalities—which were yet nonexistent as a conscious political factor—but to the advantage of the newly risen power of states and princes. Etatism, not nationalism, emerged from the disintegration of medieval universalism. The dynasty took the place of religion; loyalty centered in the prince. This new loyalty lacked the emotional fervor of religion; the State without the inner glow of religion or nationalism was "a cold monster." Thus the century from 1650 to 1750 was deeply rationalistic in its politics. The masses continued to live in the emotional forms of religion; the change in the political superstructure did not reach deep into their lives or mold the substance of their daily thoughts and actions. At the end of the eighteenth century, nationalism began to supply that emotional warmth, that intimacy of union which religion had provided, and the separation of the emotional and the political forms of men's lives ceased: both sprang again from the same soil and reached out for the same heaven. Nationalism made the new State legitimate and implanted it deeply in the hearts and wills of its citizens. The expulsion of the Turks from Central Europe and the extinction of the Spanish Habsburgs, the last dreamers of a Christian world empire, at the end of the seventeenth century marked the definite end of medieval universalism.

In the transitional age of etatism the State emancipated itself by secularization² and found a new basis for its actions in the rational principles of the *raison d'état*, the reason of state.³ Richelieu became its representative statesman, a Christian and a rationalist, a universalist and a servant of his king, one of the fathers of the modern State,⁴ not yet of the national State. His mind was dominated by the conceptions of religion and of the new age of absolutism, the power of the prince and the civilization of the aristocracy—concepts European and universal rather than national or parochial. His age resumed the secular power politics of the Renaissance on a more stable and less purely personal and indi-

vidualistic basis; this objective basis demanded that administrative and economic centralization which prepared the modern national State.

Richelieu's conscious goal remained the unity of the Christian world,⁵ fertilized and nourished by the spirit of France. The aim of his foreign policy was not the establishment of French hegemony, but a balance of power against the suspected universal aspirations of the Habsburgs. France was to play only a part, though a leading part, among the European nations allied to check the Habsburg hegemony. For that purpose Richelieu supported the "liberties" of the German territorial princes against Austria and the independence of the Italian princes against Spain.⁶ His "reason of state" originated in the needs of France, but it was governed by Christian and rational considerations. Meinecke⁷ has defined the reason of state as "the general rule, that every state is impelled by the egoism of its own profit and advantage, and pursues them without consideration for all other motives, but at the same time it is tacitly and most essentially assumed that the reason of state means always only the reasonable and rational profit purified of all mere instinct of greed." With Richelieu the emphasis was always laid on the second part of the definition. Man for him was to be, above all, reasonable; reason had to moderate instincts and check greed. For him as for the following century, reason became the supreme guide, a universal force which limited even the absolute king in the exercise of his power; a limitation imposed also by the *bonne opinion du monde*, the reputation for truthfulness and good faith forms a most important asset of a state and an essential guarantee of its peace and well-being.

The growing power of the new State emancipated itself from the supervision of the Church; the prince took precedence over the Estates and over the religions. The sixteenth century laid down the rule that the will of the prince determined the religion of his subjects. In their longing for peace, the people accepted the supremacy of the State over religion, because the depolitization of religion put an end to the long-lasting chaos and ever-present danger of religious wars. The new scientific spirit as developed in England combined with the rational individualism growing up

in France under the influence of Descartes, and inaugurated the period of Enlightenment and its struggle against religious dogmatism. Religion slowly lost its millenary hold over men's political and social thought; but during its very sunset the age of political religion passed through a period of the most violent ebullience. Religious wars and dogmatic controversies were its shrill swan-song. One century later, the age of nationalism had come into its own.

In the transitional period the universal ideas rooted in the Christian tradition continued, divested of their supranatural and dogmatic character. Religion changed its emphasis and even its meaning in preparation for the coming age of nationalism. On the one hand, it underwent the influence of rationalism and was subordinated to secular forms and thoughts in the political and social sphere; on the other hand, it was personalized and individualized through a process of *Verinnerlichung* and gained a new intimacy, a mystical fervor, by a retreat into the innermost sanctuary of man's heart. In both forms it prepared, unintentionally, the soil for the growth of nationalism. Though pietism intensified religion, it divorced religious life from all forms of political organization.⁸ Pietist movements appealed to the lower and less educated classes; they tended to disregard castes and classes and to emphasize popular education. But while Pietism had a far-reaching and enduring influence in Germany, Jansenism played only a minor part in determining French nationalism, and English Methodism inspired the lower middle classes with an active social religion and prepared their clergy for social reforms. In conformity with the economic needs of the rising lower middle class which it represented, the Pietist movement glorified good work as a duty of man and made industry, thrift, and frugality a religious obligation. This evangelical awakening remained consciously universal and initiated a new world-wide missionary movement; nevertheless, by its closeness to the common people and its local conditions and customs, it promoted a greater emphasis on the peculiarity and parochiality of religious life.

The new State, on its part, promoted the nationalization of religion even in Catholic countries. Gallicanism and Febronianism

denied the right of the Pope to interfere even in the religious administration of the Bourbons and of the Habsburgs; not enlightened skeptics, but such devoted Catholics as Bossuet and Maria Theresa, put the relations of State and Church on a new basis. Though the State emancipated itself from the Church, it remained in Europe inseparably united with religion. But in the British Empire a daring example was set. Roger Williams founded in Providence the first society which completely separated the State and religion, and this new principle was acknowledged in the charter which Charles II granted in 1663 to Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. "Our royall will and pleasure is, that noe person within the sayd colonye, at any time hereafter, shall bee any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinione in matter of religion, and doe not actually disturb the civill peace of our sayd colonye; but that all and everye person and persons may, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, freelye and fullye have and enjoye his and their owne judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concerns." Two more centuries passed before religion in Europe became fully depolitized. But in the meantime the development went so far that in Catholic Austria the *Toleranzpatent* of October 13, 1781, started with the memorable words: "Convinced on the one hand of the perniciousness of all religious intolerance, and on the other hand of the great advantage of a true Christian tolerance to the religion and the state . . ." Without this disassociation of State and religion the coming close association of State and nationality would have been impossible. Through it the absolute monarchs contributed negatively to the coming of the age of nationalism; positively they did it by creating the centralized State with its equality of all subjects before the king, with its tendency towards the uniformity of law and economic life, with its elevation of the parochial State over all universal allegiance.

This new State became national, however, only when the people became the nation through their broadening interest and deepening participation in the affairs of the State. Nationalism and democracy were in their origin contemporary movements, and in many respects sprang from similar conditions; but nationalism had its roots

in the order of group feelings and of "natural" cohesion, while democracy was based on the faith in the liberty and equality of each individual—on the divine substance of each human soul which makes man in Kant's words "an end in himself"⁹—and on the faith in mankind as the bearer of absolute values. Natural law secularized and rationalized these religious conceptions, it did not destroy them. The rationalists of the eighteenth century did not deny the Heavenly City; they transferred it from heaven to earth, from the millennium to the present day.¹⁰ This City of Man, with its natural law, was as universal in its scope and message as Christianity. Democracy in its essence and scope was a universal movement; it added to the liberty of every man and to the equality of all men the *fraternity of the whole of mankind*. The fusion with nationalism gave it, for the time being and under the existing possibilities of geographic conditions and organizational forms, the frame for its concrete realization; but it created an antinomy which ultimately threatened to thwart the realization of democracy as soon as the technological and geographic basis of a universal society emerged.

2

French monarchy became the outstanding historical example of the achievements of absolutism. To cement national unity, which had been at its lowest ebb at the time of the accession of Henry IV to the throne (1589), the monarchy strove to overcome the diversity of loyalties and laws by the oneness of the king's rule; but it could do no more than prepare the development, for the period lacked the technical means for that achievement, and the royal power alone was not sufficient to infuse unified life from the center through all the veins and arteries of the body politic, because the people were only a means and the royal state was an end in itself. Many factors combined to assure France's leadership in that period. Her population was numerous and fast-growing; her geographical and climatic conditions, propitious; her economic strength, great enough to allow her to develop growing sources of revenue for the upkeep of a large standing army as well as for the

promotion of industry. She was fortunate to possess in Sully, Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert statesmen of vision, energy, and devotion to the ideals of the epoch. Above all, she became the leader in Europe of thought and letters, and of the refinement of its life by the great potency of its literature both in expressing and in molding the national mind.

The French mind and the French language brought to the age of rationalism the great gifts of clarity, of a desire for reasonableness, moderation, and harmony. In 1637 Descartes published his *Discours de la Méthode pour bien conduire sa raison et chercher la vérité dans les sciences*, a book which has been accepted by the French as expressing their national genius. In it Descartes established with restraint and moderation the autonomy of reason, and founded existence upon the rock of the thinking individual. Descartes said: "De mettre en évidence les véritables richesses de nos âmes ouvrant à un chacun les moyens de trouver en soy mesme et sans rien emprunter d'autrui, toute la science qui luy est nécessaire."¹¹ His *Discours* started with the assestion of the universalism of reason and therefore with the equality of all men: "Le bon sens est la chose du monde la mieux partagée, . . . la puissance de bien juger et distinguer le vrai d'avec le faux, qui est proprement ce qu'on nomme le bon sens ou la raison, est naturellement égale en tous les hommes." He praised clarity, order, and measure as the guiding lights for human thought and action; he taught to reject anything as untrue if it could not be clearly perceived, and to avoid all precipitation and prejudices. His philosophy had a profound ethical implication. He repeated that man is above all will, and that he should will the good and force even his passions to will it. Our reason distinguishes the true from the false and the good from the evil; it has therefore to guide and direct men's actions. The philosophy and ethics of Descartes shaped French thought, so that Émile Boutroux declared in 1895 that "the diffusion of Descartes's thought coincides with our life and our influence. To an extraordinary degree he represents for us the pattern and example of all the qualities which we wish to develop."

Descartes, with his insistence upon the autonomy of reason and upon clarity of thought, became the father of European Enlighten-

ment. French became the universal language of the age, because its form and thought reflected the tendencies of the age. In 1697 an author could write, "The French language has succeeded today the Latin and the Greek languages . . . it has become so general that it is spoken today throughout almost the whole of Europe, and those who frequent society feel a kind of shame if they do not know it."¹² French thought represented the new universalism of rationalism as it had represented the universalism of Christianity in the thirteenth century. The new universalism was in no way blind to the many differences of peoples and climates, of habits and mentality, but it stressed the common human quality in all these differences. Frenchmen traveled more widely in that period than in any other time. Their interest in foreign countries and foreign civilizations was wide awake. The close contact with non-Christian civilizations hastened the shift from a Christian to a rational universalism.

François Charpentier introduced in 1664 his report on the establishment of a French trading company with the East Indies by saying that the French nation could not remain enclosed in Europe, that it must expand to the most distant parts of the world in order that the barbarian peoples might experience the gentleness of its rule and become civilized through its example. One of the first French explorers and orientalists, Guillaume Postel—who died in Paris in 1581, and who called himself a "Gaulois cosmopolite"—propagated the union of all peoples and all religions. In his *De orbis terrarum concordia* he treated oriental religions (especially Islam, which he knew best), with the same fairness as Christianity, and formulated *canones persuasionum omnium communes*, a universal theology in conformity with the oneness of divine and human law. In his description of the Turkish State, he showed the Turks under Soleiman the Magnificent to be superior to the Christians of the Occident in their customs and respect for justice.

While some Frenchmen like Sully proposed a European federation for the struggle against the Turks, others were moved by the new rationalism to regard all men as partners in the common realm of reason. Few went as far as Eméric Crucé, whose *Le Nouveau Cynée, ou discours d'estat représentant les occasions et moyens*

d'établir une paix générale et la liberté du commerce par tout le monde (1624) proposed a peace organization and a court of arbitration including all nations, even the most remote ones. Though he was a Catholic priest, he showed the utmost understanding of other religions. In answer to the question as to how such different peoples as the French and the Spaniards, the Turks and the Persians, the Chinese and the Jews, could be brought into one general accord, he pointed out that all their hostilities were only political and could not destroy the common tie of humanity among them. He proposed Venice as the seat of the universal court of arbitration, with the Pope as president, with the Turkish Sultan as the next in precedence, and with all the rulers of Africa, the Indies, and the Far East included. He recognized the importance of free trade for a peaceful world community and recommended the construction of canals because they would bring the peoples nearer together.¹⁸ The French travelers of that time showed a remarkable absence of color-bar feeling. Many of them condemned slavery, which they found in the Mohammedan countries. French Jesuit missionaries in China published the first large scholarly treatise on the wisdom of Confucius, and presented it to Louis XIV, whose support for their missionary enterprise they sought. The French intellectuals were deeply touched by the rationalism and humanism of this Far Eastern philosopher, in whom they found a confirmation of their own attitude. With the broadening of horizons and with the pride in the new wealth of experience, antiquity and the example of the ancients lost much of their validity. François Charpentier wrote in 1683 his *Défense de l'excellence de la langue française*, in which he pleaded for a French instead of a Latin inscription on a triumphal arch erected for Louis XIV. He pointed out the greatness of the present world compared with that of the Roman Empire and stressed the excellence of oriental literatures and their equality with those of the West.

Thus we find in the seventeenth century not only the disintegration of the medieval *respublica Christiana* into a multiplicity of sovereign European states, but also the emergence of new worlds outside western Christendom—Russia, China, the East Indies—all of which had their own ancient civilizations and were recognized

as equals. In this widening world which slowly began to embrace the whole globe, new attempts at integration were needed. They could be attempted only on a rational basis, first proposed by Hugo Grotius in his *De jure belli ac pacis* (1625). The roots of his thought reached deep into the Stoic tradition of Rome and into Christian universalism; he wished for their survival in a new form in an age of incessant strife and warfare, political as well as religious. All his efforts were bent to preserve for the modern age of disunion and dissension some of the traditional discipline which supposedly had bound the universalist age into unity and peace. His main concern was to impose upon a society, stressing the parochial interests of warring states and religions, the majesty of one law binding all. "If no association of men can be maintained without law, as Aristotle showed by his remarkable illustration drawn from brigands, surely also that association which binds together the human race, or binds many nations together, has need of law; this was perceived by him who said that shameful deeds ought not to be committed even for the sake of one's country. Aristotle takes sharply to task those who, while unwilling to allow anyone to exercise authority over themselves except in accordance with law, yet are quite indifferent as to whether foreigners are treated according to law or not."¹⁴ Grotius wished to apply the same standards of justice and morality to individuals and to nations.

Grotius appealed again and again to the Bible and to the classics for substantiation of his theses.¹⁵ But his universalism was based upon the rational and humanized outlook of the seventeenth century, and his Christianity was an ethical, undogmatic universal religion, based upon natural law as applying to all men above all religious divisions. This law was to him of divine origin, as was everything on earth, but he proclaimed the autonomy of this law from any source in the Bible or in the classics. It was rooted in man's rational nature. "The law of nature is unchangeable—even in the sense that it cannot be changed by God." God has created the nature of man and the nature of all things, but now God finds Himself bound by His own laws. The will of God "is never in conflict with the true law of nature."¹⁶ Natural law, although originally deriving from God, is a product of human nature which by its very

nature leads us to desire society and mutual intercourse, even if these were not required by necessity. Obligation by mutual compact is the mother of civil law, and since mutual compact derives its force from natural law, nature may be said to be the source also of civil laws.

Grotius' conception of man resembled closely that of Locke. Man to them was a good and sociable being in the state of nature who desired a peaceful and rational society. Their conceptions were as closely related sociologically as they were anthropologically; both represented the rising successful middle-class society which put great value upon property and work, upon contract and good faith, upon reasonableness and moderation. It is interesting to find how similar Grotius' precepts for practical politics were to Richelieu's principles of reasonable conduct and regard for good reputation. Both strove to lay the foundations of an order which would preserve a world divided into many and mutually warring states from falling into chaos. "Good faith should be preserved, in order that the hope of peace may not be done away with. For not only is every state sustained by good faith, as Cicero declares, but also that greater society of states. Aristotle truly says, if good faith has been taken away, all intercourse among men ceases to exist. This good faith the supreme rulers of men ought so much the more earnestly than others to maintain as they violate it with greater impunity; if good faith shall be done away with, they will be like wild beasts, whose violence all men fear. It is all the more the duty of kings to cherish good faith scrupulously, first for conscience's sake, and then also for the sake of the reputation by which the authority of the royal power is supported." ¹⁷ His practical ethics were based upon the demand of a "well-tempered judgment" which would control our desires and guide our actions.

Seventeenth century thought initiated the shift from the theological and religious to the anthropological and philosophical foundation of society, which was no longer found in the inscrutable will of the Divinity, but in rational law founded on the nature of men and things. With this process of secularization a new evaluation of man went hand in hand; less emphasis was put on his sinful nature, more on his original goodness which makes him strive after

a peaceful and harmonious order and endows him with the capacity of achieving a lawful order similar to that prevailing throughout nature. Man, every man, could understand this order with the help of the *lumen naturale*, the natural light of reason. To make the light shine, it was only necessary to remove prejudices, superstitions, and darkness. Nature, formerly the seat of danger, became kind to man; it was recognized as created by God in his all-kindness for the benefit of man, for his secure and peaceful life. The lawful order (for the social order had to be a just order, *ordo rectus*), ethics and truth formed a unity. Samuel von Pufendorf in his *De jure naturae et gentium* (1672) saw the point of departure of all legal relations in the sentence, "Thou art not alone in the world." The German jurist regarded language as the most wonderful and useful instrument for the maintenance of the society for which man was born. But language can fulfill its task only if man recognizes what Pufendorf called the inviolable fundamental law of nature, "not to deceive anybody through words or signs which purport to express our thoughts." Thus all human society can be built only on moral and logical truth.¹⁸

Under the influence of the changing times the Roman and medieval idea of a world monarchy was replaced by the idea of a world community, a *societas gentium*, based upon international law which was identical with natural law. For natural law remained faithful to two conceptions which had their roots in Stoic antiquity and in Christianity, and developed them further. One was the idea of the priority of the individual to the community, the other that of humanity as the ultimate end of society. The *humana civilitas* of Dante, divested of all its connections with the Roman imperial tradition, survived in the new vision of an ecumenical order.¹⁹ The new individualism had its roots in the Christian relationship between the individual and God.²⁰ Reason herself assumed some of the attributes of the Godhead. The new human attitude had nothing of the dry-as-dust or bookish character; it was the end of scholasticism and of the hairsplitting theological disputations of the seventeenth century. The new rationalism was practical, close to man and to reality, interested in experiment, observation, minute details, full of an active spirit and a warrior's courage. The *bon sens* which

was praised was not the common sense of the average Philistine, but the sublime and spontaneous power of reason—nothing confused and vague, but something exact in the sense of Cartesian clarity. In that sense Marie-Joseph de Chénier used the word in his famous

C'est le bon sens, la raison qui fait tout:
Vertu, génie, esprit, talent et goût.

Reason, art, letters, science, beauty, truth, and virtue appeared all fundamentally one, united in the great struggle against the dark forces of unreason, of falsehood, of immorality, of ugliness, which kept men in their age-old fetters. Man was to be set free from authority, but this new freedom did not imply any licentiousness: it represented a higher morality, a stricter obligation, no longer a morality produced by obedience to authority, but out of one's own free decision. Man's reason was to guide him to righteous action, he himself bore the responsibility for his deeds and their consequences. A new concept, infinitely deeper than that of the Renaissance, developed out of the struggles of the seventeenth century; the free and responsible personality was born and had to find its place in the new state created by the absolute monarchs.²¹

3

England had achieved a national consciousness in the seventeenth century, without breaking with the religious thought and its hold upon the national and individual life of the people. The center of the nation had been irrevocably established in the Parliament which, at least in theory, represented the whole nation and spoke for the interests of the country as a whole. Calvinism had shown itself the propitious soil for the rise of individualism and for the development of capitalism, with its insistence upon the sanctity of work and the rational calculability of the economic process. In France the Estates General were not called after the failure of 1614; the nation was embodied in the king or, as Aulard has expressed it, absorbed in the king. The official theory as stated by Bossuet separated the kings from the nation by establishing them

as the vicars of God on earth. "God establishes the kings as his ministers and reigns through them over the people. . . . The royal throne is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God Himself."²² Thus monarchy was fused into theocracy, and the subjects owed to their prince the same blind obedience which they owed to God. The prince did not have to render account to anyone, there was no earthly force to control or check his omnipotence. In his whole life he was distinguished from ordinary human beings. "The King's Majesty is the image of the greatness of God in the prince."²³ From these premises, the conclusions were easily drawn that "nobody can doubt that the whole state is in the person of the prince," and that "one must obey without complaint."²⁴ As late as 1766, Louis XV summed up the theory of royal omnipotence in the words: "It is only in my person that the sovereign authority resides. . . . To me alone belongs the legislative power without any dependence and without sharing. The whole public order derives from me; I am its supreme guardian. My people exist only in their union with me; the rights and the interests of the nation which one dares to separate from the monarch are necessarily united with mine and rest only in my hands."²⁵

This omnipotence of the royal government did not express itself only in political life; the seventeenth century saw an effort to bring the economic life of the state also under royal control. The new state with its standing armies was infinitely more powerful than the medieval or Renaissance states with their feudal or mercenary armies; but these standing armies demanded greater economic means than the preceding periods had known. The commercial revolution of the sixteenth century had brought new means into European economic life, but outside England and the Netherlands the middle classes were still too undeveloped to be able to use these new instruments of power. Thus the increase of wealth was there canalized into the only field capable of absorbing and utilizing it. Mercantilism was the first economic theory based upon a clear recognition of economic wealth as an instrument in power politics. The new economy helped to strengthen the state and its territorial unity, to make it as self-sufficient and as rich in man power and gold as possible, and subordinated to this goal the

regulations of tariff and industries. "Mercantilism represented the economic counterpart of political etatism. In practice it sought to bring all phases of economic life under royal control. In theory, at least, mercantilists were almost pathetic in their childlike belief in the omnipotence and monocompetence of the central government. Was anything wrong, the king should, and could, remedy it. Did an abuse exist, the king could annihilate it by an edict. Was an undertaking desirable, the king could initiate it and make it a success."²⁶ Mercantilist commercial policy was of an intrinsically warlike nature, trying to strengthen the state in its competition with, and for its struggles against, other states. It was ever conducted to the disadvantage of other states and of foreigners. Its colonial policy tried always to exclude all other nations from commerce with the colonies.²⁷

This mercantilism was a corollary of the new division of Europe into separate and warring states. It may seem strange that it went hand in hand with the continuation, even the transformation and development, of the universalistic and cosmopolitan philosophy. But the technical backwardness of that period did not allow any practical realization of the cosmopolitan outlook. The lack of communication kept all states isolated to a degree unimaginable today; and, even within the states, provinces and cities continued to be almost as distant from one another as they had been in the Middle Ages. No fast communications, no economic interdependence had yet developed. The seventeenth century showed a glaring discrepancy between the universalistic philosophy and the parochial reality. In that respect it was the very reverse of the first half of the twentieth century, with its universalistic reality, as a result of fast communications and economic interdependence, and its parochial philosophy which preserved the nationalistic outlook of the nineteenth century.

In the seventeenth century, the geographical isolation of provinces and cities was still so great, the public mind still so unprepared for any national conceptions or emotions, that mercantilism could succeed in its aim of a national economy only in the most inadequate form. All the efforts of Louis XIV and Colbert were unable to achieve what, with the national consciousness awakened,

the French Revolution accomplished within a few years. The lack of nationalism and the survival of medieval traditionalism hindered the mercantilist system from working efficiently. The people did not cooperate; everything had to be imposed and controlled from above. The attitude of the Catholic Church was less propitious to the development of capitalism than that of Calvinism. When Louis XIV in 1671 wished to fix the rate of interest at a maximum of 5 per cent, he hesitated to do it without the approval of the Church. Several of the most learned doctors of the Sorbonne were called into conference. The professors adhered to the opinion that money is sterile by its nature, and that everything derived from it is usury, and refused to sanction the legislation.

But a much greater hindrance was the provincialism of the life of the people, to whom any national feeling was yet unknown. Colbert was one of the very few men of his time who had the ability to see France as a unity and to try, though unsuccessfully, to integrate its very disparate elements into a whole. His lack of success can be explained by the fact that "he had to spend most of his time contending with historically insubordinate elements, and he had the greatest difficulty in securing obedience to his simplest mandates." "Despite the clarity of his notions, Colbert found his efforts at tariff reform hampered at every turn by the incredible complexity of the existing system, by the stubborn localism of the provinces, and by the innate conservatism of the people and officials."²⁶ With all that, France was then the most progressive country on the European continent, with the exception of Holland.²⁰ And yet in many ways her political and administrative life, her economic organization and the state of the public mind of the people resembled more that of oriental countries in the nineteenth century, before their transformation through the spirit of nationalism under the impact of western influences, than it did that of European countries after the French Revolution.

Certainly, as in preceding centuries, pride in military victories and in the strength of their country was expressed by writers of the period. The most telling passage is perhaps that in which Voiture glorified the successes of Richelieu. "Mais lorsque dans deux cents ans, ceux qui viendront après nous liront en notre histoire

. . . et qu'ils verront que, tant qu'il a présidé à nos affaires, la France n'a pas un voisin sur lequel elle n'ait gagné des places ou des batailles: s'ils ont quelque goutte de sang français dans les veines, quelque amour pour la gloire de leur pays, pourront-ils lire ces choses sans s'affectionner à lui?"⁸⁰ The reading of Plutarch, in Amyot's translation, inspired some writers to imitations of the patriotism of the ancient Greeks and Romans. But a general sense of national loyalty was entirely lacking. Soldiers, diplomats, and historians served princes and masters without any regard for nationality. The officers of the Imperial Army led by Wallenstein were Italians, Scotch, Irish, men of all nationalities whose names sounded strange to German ears—Piccolomini, Gordon, Butler; German nobles, like Duke Bernhard of Weimar or Maurice de Saxe, served the French king. The famous German jurist, Samuel von Pufendorf, was from 1677 to 1688 historiographer at the court of Sweden, in the following years at the court of Berlin, although both princes were during that period on hostile terms.⁸¹ In all these changes from prince to prince, no disloyalty was involved, because the concept of national loyalty was unknown. Territorial expansions were not motivated by any considerations of nationality, they were directed by geographic motives, well characterized by the word "arrondir." Even in the second half of the eighteenth century, Prussia under Frederick II was as glad and willing to incorporate subjects of Polish nationality as those of German; in fact, Poles might have appeared to the absolute state to be better subjects than Germans.⁸²

The acquisition of new territory did not arouse then the same objections as it did later, if the inhabitants of the newly acquired territories spoke a different language.⁸³ It is true that the Treaty of Westphalia laid some emphasis on the religious unity of states, not so much in the interest of religion as in the interest of the state. But it is very characteristic that this unity, demanded and imposed in the field of religion, was in no way extended to the field of nationality or language. And even the religious unity gave way before the only unity and the only interests which really counted—those of the prince. Catholic France acquired Protestant sections in Alsace, and Protestant Prussia acquired part of Catholic Poland;

in both cases religious liberty was granted. It was for purely practical reasons of state, not for any national consideration in the modern sense of the word, that the royal administration in France tried to spread the French language throughout the royal territories. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the people of Marseilles were reported to adhere faithfully to their own language and to shun the speaking of French. They did it, we are told, to preserve their ancient liberties or rather their provincial autonomy, and they never called themselves Frenchmen, but "Marseillois."³¹

For reasons similar to those of the French administration in the seventeenth century, the Habsburg princes at the end of the eighteenth century wished to make German the unifying link for the different peoples of their hereditary lands and thus to simplify their administration. While Frederick II of Prussia decreed the use of German as the administrative language of the parts of his domains inhabited by Poles, and while Maria Theresa tried to do the same for those parts of her dynastic inheritance inhabited by peoples speaking Slavonic languages, the princes themselves used French in their private letters and were motivated in their lives and actions by none of the sentiments connected with modern nationalism.³² The continental Europe of the seventeenth century and of the first half of the eighteenth still lived in the prenationalistic age. But in the growth of centralized states, in the secularization of political life, in the rise of individualism with its faith in liberty and its confidence in man's power, with the acceleration of economic life demanding the loosening of the static forms of traditional organization—the foundations were laid for the rise of nationalism. Although France as the most progressive country on the continent took the lead, nevertheless in a varying degree the birth of nationalism towards the end of the eighteenth century became a European movement, the distant waves of which reached even beyond the Pyrenees, into the wide plains of Eastern Europe, and into the lands under the dominion of the Ottoman Sultan.

4

A new temper began to rise in France with the misfortunes which befell the country, when the policy of Louis XIV over-

strained its economic and military resources. The majesty of the king had failed the nation; the greatness of the monarchy began to reveal its weaknesses. The people suffered under the incessant wars and the financial difficulties, but it suffered as it had for centuries without doubting the legitimate claims of royalty. Only the intellectuals began to doubt the complete identification of the nation and the king. Fénelon wrote from Cambrai on August 4, 1710, to the Duc de Chevreuse, "Les choses du roi sont devenues violemment les nôtres . . . c'est la nation qui doit se sauver elle-même."⁸⁶ The French sense of moderation, that insistence upon reasonableness which had manifested itself in Richelieu, revolted against the immoderate desires of the king and his warlike adventures. Throughout the eighteenth century the patriotic reformers, even nobles or soldiers, were "one and all deliberately critical of *le grand monarque* and his policy of splendor."⁸⁷ It seemed to them outdated, "Gothic," alien to the spirit of the time which was one of construction and patient building, and, though they did not stress this point, alien to the spirit of France. The age of Louis XIV survived in the memory of France as the age of art and thought, as a great contribution to the republic of letters and to the spiritual patrimony of France, not as an age of military glory and expansion.

This new tendency found its expression in an address⁸⁸ delivered by the famous jurist Henry François d'Aguesseau in 1715 at the death of Louis XIV. There he used a language which was to become common only half a century later.⁸⁹ He pointed out that the authority of the king and the obedience of the people must be founded on a most intimate tie, the love of the fatherland which should penetrate all hearts to their depths. He deplored the fact that love of the fatherland seemed to be absent in monarchies, that only in the republics did citizens grow up to identify the interest and fortunes of the state with their own. This sentiment gives to every citizen in the republics a stake in the fortunes of his fatherland and creates among all of them a feeling of fraternity, as if they formed one family. Thus love of the fatherland becomes a kind of self-love, until one finally loves the fatherland more than oneself. But such patriotism could not be found in the monarchies; it was to be sought in the republics and in ancient Rome. Present

times offered in France the strange spectacle of a great kingdom and no fatherland,—of a numerous people, and almost no citizens. The only remedy, D'Aguesseau insisted, appeared to be the establishment of a new form of government, a new fatherland, in which patriotism would flame in all hearts and all the elements of society would be tied together by firm bonds. Then everybody would understand that his private welfare depended upon the public welfare, and that the happiness and safety of the king depended upon the happiness and safety of the citizens.

Fifty years were to pass after the death of Louis XIV before the words "patriot" and "patriotism" became generally accepted in France and gained at the same time a new meaning. "Fatherland" was then no longer the domain of the prince under whose rule one was born, "patriotism" was no longer the simple attachment to the native soil or pride in native achievements; the word "patrie" was now used to denote a country where there was liberty, where the inhabitants had a share in legislation and a conscious stake in the country's destiny; the new patriotism established a tie of reciprocity between the prince and his subjects, between the land and its people; to feel as a "patriot" was to give to man not only a new feeling of liberty, of rights, but also of happiness, of community. Patriotism presupposed and created justice, prosperity, love. The new intellectual climate, in which the notions of "patrie" and "patriotism" changed their meaning and became generally accepted, undermined the traditional bases of the absolute monarchy.

Historical considerations contributed to and accompanied the change in the philosophic outlook. The past was reinterpreted, old legends were replaced by new ones, to serve as weapons in the fight against royal absolutism. This appeal to the supposed "liberties" of the distant past was first made on behalf of the aristocracy which found its power destroyed by the royal absolutism. Count Henri de Boulainvilliers, who died in 1722, expounded his theories in lengthy works, published only after his death.⁴⁰ In his view, the French people was composed of two different and opposed races, the Germanic Franks and the Celtic Gauls. The Gauls had been conquered by the Romans, but later the Franks had defeated the conquerors of the world, and thus established their undisputed

right to rule Gaul. These new conquerors, who were, like the Germans described by Tacitus, tall and blond, hardy and bellicose, without towns or trade, became the masters, and they constituted the French state. These Franks were a community of free men. Their kings were only first among their peers, leaders in war; but they had to take counsel with their noble followers and had to share profit and glory with them. The Estates General were, according to Boulainvilliers, an old Frankish institution, but they were originally, and should have remained, limited to the nobility; the clergy and the magistracy were both of Celtic origin and had usurped their participation in the Estates General as the First and Third Estates.

Thus Boulainvilliers became the spokesman of the hereditary nobility as the traditional guardians of "political liberties" against monarchical despotism, against the Church and against the Third Estate. While he pleaded for the restitution of feudalism, he was intellectually a rationalist and almost a freethinker who preferred Islam to Christianity. His arguments were more far-reaching and revolutionary than he imagined. His struggle for the right of representation, which he confined to the nobility, could in the struggle against absolutism easily be turned into the demand for a much broader representation; the appeal to the past, with which he rationalized the aristocratic opposition to the king and the insistence upon the political, social, and economic inequalities between the aristocracy and the people, might be used to establish the "liberties" of the people against king and aristocracy; the right of conquest on which he based the rights of the aristocracy could be abrogated by the right of a reconquest by which the people abolished the privileges of their former conquerors.

Only four decades after the death of the great propagandist of class differences based upon racial antagonism, Mably reconstructed French history in the ways of democratic enlightenment, seeing the Franks as benevolent conquerors who brought their liberties to the Gauls and created in France a tradition of free and republican institutions. But again, two decades later, this mild and humanitarian temperament gave way in the French Revolution to a bellicosity and violence similar (though diametrically opposed) to

that of Boulainvilliers. As the spokesman of the Third Estate, the Abbé Sieyès proclaimed the reconquest of France by the Gauls, which turned France from a nation of nobles into a nation of the people. He took up the appeal to history and to force: "Le tiers ne doit pas craindre de remonter dans les temps passés. Il se reportera à l'année qui a précédé la conquête. . . . Pourquoi ne renverrait-il pas dans les forêts de la Franconie toutes ces familles qui conservent la folle prétention d'être issues de la race des conquérants et d'avoir succédé à des droits de conquête? . . . La noblesse a passé du côté des conquérants? Eh bien! il faut la faire repasser de l'autre côté; le Tiers deviendra noble en devenant conquérant à son tour." The French Revolution did not heal the deep breach in French history of which Boulainvilliers and Sieyès had spoken; the struggle between the two Frances and their different interpretations of French history was, under changing forms and alignments, to come out into the open again and again.

In the formation of the new conception of patriotism in eighteenth century France, the influence exercised by England should not be overlooked. England had been the first country from which all other peoples could learn that the fatherland had its foundations in and derived its strength from the security of law and liberty. The first half of the eighteenth century witnessed in England the ebbing of seventeenth century enthusiasm. A feeling of security in its acquired liberties pervaded the nation. The continent was viewed as "that world of slaves," whereas England felt herself as "dedicated, long, to liberty." Sometimes the typical baroque style of exaggeration reminded of continental taste, as in George Granville, Lord Lansdowne (1667-1735), whose poem "Urganda's Prophecy" spoke of

Great Britain's queen, but guardian of mankind
Sure hope of all who dire oppression bear,
For all th'oppress'd become thy instant care.⁴¹

"Rule, Britannia," the first popular national hymn, written in 1740, stressed above all other goods that of Britain's liberties:

The nations not so blest as thee
Must in their turns to tyrants fall,
Whilst thou shalt flourish great and free,
The dread and envy of them all.

And Edward Young, who called the ocean "a truly British theme," warned against pride and power:

Above the Florentine's court-science raise;
Stand forth a patriot of the moral world;
The pattern, and the patron of the just . . .
Armies and fleets alone ne'er won the day.

But apart from pride in English liberty, there is little "nationalism" to be found in the English literature of the period. The word "patriotism" in the sense love of, or zealous devotion to, one's own country began to be used after 1725, but it usually contained an ironic note.⁴² Pope used the word distinctly in the sense which it received about the middle of the century in France, when he wrote in his "Epitaph on Trumbal," "An honest Courtier, yet a Patriot too, Just to his Prince, and to his Country true," but this representative poet of the age had so little confidence in the permanency of the English language, that he wrote in 1716, "the Ancients . . . writ in languages that became universal and everlasting, while ours are extremely limited both in extent and in duration. A mighty foundation for our pride! when the utmost we can hope, is but to be read in one Island, and to be thrown aside at the end of one Age. All that is left us is to recommend our productions by the imitation of the Ancients: and it will be found true, that, in every age, the highest character for sense and learning has been obtain'd by those who have been most indebted to them."⁴³ Nor did James Thomson (1700-1748) in *The Seasons* show any nationalism. The three poems which he dedicated to Great Britain praised her valor and again her liberty, which he valued even more than her greatness.

Yet, like the muttering thunder, when provoked,
The dread of tyrants, and the sole resource
Of those that under grim oppression groan.

In one passage only did the poet show an understanding of what patriotism meant:

That first paternal virtue, Public Zeal,
Who throws o'er all an equal, wide survey,
And, ever musing on the common weal,
Still labours glorious with some great design.⁴⁴

Though insistence on national glory, as distinct from individual liberty, was infrequent among English writers of the early eighteenth century, England was then the only country which knew what may be called "national life." Public opinion had become a power in England, openly exercised and acknowledged. Newspapers increased in number, circulation, popularity, and influence. In 1702 the first successful daily newspaper was started in London, *The Daily Courant*; in 1704 Defoe started *The Review*, in 1709 Steele his *Tatler*, and in 1711 *The Spectator* made its appearance. In 1760 the aggregate number of copies of newspapers sold in England annually amounted to almost 10,000,000. During that whole time, the struggle against government restraint of the press was vigorously waged. Defoe in the "Legion Memorial" of 1701 gave expression to the feeling of liberty in the nation. "Thus *Gentlemen*, You have your Duty laid before you . . . but if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the Resentments of an *injur'd Nation*; for *Englishmen* are no more to be Slaves to *Parliaments*, than to a King. *Our name is Legion, and we are Many*." Henry Fielding expressed the same national sentiment about the middle of the century when he wrote in the *True Patriot* on November 19, 1745, "Methought I then replied, with a resolution which I hope every Englishman would exert on such an occasion, THAT THE LIFE OF NO MAN WAS WORTH PRESERVING LONGER THAN IT WAS TO BE DEFENDED BY THE KNOWN LAWS OF HIS COUNTRY; and that if the king's arbitrary pleasure was to be that law, I was indifferent what he determined concerning myself."⁴⁵

Complaints about the lack of public spirit in that period were common. Bishop Berkeley wrote in 1721 "An Essay Towards

Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain" in which he proposed the creation of an Academy of ingenious men, "whose employment it would be to compile the history of Great Britain, to make discourses proper to inspire men with a zeal for the public, and celebrate the memory of those" who had done eminent service to the nation. He warned against the corruption of the time and the spirit of party strife, and he was even afraid lest the end of England might be at hand, and lest men in the near future might say of the British Isles: "This island was once inhabited by a . . . people of plain uncorrupt manners, . . . asserters of liberty, lovers of their country, . . . inferior in nothing to the old Greeks or Romans, and superior to each of those peoples in the perfections of the other. Such were our ancestors during their rise and greatness; but they degenerated, . . . which occasioned their final ruin."⁴⁴ From decaying England, Berkeley turned to America, attempting to plant arts and learning there and to have a college erected in Bermuda:

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate the clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Nor was Berkeley's compatriot, Jonathan Swift, more optimistic about the patriotism which he observed in Ireland. After having found all his proposals for a betterment of the situation in Ireland rejected, including that "of learning to love our Country, wherein we differ even from Laplanders, and the inhabitants of Topinamboo," he was finally left with "The Modest Proposal" to improve the state of affairs in Ireland by selling five-sixths of all the children in the country for eating, keeping one-sixth for breeding purposes. He foresaw that this plan would have several advantages; among

others, lessening the number of Papists, who were great breeders, improving the nation's stock, bringing good business to the taverns, which would become famous by the delicacy of their good cooking, and finally inducing to marriage, "which all wise nations have either encouraged by rewards or enforced by laws and penalties." ⁴⁷

Occasionally we find in the English poets of the eighteenth century some glorification of patriotism or of British heroic deeds, but none comes in any way near the uncompromising nationalism expressed at the end of the seventeenth century by the first Marquess of Halifax in his "The Character of a Trimmer," an utterance rare, or perhaps unique, in the literature of that time because of its worship of native soil and blood: "Our Trimmer is far from Idolatry in other things, in one thing only he cometh near it, his Country is in some degree his Idol; he doth not Worship the Sun, because 'tis not peculiar to us, it rambles about the World, and is less kind to us than to others: but for the Earth of England, tho perhaps inferior to that of many places abroad, to him there is Divinity in it, and he would rather dye, than see a spire of *English* Grass trampled down by a foreign trespasser: He thinketh there are a great many of his mind, for all plants are apt to taste of the Soyl in which they grow, and we that grow here, have a Root that produceth in us a Stalk of English Juice, which is not to be changed by grafting or foreign infusion; and I do not know whether any thing less will prevail, than the *Modern Experiment*, by which the Blood of one Creature is transmitted into another; according to which, before the French blood can be let into our Bodies, every drop of our own must be drawn out of them." ⁴⁸

Among Englishmen of the early eighteenth century it was not a writer but a practical statesman, Lord Bolingbroke, who in his "A Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism" (1736) and in his "The Idea of a Patriot King" (1738) gave to the word "patriotism" a new and definite meaning. The two writings were soon translated into French, and influenced continental thought. Bolingbroke was a true son of the age of Enlightenment, a rationalist and a deist, a cosmopolitan and a humanitarian, but at the same time he understood that different nations were governed by different laws and by different temperaments. "Now, we are subject, by the constitu-

tion of human nature, and therefore by the will of the Author of this and every other nature, to two laws. One given immediately to all men by God, the same to all, and obligatory alike on all. The other given to man by man; and therefore not the same to all, nor obligatory alike on all: founded indeed on the same principles, but varied by different applications of them to times, to characters, and to a number, which may be reckoned infinite, of other circumstances. By the first, I mean the universal law of reason; and by the second, the particular law, or constitution of law, by which every distinct community has chosen to be governed.”⁴⁹ Particular law, therefore, emanates also from God, and man has to obey, but—and here Bolingbroke’s words assume a new and unaccustomed ring—the purpose of these laws can be no other than the happiness of the people. “The reason is plain: good government alone can be in the divine intention. God has made us to desire happiness; he has made our happiness dependent on society; and the happiness of society dependent on good or bad government. His intention, therefore, was, that government should be good.”⁵⁰

Good government rests on two foundations, the union of the people and liberty. A Patriot King, this model of a future fusion of the traditional concept of kingship and of the new concept of patriotism, will therefore endeavor, above all things, to create a union of the people around his person and preserve the spirit of liberty which alone can lead to prosperity and happiness, which are based upon the improvement of trade and commerce, upon the spirit of free enterprise and initiative.⁵¹ The British genius expressed itself, as its history showed, in the spirit of liberty, but this spirit can exist only in a nation in which every citizen is animated by national patriotism. “Will the British spirit, that spirit which has preserved liberty hitherto in one corner of the world at least, be so easily or so soon reinfused into the British nation?”⁵² To achieve that end, the King will have to espouse no party nor any class in the nation, but govern like the common father of his people so that king and nation are one, united by one common interest and animated by one common spirit.⁵³ Then the nation will no longer be divided into warring sections, but will represent one great national party.

A Patriot King and a patriotic nation belong together; within this nation there will be different views and therefore an opposition party, but Bolingbroke, for the first time, assigned to this opposition party a truly national role. "It follows from hence, that they who engage in opposition, are under as great obligations to prepare themselves to control, as they who serve the crown are under to prepare themselves to carry on, the administration: and that a party formed for this purpose, do not act like good citizens, nor honest men, unless they propose true, as well as oppose false measures of government. Sure I am, they do not act like wise men, unless they act systematically, and unless they contrast, on every occasion, that scheme of policy which the public interest requires to be followed, with that which is suited to no interest but the private interest of the prince, or his ministers."⁴⁴ Under these conditions, when all strive for the public good of the nation and subordinate their private interests and factions to the command of reason and public welfare, when the King will look upon his own rights as a trust and the rights of his people as a property,—then the King of Great Britain will be the most popular man in his country, and a Patriot King at the head of an united people.⁴⁵ The reawakening English nationalism in the nineteenth century, Young England and Disraeli, claimed Bolingbroke as the forerunner of their own vision of what was sometimes called "Tory democracy."

Of the two ideas which Bolingbroke stressed, personal liberty and national unity, it was the first which in the middle of the eighteenth century gained hold on the French public mind; it was only towards the end of the century that national unity came to the foreground there. To French thinkers, England offered not only a new meaning of patriotism; it served generally as an example, on account of the advanced development of its public opinion, its literary life, its scientific spirit, and its religious toleration.⁴⁶ But although many suggestions and influences came from across the Channel, nevertheless it was in France that the new spirit of the eighteenth century found its most conscious, most sustained and continuous expression. This new thought did not remain confined to France, for it was a European movement which changed the intellectual climate in Germany and Italy, even in

Russia and in Spain; it was the true Renaissance of the European spirit. France offered the first and the most luminous center from which the light radiated over Europe; but the light was not French, it was a human light in which a new Europe found itself.⁶⁷

5

Modern civilization was molded into its definite form in the eighteenth century. Many powerful streams from the whole past of human thought and endeavor contributed to its growth. It was a rebirth of the Greece of Socrates, of its optimism as to the validity of reasoned conclusions and its belief in man as the proper study of mankind. The Athenian tradition of rationalism and humanism, of the perfectibility of man by right thinking, was deepened by the Palestinian inheritance of respect for the sanctity of life and of the conception of history as a dynamic process towards a more perfect world. The Renaissance and Reformation had sown the seeds of individualism which now bore fruit in the new concept of human rights. Fusing this rich heritage of all times into a vital and energizing force, the men of the eighteenth century found themselves animated by a new power and a new daring. The individual and social world opened before them in a new and brighter light; an immense effort seemed to wait for the insight and the courage of the builders. Everywhere gigantic tasks loomed: the kings were unenlightened; the living spring of religion was choked by superstition and scholasticism; the masses lived in lethargy, poverty, and ignorance; the constitutions were antiquated; commerce and economic development were fettered by vested interests; the penal laws were inhuman; the relations between men were rude and coarse; life was cheap, and everything seemed covered with the dust and filth of centuries, darkened by notions and relations which had lost their meaning and could not stand up before the critical light of Reason. Mankind seemed to awaken from a long night; the ghosts of the dark were still in the air, but as the day dawned its bright light would chase them away. Many compared their century with the growth to manhood: an immense feeling of youthful vigor, of a real beginning, animated

them. The ancients receded into the past. They were part of the childhood which man was now outgrowing. In his childhood and early youth, man had to be guided by authority, spiritually and politically he had to obey laws given to him. Now he had come of age, he no longer had to depend on the authority of other law-givers. His reason showed him the way to an understanding of the universe in its infinity, of which the starry sky above reminded him, and to a guidance of himself together with his fellow men, directed by the moral law within him. This autonomy endowed him with a new dignity and a new responsibility.

The elevation of man did not imply any dethronement of God. The relation between God and man lost much of the terror which the inscrutable omnipotence of the Creator presented to the creature trembling in His presence; it gained instead a new intimacy and confidence. The universe had been a mystery, nature the abode of unknown evil forces to the power of which man found himself exposed, unprotected except for the grace of God; nature was sinful and every slight aberration from the path of obedience to the law of God threatened to bring terrible punishment, an eternity of hell-fire. Now the unknown darkness of the universe seemed to unfold itself into clarity and order: the great scientists of the seventeenth century had started to decipher the laws by which the universe and all its movements were governed immutably and eternally. Everything in nature became lawful, understandable, susceptible to the progressive effort of human reason to explore and to master. God and nature lost their terror; as the light spread, their goodness became more and more manifest to man, who gained a new confidence and a new security. This light which dispelled darkness and fear had been given to man by God; it was God's greatest gift to mankind and the supreme proof of His all-kindness.

Nor did the discovery of the laws governing nature diminish God's almightiness. Was it not the greatest proof of His greatness that He had created the world in this wonderful harmony of law? The world was governed by law, but it was God's law. The true essence of God was revealed in the fact that He was not a despot

who acted according to whims, and before whom abject subjects trembled. He was a constitutional monarch who had established the most wonderful and perfect constitution, the laws of nature by which He Himself was bound and which man was to learn and to know. If God Himself was a constitutional monarch, if the laws governing the universe were rational, how could it be that the kings of this earth wished to continue as absolute monarchs, above all law or guided by laws which were irrational and closed to man's understanding? The subjects of a constitutional king need not tremble before him in obedience, they will love and revere him. A new feeling of intimacy, confidence, and security began to animate men's relations to the universe and to human society in the eighteenth century. A new feeling of, and desire for, happiness, unknown in preceding centuries, widened men's hearts and gave them courage for generous action. Philanthropy or the love of man, humanitarianism, legality, security, peace: all these were part of the blissful urge to make men happy here on earth.⁵⁸

The new rationalism prepared for the modern state by its rationalization of all human relations;⁵⁹ it cleared away all the underbrush of centuries which stood in the way of the growth of a united nation. The humanitarian rationalism of the eighteenth century may not have seemed fertile soil for the growth of national sentiment; nevertheless, the beginnings of a national patriotism had their roots deep in the humus of the aspirations and feelings of the age of Enlightenment. Natural law was absolute, general, and universal, applying to all peoples. The new age and its message were universal in scope. The eighteenth century always insisted on its cosmopolitan character; the enlightened monarchs, like Frederick II of Prussia, were entirely free from the slightest trace of nationalism. Nationalism certainly had no hold over the masses. Their life remained on the whole untouched by the new currents of thought and life. That was true especially outside the great cities and the small educated classes, even in France.⁶⁰ But the newly awakened curiosity in all things human enlivened the sense of human diversities and brought about a study and an understanding of history unparalleled in previous centuries. The feeling of great

change was in the air, mankind seemed to be setting out on new paths: in situations like these interest in history and in the philosophy of history always grows.⁶¹

Voltaire was one of the greatest historians of all ages.⁶² He widened consciously the frame of history to become world history, he wrote without hiding his moral judgments—for he was not an aloof, ivory-tower observer—but he rendered these judgments from the point of view of humanity and enlightened ethics, rather than from that of any national interest. He was devoid of any national prejudice, he did not write on behalf of a state, a government, or a prince; in his works, for the first time, the people became the hero, with all its widespread activities, its interests, habits, and ways of daily life. Voltaire's work consummated the process of the secularization of historiography, it served the political purpose of Enlightenment. He had only to compare Great Britain with its thriving commerce and its economic liberties, its freedom of the press and its relative tolerance, its Parliamentary institutions and its *habeas corpus*, to France, where a royal edict in April, 1757, reaffirmed the death penalty for the authors and the printers of unauthorized books. Other edicts between 1764 and 1785 forbade strictly the publishing of anything discussing public finances, jurisprudence, or religious questions. The number of printing presses was small, and all of them were closely supervised. Against this situation the philosophers and reformers fought a strenuous war. Such a struggle against darkness and superstition, against despotism and backwardness, was not limited to any one country; it was the cause of humanity which was at stake. But, fighting for humanity, these philosophers and historians prepared the soil for a new conception of the status of the citizen and of his relation to his state.

The new emphasis upon "fatherland" which became general about the middle of the eighteenth century in France still had little to do with nationalism. The emphasis was less upon the unity of the nation than upon the liberty of the citizens. Only a free citizen could feel a real attachment for his fatherland; this attachment was based not so much on emotions, as on a utilitarian consideration of the common good and of the citizen's own interest. In his *Pensées sur l'administration publique* in 1752, Voltaire expressed

this attitude which was reflected in many sayings of the time. "Un républicain est toujours plus attaché à sa patrie qu'un sujet à la sienne, par la raison qu'on aime mieux son bien que celui de son maître."⁶⁸ And in his next Thought he continued to ask what love of the fatherland was. His answer was significant. The love of the fatherland to him was a composite of self-respect and of prejudices of which the commonweal makes the greatest virtue. The word "patrie," he explained in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* as community of interests. "When those who, like myself, possess fields or houses gather for their common interests, then I have my voice in that gathering; I form a part of the whole, a part of the community, a part of the sovereignty; voilà ma patrie." This new feeling of patriotism was based upon a new feeling of liberty which expressed itself in the most various directions. All kinds of liberties were discovered, all kinds were claimed. New phrases were introduced into the language; individual liberty, political liberty, civic liberty, liberty of trade, liberty of thought, liberty of the press⁶⁹—these were only a few of the terms in which the one new desire of the newly awakened self-confidence, the demand for freedom of action, freedom of self-development, freedom of growth, expressed itself.

Liberty became the foundation of the fatherland: fatherland existed only where liberty was secure. But liberty itself was founded upon property, upon the consciousness of weight and strength which the members of the rising middle class gained from their accrued wealth. As proprietors, they demanded the security of law for their properties and had a stake in the well-being of the country. They felt this security and this stake endangered by bad government; they demanded the establishment of a good and rational government according to the principles of the new philosophy. Their allegiance went to a government because it was good. It was no longer sufficient to claim the traditional justification of legitimacy for the sovereign; the sovereign had to make good his claims by his service to the commonweal; this enlightened monarch, guided by the new philosophy and regarding himself as the first servant of the state, was the ideal of Voltaire and his generation; soon, however, this benevolent sovereignty of the prince

bound by his own laws seemed insufficient for the rapid development of the public mind in the second half of the eighteenth century. The subjects demanded participation in the sovereignty. Rousseau⁶⁵ defined subjects as those who are subject to the laws of the state, and citizens as those who participate in the sovereign authority. It was not only the disillusionment in Louis XVI, who had been greeted at first as an enlightened and benevolent monarch—it was the development of the conception of liberty which led soon to the new conception of popular sovereignty, of the equal participation of all the people in the conduct of the nation's affairs. This new idea, expressed in various ways by many writers of the time, was definitely crystallized by Rousseau.

6

The doctrines of natural rights and of popular sovereignty have a long history. As far back as 1483, Philippe Pot addressed the Estates General in France, stressing the fact that the people had twice the right to govern its own affairs, first because it is the master of its affairs, and then because it suffers most from bad government. He saw the Estates General as the depository of the will of the whole people.⁶⁶ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, under Dutch and Puritan influences, Althusius clearly exposed the theory of popular sovereignty. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the growing acceptance of natural law produced a revaluation of the position of the individual in terms of natural rights, and of the structure of community in terms of the social contract and of popular sovereignty. French thought in the second half of the eighteenth century integrated these various currents into a new gospel, which never entirely harmonized the individual aspect of protection from the state and the collective aspect of a sovereignty based upon the equality of all. The liberties of the individual and the constitution of the people as a community of equals were not claimed on the basis of historical precedent; in fact, no historical precedent existed for them. They were an ethical postulate based upon the new conception of man.

Montèsquieu started his *De l'esprit des lois* with the sentence,

"Les lois, dans leur signification la plus étendue, sont les rapports nécessaires qui dérivent de la nature des choses." But he knew that the concept which he introduced, that of virtue as the foundation of republics—virtue meaning love of the fatherland, or love of equality—was a new concept and in a certain sense even a new word: "J'ai eu des idées nouvelles: il a bien fallu trouver de nouveaux mots, ou donner aux anciens de nouvelles acceptions." Turgot wrote to the King in 1775, in his "Mémoires sur les municipalités," that the rights of man united in society were not founded on their history but on their nature.⁶⁷ The rights of man were based on truth and reason. "Plus mes compatriotes chercheront la vérité, plus ils aimeront leur liberté. La même force d'esprit qui nous conduit au vrai nous rend bons citoyens. Qu'est-ce en effet que d'être libres? c'est raisonner juste, c'est connaître les droits de l'homme; et quand on les connaît bien, on les défend de même."⁶⁸ The English and American Bills of Rights exercised their influence upon the growth of similar conceptions in France. Voltaire put up English legislation as an example in pleading for the liberty of unlicensed printing. "La loi d'Angleterre, sur cette question, ne mérite-t-elle pas de servir d'exemple à tous les législateurs qui voudront fair jouir l'homme des droits de l'homme?"⁶⁹ The English, American, and French conceptions of the rights of man grew up from the same root; but it was in eighteenth century France that this common attitude found its most powerful expression, which from that point not only influenced events on the European continent but even reinforced and reinterpreted the development in the Anglo-Saxon countries.⁷⁰

As liberty and property became the cornerstones of the new patriotism, so they became the foundations of the new economic theories which appeared with the physiocrats in France and with Adam Smith in England. The authoritarian doctrines of mercantilism were abandoned, not only on account of their authoritarian character which was repugnant to the new spirit of liberty and individualism, but also because mercantilism had proved inefficient in stimulating production sufficiently. The physiocrats put into the center of their theories the individual and individual property, and they demanded the abolition of all traditional restraints, prohibi-

tions, and regulations which hindered the free development of individual property and the optimum utilization of its productive capacity. Rational enlightened self-interest seemed to them to lead to the common good and the freedom of development, based upon free competition, to allow the natural harmony to work itself out; even the frontiers of the state should not prove a hindrance to the exchange of goods or persons. The physiocrats centered their attention upon agriculture as the real source of productive wealth, but they rationalized agriculture in the direction of modern capitalism.

The physiocrats wished to regenerate the world morally as well as economically and for that purpose insisted on universal education. Instruction had always been regarded as a private privilege, not as a public service by the state for the good of its citizens and ultimately for the good of the state itself. The physiocrats understood very well that a new economic order could be created only simultaneously with a new political and moral order, that the necessary enlightenment could spread only through education, which would teach all men to be just and benevolent. Some propagated education for utilitarian reasons, like Quesnay, who asked whether the children of farmers should not be able to read the books which would enlarge their knowledge of agriculture. Turgot, who was under the influence of the physiocrats, put the whole problem on a broader basis when he proposed to the king the formation of a "conseil de l'instruction nationale," which he thought would immortalize Louis XVI's reign more than any other creation. This council would guarantee the uniformity of patriotic views in all schools and would assure the moral and social instruction "*par des livres faits exprès, au concours, avec beaucoup de soin, et un maître d'école dans chaque paroisse, qui les enseigne aux enfants avec l'art d'écrire, de lire, de compter, de toiser, et les principes de la mécanique.*"⁷¹

Although the physiocrats were cosmopolitans and frankly hostile to the parochial etatism of the mercantilists, nevertheless their doctrine helped in preparing the rise of liberal nationalism. They turned from the court and the city to the country and to the people; they belonged to that generation which believed in the

great, beneficial, and healing power of nature, the *vis medicatrix naturae*; they drew the attention of the educated classes to the simple folk, to the farmers, to the need of their well-being and instruction as a foundation for the welfare of the whole community. They saw in the earth the source of all wealth, and although they regarded commerce and industry as useful for the enrichment and embellishment of life, they had a strange illusion, that the soil and its products were the work of God, whereas the civilized arts and techniques were the product of man, who was unable to create anything and could only utilize the creative forces put by God into the earth, the *alma parens*, the symbol of the inexhaustible fecundity of nature. This sentiment was expressed by Rousseau in the opening sentence of *Émile*, "Tout est bien, sortant des mains de l'Auteur des choses, tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme," and by William Cowper in his famous verses:

God made the country, and man made the town:
What wonder then that health and virtue, gifts
That can alone make sweet the bitter draught
That life holds out to all, should most abound
And least be threatened in the fields and groves.⁷²

The physiocrats were still unaware that although nature produces much, it produces many useless and even harmful things, as Condillac remarked, and that it is only the work of man which turns the exuberant flow of nature into something useful and really productive. They did not recognize yet the laborer's toil as the real source of wealth, but put their emphasis upon the property of the soil. Rural property became to them one of the foundations of society, and had its necessary corollary in liberty. "Le maintien de la propriété et de la liberté fait régner l'ordre le plus parfait sans le secours d'aucune autre loi," said Mercier de la Rivière.⁷³ Under the influence of the physiocrats, Turgot introduced in 1776 freedom of work for all; in 1763 the freedom of commerce of grain was established in the interior, though only for a short time, and three years later in foreign trade. The *laissez faire* of the physiocrats was not a doctrine of fatalism or of inactivity; it was, on the con-

trary, a doctrine of the highest activity for all individuals to whom fair play and freedom of action was assured. They were no longer to be hemmed in by the artificial barriers of tradition and arbitrary laws; with the growth of insight into the laws of natural order the beneficent harmony of all natural creation would work out to the benefit of all individuals and of the world at large.

Politically, the physiocrats were between two generations: that of Voltaire with its emphasis upon the civilized society and its distrust of the populace, and that of the revolutionaries of the eighties. They recognized the people and its need for education, and though they were not revolutionaries they stressed citizenship and citizens' rights. One of the most important periodical publications of their school was *Éphémérides du citoyen, ou bibliothèque raisonnée des sciences morales et politiques*, founded by Nicolas Baudeau in 1765 under the title *Éphémérides du citoyen, ou chroniques de l'esprit national*; and the Marquis de Mirabeau (who collaborated with Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours in the *Éphémérides* and in the *Journal de l'agriculture*) published in 1774 his *L'Instruction populaire, ou la science, les droits et les devoirs de l'homme*. In spite of this emphasis upon the rights and duties of citizens, the physiocrats followed the older generation in the wish for an enlightened despotism, but a despotism which would not make laws but recognize the laws of nature and conform to them. According to their faith in a *lex aeterna*, neither the prince nor the people could establish law; the sovereign was nature itself, reason which has established immutable laws, not to be changed or infringed upon by the will of the prince or by the will of the people. For that reason all, both prince and people, should be taught and enlightened so that they might fully understand and recognize the rational laws of nature.⁷⁴

Twenty years after the beginning of the physiocratic movement, Adam Smith published his *Wealth of Nations*, in which he widened and deepened the physiocratic position into a clear understanding that political economy could not be founded upon the interest of one or another class, of one or another occupation or source of production, but only upon the commonweal of the whole nation in its entirety and upon the cooperation of all based on the division

of labor. Society was thus regarded as a great workshop where the most different kinds of labor contributed to the creation of national wealth. It should be borne in mind that at that time the industrial revolution had hardly begun. In England trade and commerce still played the decisive role, rather than modern industrial production. The great inventions which opened up the possibility of mechanized large-scale production were only just being made.

There was even less modern industry in France then, though in one respect she was much in advance of England: the system of communications and postal service. Colbert had been the first to establish the principle that the building and maintenance of roads was a concern of the state. Even in France, however, the period of improved road building opened only in 1715, when the Direction Générale des Ponts et Chaussées was established. Its work was practically finished about 1775, providing France with a network of roads which was unrivaled anywhere in the world. In the same year an ordinance introduced for the first time definite time tables and prices for the transportation of travelers, and by 1783 twenty-five definite routes were used. Even in France, however, transportation was unimaginably slow compared with modern standards, and the excellent routes were often deserted, as the number of travelers was exceedingly small. A journey from Paris to Strasbourg took ten days, from Paris to Bordeaux fourteen days; and the coaches left in each direction only once a week. Even from Paris to Orléans, with coaches leaving daily, two days were needed.

French road building and transportation was far ahead of the system prevailing in England throughout the eighteenth century. Arthur Young on his travels through England in 1770 noted that the roads were as bad as ever, and in 1782 highway robberies of the mail coaches were regarded as a most usual event. At that time, "the postal system was characterized by extreme irregularity in the departure of mails and delivery of letters by an average speed of about three and one-half miles in an hour, and by a rapidly increasing diversion of correspondence into illicit channels."⁷⁵ A slow improvement set in in 1784, but it was only Thomas Telford who introduced into British road building the pitched foundation which had long been in use in France. In such a relatively backward stage

of production and communication, the demand of the physiocrats and of Adam Smith⁷⁶ for economic liberty and for international commerce had a revolutionary implication. Their thesis seemed to be borne out when the emancipation of the thirteen American colonies from England and the consequences thereof showed clearly the mistakes of the mercantilist theory. Trade between Great Britain and the United States became more flourishing after independence was won. The end of the eighteenth century witnessed the triumph of the physiocrats and of Adam Smith in economic politics. The French Revolution realized the reforms proposed by the physiocrats, and in Great Britain William Pitt was a disciple of Adam Smith. At the same time, the industrial revolution had set in, opening new horizons which Adam Smith's most gifted interpreter, the French economist Jean-Baptiste Say, recognized when he emphasized the growing role of the entrepreneur in the economic processes of the fully developed capitalistic age.

By their insistence on individual property and enterprise, on calculability and profit, on hard work and self-made success, the disciples of Adam Smith became indirectly helpful to the rise of democracy, breaking down traditions and castes and preparing an order in which the individual and his activities counted more than the station in which he was born.⁷⁷ Thus in the eighteenth century the free personality emerged in all fields of human activity—political, cultural, and economic. But this new order posited the grave problem of how to conciliate the liberty of the individual with the exigencies of social integration, how to subject man to a law which could no longer claim the authority of an absolute lawgiver outside and above men. In this situation nationalism was to become the tie binding the autonomous individual into the partnership of a community; Rousseau was the first to recognize the problem clearly and to grapple with its solution. He has been claimed as the father of modern nationalism, he has been praised and condemned as the herald of the inalienable birthrights of free individuals; in reality he was seeking, amid much confusion and contradiction, a new community starting from, and based upon, the free individual. The background against which this search was undertaken was eighteenth century rational cosmopolitanism with

a new emphasis upon the ways of life of the common people and its creative spontaneity.

7

In discussing the guiding ideas of the eighteenth century, as expressed in the new use of words in the French language, Ferdinand Brunot mentioned "humanité" as the leading new dogma.⁷⁸ The word had been used before in the meaning of "charity"; it now became employed in the sense of "mankind." But the old meaning remained as a living force, even when the word was no longer used to express it. On the contrary, the emphasis put upon man's goodness and the necessity for good actions became stronger. The whole age was an appeal for humanitarianism; the human sentiment in man became the foundation of his whole being. "The faith in something human and indestructible in ourselves, the inner assurance of it, are fundamental ideas inherent in the thought of the eighteenth century. They allow this thought to spread over all domains, to reach out for all possibilities. The human nature which never changes is a stable base," from which man can enjoy the sovereignty of his spirit, conscious of himself and of the affinity which binds him to everything human. It was this sentiment which dominated the *Encyclopédie* and the will of the generation to see men realize all that heightens human nature.⁷⁹

Truth and justice, based upon human sentiment and reason, were absolute values for the eighteenth century, shared by all men. In the eighty-fourth of his *Lettres Persanes*, Montesquieu declared that even if God did not exist men still ought to love justice. Though they were free from the yoke of religion, they should not be free from the yoke of equity. With a terrifying lucidity he added: "That makes me think that justice is eternal and does not depend upon human conventions; if it depended on them, that would be a terrible truth which one must hide from oneself." This doubt about the validity of moral law touched Montesquieu's curious mind for a brief instant only—in the growing abandonment of transcendental truth, human nature was regarded as the unalterable rock from which the reconstruction of society and efforts at an encyclopedic integration of all fast-growing knowl-

edge could be securely achieved. Voltaire accepted from "the great Newton" the idea that "*natura est semper sibi consona*." The law of gravitation which acts on one star acts on all stars, on all matter: in the same way the fundamental law of ethics acts equally on all the known nations. There are a thousand differences in the interpretation of this law in a thousand circumstances; but its essence remains always the same, and this essence is the idea of the just and of the unjust. "Men commit a stupendous number of unjust acts in the fury of their passions, as they lose their reason in drunkenness; but when the drunkenness has passed, reason returns, and that is in my opinion the only cause which makes human society endure, a cause subordinated to the need which we have one for the other."⁸⁰

This feeling of mankind's unity characterized all representative writings of the eighteenth century. "If I knew something useful to my nation but ruinous to another, I would not propose it to my prince, because I am a human being before I am a Frenchman, because I am by necessity a human being, whereas I am a Frenchman only by chance," said Montesquieu; and he followed it up with a similar statement: "If I knew something useful to my fatherland which were prejudicial to Europe, or something which were useful to Europe and prejudicial to mankind, I would consider it a crime."⁸¹ The horizon of the century went far beyond Europe and Christianity; its spokesmen viewed all races and all continents with the same human interest and concern. Diderot took sharp issue with all parochialism. "*Il y a des têtes étroites, des âmes mal nées indifférentes sur le sort du genre humain, et tellement concentrées dans leur petite société—leur nation—qu'ils ne voient rien au delà de son intérêt. Ces hommes veulent qu'on les appelle bons citoyens, et j'y consens, pourvu qu'ils me permettent de les appeler méchants hommes.*"⁸² Instead of striving to spread the Enlightenment abroad throughout mankind, these men, according to Diderot, wished to plunge the rest of the world into barbarism and darkness so as to be able to dominate it more securely.

Out of humanitarian reasons like those which animated Diderot, Turgot in his letter to Dr. Price on the American Constitution (1778) protested against the domination of one people by another

and maintained that a man oppressed by an unjust law could not be regarded as free: liberty did not consist in simple submission to a government by law or majority rule.⁸³ For to the eighteenth century mind there was a law higher than any national law. Man's dignity and liberty could not consist merely in being subject to laws instead of to the will of other men. Laws could become the worst tyranny, even laws sanctioned by the majority of a nation, if they did not conform to what Kant called the categorical imperative, the rule of reason which is one for all mankind. Laws, in order to be just, must take into account the inalienable rights which every individual can claim, and which "the nation cannot take away from him except by violence and by an illegitimate use of the general force."

But the same Turgot who insisted upon the rights of the individual and the unlimited validity of natural law was in no way blind to the existence of a multinational world. In a letter in 1766 he remonstrated with du Pont de Nemours for having confounded the idea of the nation with that of the state, and went on to define "nation" as a community of language;⁸⁴ therein he went beyond Montesquieu, who in his *Esprit des Lois* based the differences of nations—or perhaps better of states—primarily upon the influence of the climate. He was not concerned with nations in the modern sense of the word, but with governments; and therefore his influence, negligible on the development of nationalism, was very great on the evolution of constitutional law and political thought. It is mostly his proclamation of virtue as the necessary foundation of free republics which influenced incipient nationalistic thought in the later eighteenth century.⁸⁵

Although Turgot and a few other thinkers recognized language as the essential element of nationhood, no stress was laid on French as a national language. While French spread throughout the world as a universal language, it had the greatest difficulty in gaining admission as a language of instruction in French schools, even in the lower grades. Thomasius had started his course in German at the University of Halle in 1690, and German became the generally accepted language of instruction in the German universities of the eighteenth century. But such a linguistic nationalism remained

unknown in France. It is true that Latin ceased to be the generally written language in eighteenth century France, and declined even more as a spoken language, but it persisted as the language of instruction in the schools, and at the beginning of the century uncertainty about the future of the vernacular reigned in France, as it did in England. In 1685, Malebranche thanked Lenfant for having translated his *Recherche de la vérité* into Latin, for thus he had supposedly rendered immortal what might otherwise not have lasted more than one century, because of the inconstancy of the living language. And as late as September, 1727, the *Mercure de France* printed the following verse:

Toute Langue aujourd'hui devient Enigmatique;
On n'entend plus le Grec, assez peu le Latin:
Je crains pour le François un semblable destin.

In his *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie*, D'Alembert called French a "langue vulgaire," and regretted the fact that in his time the philosophers who desired to be read by the nation had to write in the vernacular; and he foresaw with regret that, before the end of the eighteenth century, a philosopher who wished to understand thoroughly the works of the preceding generation would be obliged to acquire a knowledge of seven or eight different languages, and after having spent his best time in learning them, might die before he had a chance even to begin the study of the works in which he was interested.⁸⁰

It was not until 1726 that the first authoritative voice was raised for the use of French in the field of education. In that year Charles Rollin, a Jansenist and a scholar of antiquity who had established his reputation by his revival of Greek studies at the University of Paris, came out in his *Traité des études* with the unprecedented demand that the vulgar tongue be used in higher instruction, not to replace Latin but only in addition to it. He also recommended that students should read French books. One of his few adherents, Abbé Nicolas Gédoyen, himself a classical scholar, asked: "Why not teach the students their own language, that language in which they have to show and develop their spirit and their talents if they have

any, that language which has surpassed all others, which is spoken at all the courts, which has almost become the universal language in Europe, and which has produced so many good works, loved as much by foreigners as by the Frenchmen themselves." ⁸⁷

Even the few educators who accepted the demands for teaching French, however, did not regard it as a desirable end in itself; they saw in it an introduction and an aid to the better teaching of Latin. In the Collège de France it was explicitly forbidden to comment in French on Latin or Greek texts. The first chair of French Literature was created in 1773, and this was mainly for the use of foreigners who came to Paris to study French literature. But even at the time of the Revolution no chair of French Language existed, and until 1791 all the bulletins of the Collège de France were printed in Latin. Nevertheless the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a growing demand for the introduction of French as the language of instruction in French schools, after the closing of the Jesuit colleges and the publication of *Emile* in 1762. It would be wrong, however, to suspect behind these moves any "nationalistic" motive; the demand for the use of French originated in utilitarian considerations. To the new rising middle classes, with their interest in science and in social reforms, it seemed useless to spend so much time learning Greek and Latin instead of practical subject matter; the graduating students seemed well prepared for the ministry or for service in some nonexistent colonies where Latin was the language of daily intercourse, but certainly not for taking their place in the life and struggles of contemporary France.

Without much official encouragement and without any nationalistic movement or agitation behind it, the French language became generally dominant throughout France during the eighteenth century with the spread of civilization, the diffusion of newspapers, the establishment of libraries and *cabinets de lecture*, the growing economic contacts between various parts of the country, and the improvements in means of communication. Throughout the provinces of France, many local academies were founded, generally devoted to the sciences, which had become most popular among the educated middle classes. Some of these academies paid attention also to the French language. Thus the statutes of the Société lit-

téraire d'Arras, founded in 1737, mentioned as one of its aims "to work to know better the principles, the genius, the taste and the delicacies of the French language,"—not for nationalistic reasons, but "pour le bien de la république des lettres."⁸⁸ But down to the French Revolution, the local dialects and languages persisted throughout France, and even the best educated citizens in many parts of the country used non-French languages among themselves. So slight was French national consciousness in the second half of the century that, under Turgot's definition of language as the tie constituting a nation, the French kingdom would have contained several nations. Even at the beginning of the French Revolution, Condorcet had to combat the opinions of those "qui continuent toujours de croire qu'il existe entre les Bretons et les Poitevins une telle différence de mœurs et de climats qu'ils doivent être gouvernés par des lois différentes."⁸⁹ And Brunot has made it quite clear that in the twenty years preceding the French Revolution the schools in France did not regard it as their task to spread the knowledge of French as a national language or to contribute to the awakening or development of a national spirit. Neither the State nor the Church had accepted such a task; the population itself had not yet awakened to an understanding of the role of language in national life.⁹⁰ The French language was not regarded as an instrument of expressing national emotions, but as the voice of universal reason.

8

In 1684, Pierre Bayle launched from Amsterdam *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*, which became a universal link for the intellectual life of all Europe, although Bayle confined himself to discussion of books written in Latin and French. Jean Leclerc, who founded two years later *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*, gave his attention to books published in all languages. Soon the foundations of a new conception of world literature were laid. In 1717 Michel de la Roche established in Amsterdam *Bibliothèque anglaise, ou histoire littéraire de la Grande Bretagne*, in which he intended to acquaint those who did not read English with the literary pro-

duction of Great Britain—a country “where the sciences and arts flourish as in no other part of the world; they are cultivated there in the bosom of liberty.” In 1720, Jacques Lenfant and other Frenchmen started in Berlin *Bibliothèque germanique, ou histoire littéraire de l’Allemagne, de la Suisse, et des Pays du Nord*, which continued for twenty years. A similar enterprise, *Bibliothèque italique, ou histoire littéraire de l’Italie*, was started in 1728 by several French editors in Geneva. The most important of these organs of modern literary cosmopolitanism was the *Journal Étranger*, founded in 1754 by the Abbé Prévost, Grimm, and others. The editors wished to collect the new writings, discoveries, and creations of artists and scholars of all countries, and thus to unite, as it were, in one single confederation all the particular republics into which the republic of letters had become divided. The technical difficulties of such an enterprise were too great for that time, so that the periodical lasted only eight years; but it was continued for some years more as the *Gazette littéraire de l’Europe*, under two of its original editors, François Arnaud and Jean Baptiste Antoine Suard.

Even more interesting and promising was the first modern digest, *L’Esprit des journaux français et étrangers* (1772), which was to be published monthly in volumes of 400 to 450 pages, a real encyclopedia of all important articles and books written in Europe.⁶¹ All these efforts in the republic of letters were based upon the common faith in the Enlightenment and the common use of French. The leading thinkers and statesmen of the whole continent were in close touch through a constant exchange of letters for which national frontiers did not exist, even in the midst of political and dynastic wars involving their countries. Many of the leading thinkers of the age, among them Descartes, Leibniz, Maupertuis, and Condorcet, proposed the creation of a universal language. Pahin de Champlain de la Blancherie suggested in his *Nouvelles de la république des lettres et des arts*, which he founded in 1779, the establishment of an institute of international intellectual cooperation. But arts and letters were not an end in themselves any more than science or legislation. They all had one aim, to humanize man and man’s life. Frederick II of Prussia summed up the intentions of the

writers of the early Enlightenment when, in speaking of Voltaire's *Henriade*, he defined the value of art and letters as a contribution "à humaniser les hommes en les rendant plus doux, plus justes, et moins portés aux violences. Elles ont pour le moins autant de part que les lois au bien de la société et au bonheur du peuple. Cette façon de penser aimable et douce se communique insensiblement de ceux qui cultivent les arts et les sciences, au public et au vulgaire, . . . elles passent de la cour à la ville, de la ville à la province."⁸²

The early Enlightenment, which lasted approximately from 1680 to 1750, was animated by a spirit of optimistic benevolence. This rococo civilization was still limited to very small circles of an aristocratic society and a few free spirits in close contact with them. The prevailing mood was on the one hand the skepticism of Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* of 1697, the grace of wit and irony, the insistence upon *bon goût* and *bon ton*—and on the other hand the new this-worldly hilarity, the desire for a good life, the wish to learn, to know oneself and the world around, to grow, and to become universal. Reason was recognized as the fundamental essence of man, but at the same time as a discipline which in no way should suppress the other sides of man's nature, but moderate and ennoble them and help to realize the universality of man. "Notre raison doit nous servir à modérer tout ce qu'il y a d'excessif en nous, mais non pas à détruire l'homme dans l'homme."⁸³ With all its questioning of the cause of everything and its fight against irrational traditions and superstitions, the literary movement of these years was not revolutionary; it wished to enlighten the monarch, not to proclaim the rights of the people.

The great change came after the middle of the century. Then the rising new middle classes began to set the tone in the *comédie larmoyante* and in the *drame bourgeois*, the tragedy in prose; a new aggressive tone, sometimes even sharp and bitter, made itself heard in philosophical and political discussions; skepticism gave way to an assertive faith in criticism of existing institutions; a demand for simplicity of life arose, the model for which was found in a new interpretation of classical antiquity. Greek and Roman art and the classical ideals of life gained a new importance; again Europe, feeling the need of renovation, drank from the ever welling Fountain

of Youth. Johann Joachim Winckelmann found in Greek art and life that "noble simplicity and quiet greatness" which seemed so different from the aesthetic ideas of the baroque and the rococo. In 1755, before he left Dresden for Rome, he published his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in Malerei und Bildbauerkunst*,⁹⁴ in which he not only proclaimed Greek aesthetic canons as the absolute standard of taste and art, but also revived the Greeks' feeling for beauty and form, their veneration of the naked body and physical exercise, their reverence for nature and the natural.⁹⁵ His enthusiasm for the Greek world was fundamentally opposed to any nationalism or national feeling; for the eighteenth-century classicism from Winckelmann to Goethe the standards of the beautiful and the good had been set once and forever in ancient Greece. "The only way for us to become great, yea, if it is possible, to become inimitable, is the imitation of the ancients."⁹⁶ Universal, not parochial, sets of values were the immutable principles guiding the thought and feeling of late eighteenth century classicism. But so complex, intricate, and even contradictory was the intellectual climate of the period—as throughout most of modern history—that this turn to antiquity which in men like Goethe formed the foundation of a universal and conservative wisdom, became with others an appeal to revolutionary emotions and created the conditions for the rise of national feeling, through the emphasis upon nature and sentiment and upon the simplicity of the common people.

It was not only through the theories and efforts of the physiocrats that rural life began to assume in the thought and language of the period an importance similar to that which the *bel esprit* had held half a century before. The tastes and habits of life changed; society was no longer attracted by the Court in Versailles. It moved to the countryside, where it built houses and spent at least the summer. A new love of nature found its expression in the novels and poems of that time; from the Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut* (1731) to the publication of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* in 1760, the new sensibility began more and more to replace the discipline inherited from the classicism of the seventeenth century. The young generation developed a cult of sentiment, of enthusiastic love and friendship,

studied and analyzed its own emotional life and proclaimed the heart as the seat of life.⁹⁷ The new individualism became strengthened by this wave of sensibility, and in turn this new wave accentuated the growing emphasis upon individualism.

These changes in taste were not confined to France; in varying degrees they were to be found all over Europe. They formed the humus out of which the romantic movements were born, with their emphasis upon the spontaneous creative spirit of the genius and their self-torturing delight in the *mal du siècle*. Germany participated in the new climate with the violent outburst of a young generation in the Storm and Stress, and Goethe's *Werther* touched the hearts of all young Europe after 1776. England had contributed Young's *Night Thoughts*⁹⁸ and that "rediscovery" of a primitive and heroic past found in James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland*, and in the *Works of Ossian*, published about the same time as Rousseau's great works. The French of that period, however, did not abandon themselves to the titanic but entirely purposeless revolutionary chaos of the Storm and Stress, nor to the deep melancholy of Young, nor to that nostalgic surge and unmeasured adoration of the past to which some of the English and many of the Germans succumbed. Their curiosity centered rather on primitive people, exotic countries, the "noble savage" or the New World where good men, uncorrupted by the civilization of courts and churches, seemed able to build an entirely new order on purely rational bases, unadulterated by the vices and superstitions of the past.⁹⁹ The most highly civilized and complex society of the time looked towards the primitive because it felt itself torn loose from its moorings, drifting with a strong wind towards a new destiny. Though sentiments, as *lumière intérieure*, became the inner voice of evidence and conscience, this new force was not hostile to reason; on the contrary, it supported right reason, unspoiled by the falsehoods of civilization and the artificialities of traditional superstitions. Reason remained the fountain-head and foundation of all the inner life of man; it alone, as the source and guarantee of truth and justice, allowed the recognition of that new general will of Rousseau, which became binding as the very expression of that reason which, from Descartes to Rousseau,

was acknowledged as "la chose du monde la mieux partagée, naturellement égale en tous les hommes."

The sacred monarch, who had seemed to Bossuet so firmly anchored in the eternal divine order less than a century before, had lost his symbolic value as the center and justification of society. The sacred liberty of the free personality had risen as the bright morning star on the horizon of the new era. But while it promised and made possible a new realization of man and of the human, it lacked the integrating force of creating a new symbol as the center and justification of society. With the authoritarianism of the old order breaking down, the task emerged to create a new order in freedom, based upon the autonomy of the individual. Rousseau was the first to understand the problem fully and to attempt its solution. Under his hands evolved, almost reluctantly, the new center and justification of society, the sacred collective personality of the nation. He was conscious of the greatness of the task. "Celui qui ose entreprendre d'instituer un peuple doit se sentir en état de changer pour ainsi dire la nature humaine, de transformer chaque individu, qui par lui-même est un tout parfait et solitaire, en partie d'un plus grand tout dont cet individu reçoive en quelque sorte sa vie et son être."¹⁰⁰ The sovereignty of the prince who had been one was to be replaced by the sovereignty of the people, who had to become one in a higher sense of the word. Nationalism was to provide the integrating force of the new era which dawned over France, and through France over western mankind.

9

Rousseau's importance for and influence on the development of modern political thought could hardly be exaggerated;¹⁰¹ in certain respects he occupied in the second half of the eighteenth century a position similar to that of Nietzsche in the second half of the nineteenth century. Both were critics of the civilization of their time and, from that starting point, were concerned with the problem of civilization in general, which to their optimistic contemporaries seemed to rest on secure foundations and to progress steadily; both in all the versatility of their interests and writings were funda-

mentally moral philosophers, and both were rather of an artistic and prophetic nature than of a scholarly type. Their highly sensitive minds reflected coming changes in the intellectual climate of Europe; as they were groping to put into words and formulas future and sometimes almost imperceptible attitudes, their writings remained by necessity contradictory, and open to diverse and conflicting interpretations. In spite of many elements in their thoughts and works to the contrary, Rousseau helped to lay the foundations for the democratic nationalism of the nineteenth century, and Nietzsche those for the fascist nationalism of the twentieth.

For all his contradictions, Rousseau remained fundamentally faithful to the attitude which he had acquired as a citizen of Geneva, and to which he gave expression in one of his earliest works, his "Épître à M. Parisot" (1741). Although the lines are devoid of any true poetry—very different in that from Nietzsche—they are worth quoting because in them are found all the elements which characterized even his latest political writings.

Mais on m'apprit qu'ayant aussi par ma naissance
Le droit de partager la suprême puissance,
Tout petit que j'étois, foible, obscur citoyen,
Je faisois cependant membre du souverain;
Qu'il falloit soutenir un si noble avantage
Par le cœur d'un héros, par les vertus d'un sage;
Qu'enfin la liberté, ce cher présent des cieux,
N'est qu'un fléau fatal pour les cœurs vicieux.
Avec le lait, chez nous, on suce ces maximes,
Moins pour s'enorgueillir de nos droits légitimes
Que pour savoir un jour se donner à la fois
Les meilleurs magistrats et les plus sages lois.

Vois-tu, me disoit-on, ces nations puissantes
Fournir rapidement leurs carrières brillantes?
Tout ce vain appareil qui remplit l'univers
N'est qu'un frivole éclat qui leur cache leurs fers.
Par leur propre valeur ils forgent leurs entraves:
Ils font les conquérants, et sont de vils esclaves;

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Nous vivons sans regret dans l'humble obscurité;
Mais du moins dans nos murs on est en liberté.
Nous n'y connoissons point la superbe arrogance,
Nuls titres fastueux, nulle injuste puissance.
De sages magistrats, établis par nos voix,
Jugent nos différends, font observer nos lois.
L'art n'est point le soutien de notre république:
Etre juste est chez nous l'unique politique.¹⁰²

Rousseau, like Dante and Petrarch, was one of the great exiles of history. Exiled from his native town, he built his thought on a nostalgic memory of the civic and republican virtues of Calvin's community, in which the influences of Old Testament theocracy and the literary memories of republican Rome and of Stoic philosophy were revitalized by the Reformation in a hard-working and proud middle-class society. There was some similarity of atmosphere between Geneva and seventeenth century England, and Rousseau himself was not free of "Anglomania," as it has been called. In a note to the seventh chapter in the second book of the *Social Contract* he insisted on the importance of Calvin, less as a theologian than as a political leader and legislator. Different from the English Puritans, Rousseau, living a century later, had substituted natural religion for the Calvinist cult; but Calvinism had not lost its fundamental importance for the shaping of his mind. "Quelque révolution que le temps puisse amener dans notre culte, tant que l'amour de la patrie et de la liberté ne sera pas éteint parmi nous, jamais la mémoire de ce grand homme [Calvin] ne cessera d'y être en bénédiction." His unfortunate experiences in a strange land increased his attachment to his small native republic, where power politics and thoughts of glory and conquest seemed absent, where independence and liberty were cherished and strict ideas of virtue emphasized.

Because Rousseau came to France as an exile, he could observe his new country in a more detached way. Voltaire's generation had lived within the frame of a secure society centered around Versailles and enlightened monarchs who appeared to embody a new ideal of king-philosophers. But the disintegration of society had

gone further than the philosophers and their royal disciples suspected. The last, and personally by far the most sincere, of the enlightened monarchs, the Habsburg Prince Joseph II, seemed to feel the need for haste in the reform of the bases of society; but his efforts ended in tragic failure against the somber background of the turmoil which swept away his unfortunate sister and the whole order of Versailles.

This revolution was not the work of Rousseau. Personally he was rather conservative in his political and social views. In his advice to the people of Geneva he always urged calm and moderation and warned against revolutionary change. He feared the violent upheavals which he foresaw. He could no longer use sharp satire and brilliant wit as weapons for the reform of an order which still seemed strongly based on indestructible foundations. Voltaire and Diderot were convinced not only of the intellectual and moral progress of mankind, but also of its influence in improving society and the social order. Rousseau, in what appeared to his contemporaries a daring paradox, was the first to doubt the identity or at least the parallelism of progress in civilization and the growth of moral consciousness. An unhappy and tormented outsider, a vagrant without home or family, Rousseau questioned the validity of society and of civilization; out of his personal suffering he sensed the grave malady of the age and offered the healing vision of a new order and his enthusiastic belief in the power of the human heart to strive for it.

The indestructible center of his hope, in the midst of the general decadence, was his eighteenth century belief in the potentialities and freedom of man. He was not interested in the accidental form of government; he had learned from Montesquieu (and he knew by his own historical thinking) that all abstract discussion concerning the best form of government was useless without consideration of the fact that each one may be the best in certain cases and the worst in others.¹⁰⁸ He was concerned with establishing government on a basis compatible with the freedom of man and with his dignity as a rational being. Natural man and natural order were for him not historical facts, belonging to a dim past, but eternal norms which alone were able to guide the peoples wishing to replace the

shaky and arbitrary foundations of government by force with the permanent and lasting ones of a rational society of free men. Thus alone the paradox could be overcome that man was born free, and everywhere was in chains. Since force does not create right nor establish a legitimate power, and since society must exist and man can live only within it, a way must be found for him to will society out of his own free will, and obey laws because he has prescribed them for himself.

In this new contractual society in which the people are sovereign, inalienable individual rights are not abolished, but made secure in a state based not on arbitrariness and force but on the moral law. An arbitrary opposition of the individual to this state becomes a rational absurdity and an ethical crime; but those who later accepted the form of Rousseau's community without its eighteenth century spirit easily overlooked the fact that the general will of Rousseau's state received its validity only from the rational liberty and equality of all men which it expressed, and was null and void otherwise, and turned into tyranny if it denied equality and justice to a minority on behalf of even a vast majority. The "totalitarian" form of Rousseau's community was to give it a better foundation than the arbitrary governments which Rousseau saw around him—governments in which only a few individuals, the king or an oligarchy, shared and participated. But the aim of his "totalitarian" society was not a new hierarchy or the elevation of a new elite, but the rational and humanitarian goal of individual happiness, peace and equal rights. The generation of the French Revolution found, not without justification, in Rousseau the wellspring of liberty, equality, and fraternity.¹⁰⁴

With a Nietzschean perspicacity Rousseau proclaimed that "nous approchons de l'état de crise et du siècle des révolutions."¹⁰⁵ The strength to face the crisis and to offer a new rallying point in a disintegrating world came to him from the Calvinist consciousness of his native city of being the new Israel, a chosen people, a saintly nation.¹⁰⁶ True, the liberty in Geneva had as little to do with democracy in the modern sense as did liberty in the seventeenth century Puritan settlements of New England; it was narrow and bigoted, but still there were feelings of liberty unknown else-

where on the continent of Europe, a pride in national sovereignty, a voluntary military service to defend the fatherland, rendered by all burghers in time of need—seeds of that true patriotism and that real fatherland which the Encyclopedists desired for France and for all countries. Out of his Geneva inheritance Rousseau built the ideal state of the *Social Contract*, though the liberties and virtues of the real Geneva were in no way those of its ideal replica. As Plato had idealized Sparta in his *Republic*, so the Geneva of the émigré was not only the fruit of nostalgic longing, but the construction of a rational lawgiver. The image of Geneva, the real and the ideal, accompanied him throughout life. The patriotic virtues of the ancient city-states, the Old Testament theocracy of Calvinism, the proud record of independence of the Swiss communities—these traditions were reflected in a blurred though discernible way in the law and life of Geneva.

Rousseau dedicated his *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1754) to the Republic of Geneva, with a long and glowing praise of its institutions and their spirit. A republican patriot's pride filled the pages, but it was a conservative lover of freedom and the traditional laws and customs which had secured and maintained it who expressed his faith in a way which would not have seemed unacceptable to Burke. At about the same time he published an article, "De l'économie politique," in the fifth volume of the *Encyclopédie*. There he stressed the necessity of being a good citizen, and regarded love of the fatherland as the most efficient means of arriving at that end. "L'amour de la patrie est [le moyen] le plus efficace; car, comme je l'ai déjà dit, tout homme est vertueux quand sa volonté particulière est conforme en tout à la volonté générale, et nous voulons volontiers ce que veulent les gens que nous aimons."¹⁰⁷ He called the love of the fatherland the most heroic of all passions, capable of producing the greatest prodigies of virtue; he preferred a Cato even to a Socrates. But here, as in all later writings of Rousseau, the foundation of the fatherland remained the individual citizen, and it was his and every individual's happiness and liberty which formed the chief end of the state. "En effet, l'engagement du Corps de la nation n'est-il pas de pourvoir à la conservation du dernier de ses

membres avec autant de soin qu'à celles de tous les autres? Et le salut d'un citoyen est-il moins la cause commune que celui de tout l'Etat? Qu'on nous dise qu'il est bon qu'un seul périsse pour tous; j'admurerai cette sentence dans la bouche d'un digne et vertueux patriote qui se consacre volontièrement et par devoir à la mort pour le salut de son pays. Mais si l'on entend qu'il soit permis au Gouvernement de sacrifier un innocent au salut de la multitude, je tiens cette maxime pour une des plus exécrables que jamais la tyrannie ait inventées, la plus fausse qu'on puisse avancer, la plus dangereuse qu'on puisse admettre, et la plus directement opposée aux lois fondamentales de la société." ¹⁰⁸

But the state has as its fundamental task not only the assurance of the liberty and happiness of every inhabitant, it depends for its rightful existence on the virtues of all its citizens. For that end they must be educated; and like the physiocrats, only with greater warmth, Rousseau insisted upon the central place which public education for all children should assume in the life of the state. "L'éducation publique, sous des règles prescrites par le Gouvernement, et sous des magistrats établis par le souverain, est donc une des maximes fondamentales du Gouvernement populaire ou légitime. Si les enfants sont élevés en commun dans le sein de l'égalité, s'ils sont imbus des lois de l'état et des maximes de la volonté générale, s'ils sont instruits à les respecter par-dessus toutes choses, s'ils sont environnés d'exemples et d'objets qui leur parlent sans cesse de la tendre mère qui les nourrit, de l'amour qu'elle a pour eux, des biens inestimables qu'ils reçoivent d'elle, et du retour qu'ils lui doivent, ne doutons pas qu'ils n'apprennent ainsi à se chérir mutuellement comme des frères, . . . et à devenir un jour les défenseurs et les pères de la patrie, dont ils auront été si longtemps les enfants." ¹⁰⁹ Thus, from childhood the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity in the service of the common fatherland were to be implanted in the hearts of the future citizens.

Though these ideals were not realized in the actual life of his native Geneva, Rousseau found in his childhood memories the inspiration for an attitude which opposed Calvinist or Puritan simplicity to the refined and "corrupt" civilization of France, and the "innocent" popular festivals of a harmonious and happy people

to the pleasures of a small social and intellectual aristocracy. When D'Alembert in his *Encyclopédie* article on Geneva proposed the introduction of theatrical companies in the Calvinist city, Rousseau in his *Lettre à M. d'Alembert* (1758) defended the traditional habits of his native town and pleaded for simple festivals which would enhance the spirit of fraternity, patriotism, and martial virtues. He cited the festivals of Sparta as models for those which he wished to introduce in Geneva. In a lengthy note he described a scene he had witnessed as a child in the company of his father, which had deeply impressed him. He had seen the regiment of Saint-Gervais, on its return from drill, start to dance after supper on the Place de Saint-Gervais, officers and soldiers intermingled. Their dance became a spontaneous public festival in which the crowd joined. "Mon père en m'embrassant fut saisi d'un tré saillement que je crois sentir et partager encore. 'Jean-Jacques,' me disait-il, 'aime ton pays. Vois-tu ces bons Genevois? Ils sont tous amis, ils sont tous frères, la joie et la concorde règnent au milieu d'eux. Tu es Genevois; tu verras un jour d'autres peuples; mais quand tu voyagerais autant que ton père, tu ne trouveras jamais leurs pareils.'" And Rousseau was moved to conclude that the only pure joy was public joy, and that the true sentiments of nature were to be found only among the people.¹¹⁰

In spite of these moving memories of his childhood, Rousseau was conscious of how far the actual Geneva fell short of the ideal city, a rational construction of his mind to which an emotional attachment and memory added the warmth of the heart. He expressed it himself in a passage of his *Confessions*, speaking of his brief visit to Geneva in 1732: "En passant à Genève je n'allai voir personne, mais je fus prêt à me trouver mal sur les ponts. Jamais je n'ai vu les murs de cette heureuse ville, jamais je n'y suis entré, sans sentir une certaine défaillance de cœur qui venoit d'un excès d'attendrissement. En même temps que la noble image de la liberté m'élevoit l'âme, celles de l'égalité, de l'union, de la douceur des mœurs, me touchoient jusqu'aux larmes, et m'inspiroient un vif regret d'avoir perdu tous ces biens. Dans quelle erreur j'étois, mais qu'elle étoit naturelle! Je croyais voir tout cela dans ma patrie, parce que je le portois dans mon cœur."¹¹¹ And in a later passage,

when he spoke of his intention of writing an *Institution politique* (a forerunner of the *Social Contract*), he knew how much the picture which he was about to draw surpassed the reality of Geneva. "Je voyais que tout cela se menait à de grandes vérités, utiles au bonheur du genre humain, mais surtout à celui de ma patrie, où je n'avais pas trouvé, dans le voyage que je venais d'y faire, les notions des lois et de la liberté assez justes, ni assez nettes à mon gré; et j'avais cru cette manière indirecte de les leur donner, la plus propre à ménager l'amour-propre de ses membres, et à me faire pardonner d'avoir pu voir là-dessus un peu plus loin qu'eux."¹¹²

When he finally published his *Social Contract*, the only government which burned the book was that of his native town, which he had set up as a model. No wonder that Rousseau felt deeply irritated. In a letter to Moulton on April 2, 1763, he averred his feeling of shame at still bearing the title of citizen of Geneva, a city of which he had been so proud, and on May 12 he renounced his citizenship.¹¹³ But his compatriots were not entirely wrong in their rejection of the book. For it did not envisage any concrete city or land, not even the Republic of Geneva, but an ideal fatherland based upon the ethical rationalism of the eighteenth century. In 1758 Rousseau wrote in the Preface to his *Lettre à M. d'Alembert*, which he signed proudly as a citizen of Geneva: "Justice et vérité, voilà les premiers devoirs de l'homme. Humanité, patrie, voilà ses premières affections. Toutes les fois que des ménagements particuliers lui font changer cet ordre, il est coupable."¹¹⁴ Seven years later when he had abandoned Geneva he wrote in a letter, "S'il est sur la terre un état où règne la justice et la liberté, je suis citoyen né de cet état-là."¹¹⁵

Rousseau was right; he was no modern nationalist. He would have rejected and abhorred all integral or totalitarian nationalism. What he wished to do was to found the state on a new basis, on a truly patriotic basis, but one which at the same time would be that of rational liberty and justice. His aim did not differ fundamentally from that of Hobbes. Like him, Rousseau sought a new foundation in a time of disintegration. "Civitas est persona una, cuius voluntas, ex pactis plurium hominum, pro voluntate habenda est

ipsorum omnium, ut singulorum viribus et facultatibus uti possit ad pacem et defensionem communem," sounded familiar to Rousseau.¹¹⁶ But Rousseau distrusted the Prince as the repository of the general will, even the most enlightened prince who would understand that his own self-interest demanded a just rule and the welfare of the people. As he wrote to Mirabeau on July 26, 1767, "On prouve que le plus véritable intérêt du despote est de gouverner légalement, cela est reconnu de tous les tems; mais qui est-ce qui se conduit sur ses plus vrais intérêts? Le sage seul, s'il existe."

The community of men if it was to escape despotism needed a more certain foundation than the embodiment of the common will in one man. It must be a true "corps moral et collectif," a "moi commun," a collective self of which the individual becomes part, spiritually and physically. To be able to live in society, man must obey laws, restrain himself, and combat his worst enemies, which are his appetite, brutishness, and ignorance. But (and here Rousseau agreed with Milton and Kant) man's dignity and liberty are preserved only if, in this necessary restraint, he finds himself subjected to laws imposed by himself. Thus what man gains out of the social contract is, above all else, moral liberty, which alone makes him master of himself: "for the mere promptings of appetite are slavery, while obedience to a law which we impose upon ourselves is what constitutes liberty."¹¹⁷ These free men, naturally, will be equal; thus it is not astonishing that Rousseau defined the greatest good of all, which should be the end of every system of legislation, as reducing itself to two main objects, liberty and equality.¹¹⁸ From that foundation Rousseau derived the most important conclusion, that the collective self cannot arrive at any true and binding decision unless the matter has been submitted to a free vote of the whole people.¹¹⁹ And nobody must be excluded from this vote. "Pour qu'une volonté soit générale, il n'est pas toujours nécessaire qu'elle soit unanime, mais il est nécessaire que toutes les voix soient comptées; toute exclusion formelle rompt la généralité."

Though for Rousseau the state became a collective personality, theoretically as vital as the individual, if not even more so, he at no time regarded the state as a being with its own morality, driven

by its own reason to which the individuals would be subordinated. Sometimes he spoke as if the individual might disappear in the state. In *Emile* he declared that the best social institutions are those "qui savent le mieux dénaturer l'homme; lui ôter son existence absolue pour lui en donner une relative et transporter le *moi* dans l'unité commune; en sorte que chaque particulier ne se croit plus un, mais partie de l'unité, et ne soit plus sensible que dans le tout. . . . L'homme civil n'est qu'une unité fractionnaire qui tient au dénominateur et dont la valeur est dans son rapport avec l'entier, qui est le Corps social."¹²⁰ The *Social Contract* and *Emile* were written in the same period of Rousseau's life; but in the former the individual is presented as an integral part of society, in the latter he lives entirely outside the state.

These contradictions in Rousseau can be explained like similar ones in Nietzsche: both thought not as scholars in search of scientific solutions, but as prophets faced by the necessity of dealing with problems posited to them through the exigencies of life and historical changes, whose stormy march they sensed more deeply and far ahead of their contemporaries. Groping for new solutions, Rousseau found himself absolutizing sometimes individual liberty, and at other times the social integration of individuals in a perfect union. This necessarily led to insoluble antinomies and to some obscurity of language. But in the midst of many contradictions, the individual remained the center of Rousseau's thought, as of Nietzsche's; and the new form of state which Rousseau envisaged had as its aim the increase of the liberty and happiness of individuals. "Quelle est la fin de l'association politique? C'est la conservation et la prospérité de ses membres."¹²¹ Man was not created for the state, but the state for man. "L'objet de la vie humaine est la félicité de l'homme."¹²²

But the contradictions which obscured Rousseau's fundamental individualism had their source in conflicting tendencies dominating Rousseau's mind. The readings of his youth had left on his impressionable mind the images of Roman and Spartan civic virtues, their complete sacrifice of private life and private interests to public duty.¹²³ The attraction of their intense patriotism grew for him when he later came into intimate contact with the egoistic

life of pleasure of the French society of his day, its lack of interest in public life, its disregard of responsibility for the welfare of the nation. Like many of his enlightened contemporaries, he saw in the growth of patriotism a possible cure for many of the ills of the century. He had no clear picture of necessary or desirable institutional and economic reforms; he regarded a change in moral atmosphere as the indispensable prerequisite. Thence his insistence upon duties, upon the feeling of responsibility for the community; thence his emphasis on virtue which he thought could not spring from reasoning alone, but must have its seat in the deep emotions of the heart which determine human behavior and control all those appetites which he felt were the greatest enemies of man's rational liberty.

While Locke and the Encyclopedists had stressed individualism and rationalism in their task of liberating man and society from the fetters of the past, Rousseau, attempting to build society under these new conditions, had to shift the emphasis without abandoning the foundations. The new society of free and equal individuals could exist, as Rousseau knew, only when the disintegrating forces of personal voluptuousness and inertia were overcome by a new sense of community-mindedness, by the identification of the person with the commonweal. Yet at the same time (and here Rousseau was truly the son of the eighteenth century) this community must be one in which individual freedom was neither suppressed nor oppressed, but found its highest realization. In his letter to Mirabeau on July 26, 1767, he acknowledged that he was faced by the problem of finding a form of government which put the Law above Man, a task as difficult as that of squaring the circle. It could be solved only by establishing what Rousseau called in the same letter "an austere democracy," a community based on reason, liberty, and good will. Rousseau had replaced the easily discernible sovereignty of the prince by the difficult concept of the sovereignty of the people; the sovereign will was now based upon all individuals uniting in a compact, and expressing their will in the *volonté générale* which, though it was a product of all the individual wills, could nevertheless be different from the single will, and yet was compatible with the free will of every member—be-

cause it was the expression not of anything accidental or arbitrary, but of the reasonable and the good, of that virtuous attitude which should animate each member.¹²⁴

A nation that expressed itself through the general will, could for Rousseau not be a product of nature. German romantic thinkers misunderstood him when they transferred his ethnocultural antithesis (nature and folk traditions against aristocratic and urban civilizations) to the field of society and of nationalism. They established a distinction between state and nation: they regarded the state as a mechanical and juridical construction, the artificial product of historical accidents, while they believed the nation to be the work of nature, and therefore something sacred, eternal, organic, carrying a deeper justification than works of men. Nothing could be further from Rousseau's thought; for him the nation and the nation-state were nothing "natural" or "organic," but a product of the will of individuals. While, according to German romanticists, every man "belonged" by "nature" to a nation, according to Rousseau, men united as a nation by free declaration. So he could say in the first draft of the *Social Contract*, in proposing his essay on how to unite men into a nation, "Je cherche le droit et la raison."¹²⁵

Rousseau shared with some romanticists a dislike of the growing urban and capitalistic civilization, but he did not look longingly back to the Middle Ages. Nothing was farther from his mind than an idealization of medieval corporations or the feudal order which he called "cet inique et absurde gouvernement dans lequel l'espèce humaine est dégradée et où le nom d'homme est en déshonneur."¹²⁶ What he hated in the Middle Ages was the individual's lack of freedom and the hierarchical order which abolished equality, the two very elements which endeared the Middle Ages to the political romanticists. His ideals of the past (which, it is true, he saw in as unreal a light as the romanticists did the Middle Ages), were ancient Sparta and republican Rome, the source of inspiration for the individualism of the Renaissance and the equalitarianism of the French Revolution. The political communities which Rousseau wished to establish ordered their lives on strictly moral principles, and he rejected with scorn any difference between private and

public ethics; the reason of state, the dynamic self-interest of the community as the motivation for activities beyond the strict realm of morality, were unacceptable to him.

His ideal state was omnipotent, but it was a democracy based upon the active participation of all citizens as legislators who would never permanently delegate their fundamental powers, and upon their absolute equality; it was an autarchic state, but a static state to which all dynamism and certainly all expansionism was most abhorrent, an absolutely peaceful state, preferring a frugal poverty to heroism and glory as well as to wealth. In his *Lettre à M. d'Alembert* Rousseau protested not only against the introduction of frivolous comedies into Geneva, but also against tragedies, in spite of their noble pathos and their appeal to virtue. "*La tragédie nous représentera des tyrans et des héros. Qu'en avons-nous à faire? Sommes-nous faits pour en avoir ou les devenir? Elle nous donnera une vaine admiration de la puissance et de la grandeur.*"¹²⁷ Power politics had no place in Rousseau's mind. He accepted the internal virtues of republican Rome and of Sparta, which assured equality and freedom, but he abhorred their expansionist policies. The Roman Empire, and empires in general, were repulsive to him. Rousseau rejected not only the desire for expansion, but even large states as such, which seemed to him incompatible with the liberty and equality of the citizens. the happiness and peace-mindedness of the community.¹²⁸

Through the moral and sentimental appeal which animated his work, Rousseau exercised an immense influence; his insistence upon liberty and popular government, his hatred of oppression and tyranny, his philanthropy or interest in the common people—all found a well prepared audience in the individualism and humanitarianism of his time; but his fervent emphasis on *patrie* and *citoyen*, on suffrage and sovereignty, added new ringing notes. Though the *Social Contract* was a purely abstract book, deduced from and appealing to that natural light of which Rousseau had spoken so critically in his letter to Mirabeau, nevertheless he had succeeded in enlisting the "penchants du cœur humain" and the "jeu des passions" in the service of his Utopia. A contemporary of the French Revolution has well summed up Rousseau's most im-

portant contribution, not only for the preparation of the Revolution, but for modern democratic nationalism. "C'est avec la vertu publique de Rousseau que l'Assemblée nationale, après plusieurs siècles de barbarie et de délire, durant lesquels la politique des philosophes avait été méconnue, oubliée, récréa la politique naturelle qui va faire le tour du monde: j'entends la morale réciproque et générale, cette morale publique et commune, soit au dedans, soit au dehors, entre les sociétés que les hommes civilisés forment les unes auprès des autres sur la terre."¹²⁰ The ideal of free communities founded upon the active participation of equal citizens and animated by a spirit of devotion to a common idea dominated the century after Rousseau. He taught men that their foremost loyalty was due to the "national" community, based upon law, liberty, and equality, and held together by a feeling of brotherhood and mutual devotion. Such a community could be founded only on the will of all its members. To educate their will, to create conditions favorable to its formation and duration, became the central task of nation building.

Rousseau did not prepare the modern nation-state politically (this was done by the absolute monarchs, though Rousseau contributed much to shifting the basis from the king to the nation) nor culturally (this was due to Herder, though Herder was indebted to him). But Rousseau provided the modern nation with its emotional and moral foundations, he mobilized the *amour de la patrie* and the *élan de la vertu* for the state. Only in free states where each citizen feels an active responsibility for the commonweal, will the state draw strength from the aroused interest of its citizens. This accretion of vital vigor will not be a question of economic self-interest alone. "On ne peut faire agir les hommes que par leur intérêt, je le sais; mais l'intérêt pécuniaire est le plus mauvais de tous, le plus vil, le plus propre à la corruption, et même, je le répète avec confiance et le soutiendrai toujours, le moindre et le plus faible aux yeux de qui connaît bien le cœur humain. Il est naturellement dans tous les cœurs des grandes passions en réserve; quand il n'y reste plus que celle de l'argent, c'est qu'on a énervé, étouffé toutes les autres, qu'il fallait exciter et développer." But if the great passions of the human heart are mobilized in the interests

of the state—which can be done only through freedom—then “de l’effervescence excitée par cette commune émulation naîtra cette ivresse patriotique qui seule sait élever les hommes au-dessus d’eux-mêmes, et sans laquelle la liberté n’est qu’un vain nom et la législation qu’une chimère.”¹³⁰ This intoxication with patriotism, the love of the fatherland as the lifeblood of the development of human personality—this new attitude, unknown to the centuries before Rousseau, so well known to those after him, was the primary contribution of Geneva’s foremost citizen and exile to the growth of modern nationalism.

He had intended to put this feeling into the service of the liberation of man, the awakening of the masses from lethargy to active life, from servility to proud autonomy. There is no doubt that it has rendered this service. But Rousseau could not foresee that it could lead to a new dark age in which liberty, equality, and fraternity would be immolated to a Leviathan infinitely more deadly than Hobbes’s cold monster, because its vitality had been immeasurably intensified by the offerings of all that love and devotion which Rousseau and his disciples had aroused in men’s hearts. Rousseau would have turned away in horror from the latest offspring of his thought. For he was deeply convinced that all men and all nations obey the same rational law, that legislation consists mainly in making this imprescriptible and immutable law evident to every man’s mind. In advising Poland about the reform of its national life, he spoke of “la Loi de la nature, cette Loi sainte, imprescriptible, qui parle au cœur de l’homme et à sa raison”; in drafting a constitution for the people of Corsica he assured them: “Je ne veux point vous donner des lois artificielles et systématiques, inventées par des hommes; mais vous ramener sous les seules lois de la nature et de l’ordre, qui commandent au cœur et ne tyrannisent point les volontés.”¹³¹

IO

Like Montesquieu, Rousseau understood the differences which the traditions of history and the conditions of climate and environment produced among different human groups.¹³² Two con-

stitutions which he proposed for Corsica and for Poland (written after the *Social Contract*—in fact, the Considerations on the Government of Poland were his last political writing) show a growing understanding of the nature of nationalism, perhaps reflecting therein the general trend of the time. Conditions differed in the two cases: Corsica offered the rare chance of a new beginning, Poland was an old state in disintegration, whose survival demanded a moral and political rebirth. Corsica was virgin soil; its insular seclusion and social and economic development made it an ideal place from Rousseau's point of view; he had mentioned Corsica in the *Social Contract* as the only land in Europe still capable of legislation in conformity with his ideas. Thus an invitation by Matteo Buttafuoco, a Corsican, to draft a fundamental law for the liberty-loving island with its self-sufficient primitive agrarian community attracted Rousseau, and in the fall of 1765 he wrote *A Project of the Constitution for Corsica*.

The two projects show an increased emphasis on national character and institutions, products of history and education, not gifts of nature.¹³³ In institutions, festivals, and customs, peoples differ from one another. If they cling firmly to these differences they can survive the loss of national independence and still maintain national individuality. "Donnez une autre pente aux passions des Polonais, vous donnerez à leurs âmes une physionomie nationale qui les distinguera des autres peuples, que les empêchera de se fondre avec eux."¹³⁴ All true nations, however, must be constituted by a voluntary act, by an oath administered with great public solemnity—which recalls the *jour des confédérés* of July 14, 1790, when the French nation celebrated its birth. Rousseau drafted the text of the oath for the Corsicans: "Au nom de Dieu tout-puissant et sur les saints Évangiles, par un serment sacré et irrévocable, je m'unis de corps, de biens, de volonté et de toute ma puissance, à la nation corse, pour lui appartenir en toute propriété, moi et tout ce qui dépend de moi. Je jure de vivre et mourir pour elle, d'observer toutes ses lois et d'obéir à ses chefs et magistrats légitimes en tout ce qui sera conforme aux lois. Ainsi Dieu me soit en aide en cette vie, et fasse miséricorde à mon âme. Vivent à jamais la liberté, la justice et la République des Corses. Amen." Let us note the order

of emphasis in the last sentence: liberty and justice precede the fatherland. The purpose of Rousseau's nationalism was liberty and justice, not the elevation of the nation above universal human values and objective considerations.¹⁴⁶

Corsica gave Rousseau an opportunity to propose his favored Utopia, a small, completely self-contained agrarian community, where all would be equal without any great differences of wealth or property. He hated the great metropolitan capitals, which seemed to him to destroy the individuality of nations and to level the peoples of Europe. Already in *Emile* he had written: "Toutes les capitals se ressemblent, tous les peuples s'y mêlent, toutes les mœurs s'y confondent; ce n'est pas là qu'il faut aller étudier les nations. Paris et Londres ne sont à mes yeux que la même ville . . . C'est dans les provinces reculées, où il y a moins de mouvement, de commerce, où les étrangers voyagent moins, dont les habitants se déplacent moins, changent moins de fortune et d'état, qu'il faut aller étudier le génie et les mœurs d'une nation." To the Corsicans he expressed himself even more strongly: "Or, si les villes sont nuisibles, les capitales le sont encore plus; une capitale est un gouffre où la nation presque entière va perdre ses mœurs, ses lois, son courage et sa liberté . . . De la capitale s'exhale une peste continuelle qui mine et détruit enfin la nation."¹⁴⁷

Rousseau wished to maintain Corsica as a rural community, because he saw therein the sole guarantee of true freedom. "Le seul moyen de maintenir un état dans l'indépendance des autres est l'agriculture. Le commerce produit la richesse; mais l'agriculture assure la liberté. On dira qu'il vaudrait mieux avoir l'une et l'autre; mais elles sont incompatibles."¹⁴⁸ Farmers would also make better soldiers and be more ready to defend their liberties; universal military service seemed to Rousseau to be the only truly democratic foundation for the preservation of liberty; farmers and all citizens should share equally in this common task. All should employ the same rights, bear the same burdens without aristocracy, privileges, or hereditary distinctions.¹⁴⁹ As all would serve in the army, all of them would be equally eligible as magistrates.

Rousseau insisted on universal military service as a convinced pacifist. It was not enough for the Corsican nation to reject all

thought of military glory or expansion; it had also to renounce all competition with other states. There should be as little intercourse as possible; the self-contained country would preserve its simplicity and its original habits and remain contented. "La nation ne sera point illustre, mais elle sera heureuse. On ne parlera pas d'elle; elle aura peu de considération au dehors; mais elle aura l'abondance, la paix et la liberté dans son sein."¹⁴⁰ It fits into this picture that Rousseau wished to limit the naturalization of foreigners, to restrict political rights to married men, and to derive a large part of the state revenues from the direct service of its citizens as soldiers, in great public enterprises and labor camps. While the community should be rich and strong, individuals should be poor, inheritance legislation taking care of any large fortunes, so that an equalization of property would result in each generation, everyone having some wealth and none too much.¹⁴⁰ Thus Corsica seemed to present Rousseau with the chance of establishing the ideal community of the *Social Contract*; but the draft never reached the people for whom it was destined; it remained buried among Rousseau's papers until many years after his death.

Poland was, from Rousseau's point of view, in a far more disadvantageous position than Corsica. It was a very large country, open to aggression from all sides and ruled by an aristocracy which enjoyed the most far-reaching privileges. In a characteristic way he advised the Poles, first and above all, to reduce the size of their country. If their neighbors would oblige the Poles by dismembering Poland, it would be a misfortune for the portions annexed, but it would be a blessing for the rest of the nation, because it would facilitate the necessary reforms. Even then Poland might be too large, and it would have to transform itself into a federation and dissolve its unity into a number of small independent communities allied for common defense. Rousseau saw in the federation of small states a solution which would permit the combination of internal happiness and liberty with external order and security.¹⁴¹

Rousseau saw the welfare of the state as founded upon the patriotism of its citizens, which had to be firmly implanted in their hearts by childhood education and the institutions and habits of manhood. "C'est l'éducation qui doit donner aux âmes la forme

nationale, et diriger tellement leurs opinions et leurs goûts, qu'elles soient patriotes par inclination, par passion, par nécessité. Un enfant, en ouvrant les yeux, doit voir la patrie, et jusqu'à la mort ne doit plus voir qu'elle. Tout vrai républicain suça avec le lait de sa mère l'amour de sa patrie: c'est-à-dire, des lois et de la liberté." For Rousseau thought that only a republic could be a fatherland, only a community based on laws and liberties could be a nation. Liberty, he knew, could be assured only by virtue, and virtue only by education. The program which he drafted for Poland put into the center of all educational efforts an intimate knowledge and love of all aspects of the fatherland. The child learning to read should read about his country; at ten he should know all its products; at twelve, all its provinces, roads, and cities; at fifteen, its whole history; at sixteen, all its laws, so that no beautiful act nor famous man should exist in Poland's whole past that would not be alive in the child's heart.

Such an education demanded a complete break with traditional methods. At a time when practically all education was in the hands of the Church or of foreign tutors, Rousseau proposed to exclude all foreigners and all Catholic priests from the teaching profession. He suggested a national and secular education for all, without distinction of rank or wealth, by teachers who must be Polish, married, distinguished by integrity, enlightened intelligence, and common sense. Physical education must occupy a very important place in the curriculum, to form robust and sane temperaments and to strengthen moral character. But formal education would not be sufficient; Rousseau grasped the importance of playgrounds and games, "*des institutions oiseuses aux yeux des hommes superficiels, mais qui forment des habitudes chéries et des attachements invincibles.*" The educational process should not cease with the end of childhood; adults should be kept attached to the fatherland by public games, festivals, and spectacles, which would recall to them the history of their ancestors and heighten their physical ability along with their pride and self-esteem. Thus they would grow ever more attached "*à cette patrie dont on ne cessait de les occuper.*" All these games and festivals should have their peculiar national character. "*Il faut qu'on s'amuse en Pologne*

plus que dans les autres pays, mais non pas de la même manière. Il faut, en un mot, renverser un exécrationnable proverbe, et faire dire à tout Polonais au fond de son cœur: *Ubi patria, ibi bene.*" And Rousseau admonished the Poles not to neglect the importance of imposing and magnificent public displays, so that the hearts of the people would perceive through their eyes the majesty of the nation and of those who represented it.¹⁴²

Of the suggestions which Rousseau made in the *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne* in the field of political organization, two merit special mention: he opposed the election of foreigners as kings, because they would introduce foreign customs; he demanded universal military service in a national militia which would cost little, would always be ready, and would fight well, because men would fight for their own. The officers should be appointed exclusively according to merit and experience, so that all citizens would come to regard military service not only as their duty but as an honor. "Toute la Pologne deviendra guerrière, autant pour la défense de sa liberté contre les entreprises du prince que contre celles de ses voisins." The army had a task even more important than defense of the fatherland against foreign aggressors; its first duty was eternal vigilance over the internal liberties of the people, the guardianship of its rights.¹⁴³ Rousseau, like all liberal nationalists from the French Revolution to 1848, was deeply convinced that a free people would never attack another people.¹⁴⁴

Rousseau envisioned a world federation of small independent and peaceful states and the extension of the rule of law from the national city-state to the city of man. He was deeply impressed by the *Projet de Paix Perpétuelle* (1713) of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre and published in 1761 a condensation of this unwieldy and diffuse work. It was a plea for a rational world order in which international wars would be outlawed in the same way as civil wars had been outlawed within the nation.¹⁴⁵ The proposals by Saint-Pierre and Rousseau included as instruments of the federation a judicial tribunal which would establish laws and regulations binding on all members of the confederation, and an armed executive force to act jointly against any state which refused to bow to the decisions of the confederation or which would start prepara-

tions for war or attack one of the members of the confederation. The confederation did not need to be all-inclusive, but it must be so strong that no power would dare attack it or refuse cooperation, and it must be firm and perpetual to make it impossible for its members to resign whenever they believed that their particular interest was opposed to the general interest.¹⁴⁶

In his *Jugement sur la Paix Perpétuelle*, written in 1756, simultaneously with his condensation of the *Projet*, but not published until 1782, Rousseau asked why the public did not accept the project, if it were feasible. "Il ne voit pas qu'il n'y a rien d'impossible dans ce projet, sinon qu'il soit adopté par eux."¹⁴⁷ The plans of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre and of Rousseau were taken up by Kant in his *Zum ewigen Frieden* (1795). But while the Abbé at the beginning of the century had put his hope in government and princes, Kant at the end of the century regarded free republican constitutions as the only possible basis for the organization of a lasting peace; while Saint-Pierre was full of the rational optimism of the early Enlightenment, Kant founded his project upon a deep insight into the nature of man and of ethics. His little book, a mature fruit on the mighty tree of eighteenth century Enlightenment and rationalism, in whose shade the twentieth century will have to build the city of man if it is not to be engulfed by the widening desert of death, would have been unthinkable without Rousseau.¹⁴⁸

† Though Rousseau understood the necessity of extending the Law from the city-state to the world-city, he was too much obsessed by the urgency of combating man's egoism by patriotic devotion to shift the center of his attention from the nation—which was then *in statu nascendi*—to a unification of the world for which the technical and organizational conditions were yet nonexistent. This attitude was strongly expressed in the famous chapter on civic religion at the end of the *Social Contract*. Rousseau was a firm believer in the rationalist secular state;¹⁴⁹ but he wished to endow national feeling, the tie which bound individuals together into a community, with an almost religious intensity and fervor.¹⁵⁰ His real religion was patriotism; he was ready to admit all tradi-

tional religions,¹⁸¹ provided they were not intolerant and did not undermine the authority of the state.

The religion to which he felt most attracted was a rational Christianity similar to that of Tolstoy, a religion without temples or altars, devoted to the cult of the supreme Being and to the eternal duties of ethics. But what captivated the internationalist and anarchist Tolstoy in the pure theism of the Gospels, in the "eternal religion of mankind," repelled Rousseau, who wished to build the nation-state upon a strong and indestructible base. Christianity seemed to him to favor a universal society, not particular communities; the true Christian was essentially a cosmopolitan, not a patriot. Against established Christianity, Rousseau raised another objection: that it preached submission and favored despotism, that a Christian republic was something unthinkable.¹⁸² His love of liberty rendered him cautious even against any national religion which would become evil and rejectable "*quand, devenant exclusive et tyrannique, elle rend un peuple sanguinaire et intolérant, en sorte qu'il ne respire que meurtre et massacre, et croit faire une action sainte en tuant quiconque n'admet pas ses dieux.*"¹⁸³ Thus, though nationalism with Rousseau was almost religious feeling of an entirely new intensity and of an all-pervading intimate nature, it was fundamentally opposed to any intolerance or hostility to other nations. Its basic aim was to render life more moral, more peaceful and happy for all men, to establish firmly and protect the dignity and liberty of every individual, and ultimately to replace the state of nature, in which men are subject to passions and appetites, by the rational order of Law.

CHAPTER VI

Towards a New World
The Promise of Free People

Thus grew the power of Athens; and it is proved not by one but by many instances how equality is a good thing; seeing that while they were under despotic rulers the Athenians were no better in war than any of their neighbors, yet once they got quit of despots they were far and away the first of all. This, then, shows that while they were oppressed they willed to be cravens, as men working for a master, but when they were freed each one was zealous to achieve for himself.

Herodotus, V, 78 (Loeb Classical Library, vol. III, p. 87.)

Les lois éternelles de la nature et de l'ordre existent: elles tiennent lieu de lois positives au sage; elles sont écrites au fond du cœur par la conscience et la raison.

(J.-J. Rousseau, *Émile*, V.)

I

In the second half of the eighteenth century individuals were no longer satisfied to leave the direction of public affairs in the hands of established authorities. Shortly after the middle of the century an official French document stated clearly the chief concern of the time: "Patriotic ideas spring up today in everybody's mind; each citizen desires to be called to contribute to the commonweal."¹ Individual rights had not only to be gained, but to be protected, and that could be done only in relation to the welfare of the whole community, which thus became a major concern of the individual, while the community itself, the sum of the individuals who composed it, depended for its character and fortunes upon the individual and his quality. A corrupt people would be unable to establish and maintain a free commonwealth: its moral forces had to be awakened; individual egotism had to be overcome so that all might cooperate for the commonweal. This new intimate connection between national welfare and the life of the individual became a great and-beneficial force of intellectual awakening and moral fervor in a spiritual climate in which its possible excesses were strictly controlled by a rational conception of men's freedom and a universal conception of their equality.

The era of Enlightenment which spread with French influence² witnessed the height of cosmopolitanism and the beginnings of nationalism; the exaltation of the individual and a new sense of national unity; an enthusiastic faith in the future and an awakening of interest in the past of the peoples, their customs and folkways; an unquestioning acceptance of reason as the guiding principle of man and world and an appeal to the forces of the heart. Perhaps this ambivalence explains the hold which the new attitude gained in such an astonishingly short time, transforming life over vast areas so fundamentally that the end of the century marked a sharper dividing line between two stages of human development

than any other short span in history. Its strength was founded on its universal message to establish a new order assuring liberty and justice for all and bringing forth hidden wellsprings of a higher morality to build the city of man in the whole world. True, in the cross currents of historical realization these generous impulses were soon inextricably intertwined with old and recent vested interests, traditional and untried emotions, desires and appetites aroused by unprecedented opportunities, fears, and anxieties, born of the insecurity of changing times and unknown destinies. The eighteenth century envisaged a benevolent fellowship among nations in which "international law is naturally founded on the principle that the different nations should do the most good to one another in time of peace and the least possible evil in time of war, without detriment to their true interests."³ The new nationalism and the emancipation of the masses, first the product and immediately also the source of a growing desire for liberty, carried with them the danger of a possible perversion of liberty. But in the second half of the eighteenth century these dangers seemed far away; the people were animated by an exhilarating feeling that new foundations of individual and social life were being laid. Old authorities and traditions were breaking down, men were called back to the renovating sources of nature, to a new fellowship. The longing for the birth of a free people, born in a revolution against the old and unnatural order, was felt throughout Europe. Under Rousseau's influence a young Swiss poet, Salomon Gessner (1730-1788), interrupted the Arcadian sweetness of his widely read idylls with vehement accusations against the luxury and corruption of the wealthy classes and of urban civilization. A new youth protested against the "artificial" barriers of caste and class, and longed for the kindness, simplicity, and equality of primitive societies. A poor shepherd lying in the grass surrounded by his flocks seemed infinitely nearer to the source of all happiness than a prince in his palace. "Those who call the simplicity of innocence 'boorishness' and the paucity of desires 'despicable poverty' are fools who in their cities enmesh themselves in webs of happiness which every wind blows to pieces."⁴

While poets and lovers of the countryside thus roused the desire

for new foundations of life and society, others set out in a more sober and practical way to discuss the different problems connected with this reordering of society. In the years when Gessner's idylls were moving all hearts, a younger contemporary, the theologian Christoph Heinrich Müller (1740-1807), organized in Zurich in 1762 a group of young men who were to meet weekly to learn about patriotic and political virtues, to be inspired to work and live for the commonweal on the foundations of what was then called the "true philosophical politics." In the language of the time, the task of the circle was defined as an effort to understand the advantages, the mistakes and improvements of the different forms of government, to acquire a better knowledge of the fatherland's history and, on the strength of this knowledge, to implant, invigorate, and spread noble patriotic and philanthropic sentiments in all minds. Both these attitudes—the one poetic, emotional, pathetic, full of the fire and impetuosity of youth, the other rational, balanced, and filled with the sense of a new civic responsibility—were borne by the same ethos of a renovation of life. Switzerland, with its long tradition of popular sovereignty and peasant democracy, with its spectacle of great and moving nature, appeared to be a fertile soil for the new tendencies; but its cities were aristocratic oligarchies, and the great trade routes and the armed conflicts of Europe had drawn that land in the heart of Europe into the whirlpool of commerce and diplomacy. More propitious seemed a soil where men lived near the healing forces of nature, where conditions were relatively simple, and where few of the vested interests and refinements of civilization hindered the growth of the spontaneous goodness of man. Such conditions seemed to exist in the English colonies in North America, more than in any European country.

The very slight knowledge of actual conditions of life in America contributed to their idealization; the Americans of whom Europeans then dreamed were legendary figures rather than real human beings. For that very reason they could become the embodiment of the European ideals. Abbé Raynal concluded his widely read *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770) with

a glowing picture of an America destined to bring about a new era of humanity, and contrasted it with the moral decadence of Europe. Already Voltaire had drawn the attention of his contemporaries to the Quakers, whom he interpreted as adherents of a rational "philosophical" philanthropy and universal benevolence. The Quakers, Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia—whence Benjamin Franklin was soon to come to France to offer convincing proof of New World wisdom—formed for Raynal the heart of America. There, in the vast spaces bordering on wilderness, religious men seemed to live without an established church, mystic rituals, or an exploiting priesthood, and there Christianity appeared to have regained the austerity and incorruptibility of its youth. Guided, as Raynal thought, by the light of philosophy, the philosophy of the century, men seemed to have established there a society without kings or nobles; though these men had come originally from the old countries of Europe they had been able to outgrow the irrational superstitions and the inequalitarian class divisions of the past. It seemed almost as if the air of America would change men because it was filled with liberty.⁶

Raynal's book lacked any exact or first-hand knowledge of the subject, nor did he attempt any serious documentation. Instead of that he offered a general philosophic view and a moralizing enthusiasm, the two very qualities which made his rather lengthy treatise immensely popular. His intention was not to spread knowledge but to arouse noble and lofty emotions. The fact that his views were in no way original and represented the generally accepted convictions of the decade made the book run quickly into several editions. Though Voltaire characterized it as "*du réchauffé avec de la déclamation*," the publishers of a new edition in 1775 could say: "*Il est peu de littérateurs, peu de particuliers même, qui n'aient lu cet ouvrage avec avidité: il en est peu qui n'aient admiré les sentiments d'humanité, de patriotisme & de philosophie qui y sont partout répandus.*"⁷ In that book Europeans learned that the surprising prosperity of Pennsylvania was based upon liberty and tolerance, which had attracted to that colony people of all nationalities and religions, who lived there in peace and harmony.⁸ In all the English colonies of North America the inhabitants lived a simple and happy

life. "Les femmes sont encore ce qu'elles doivent être, douces, modestes, compatissantes & secourables; elles ont ces vertus qui perpétuent l'empire de leurs charmes. . . . On mène dans les colonies cette vie champêtre qui fut la première destination de l'homme, la plus convenable à la santé, à la fécondité."⁸

In the then much discussed question as to whether the colonies should separate themselves from their mother country, Raynal advised against separation. Great Britain had served them always, he said, as a protection and an outpost against possibly hostile European powers. He reminded them that they owed their liberties to the qualities of the English political tradition. "They owe the peace and the prosperity which they enjoy to the influence of its [England's] excellent constitution. As long as these colonies live under such a sensible and mild regime, they will continue to make progress in proportion to the immensity of a future which will extend, through their industry, to the farthestmost deserts." But at the same time he enjoined the colonists to preserve their liberties jealously and incessantly. "That vigilance will be the surest guardian of the union which must bind the motherland and its colonies together." Raynal's conviction that Europe was doomed on account of royal absolutism and the corruption of its habits of life, and that in the New World freedom and virtue were reigning, led him to envisage a glorious future for the colonies. "À mesure que nos peuples s'affoiblissent & succombent tous les uns sous les autres, la population & l'agriculture vont croître en Amérique; les arts y naîtront rapidement, transportés par nos soins; ce pays, sorti du néant, brûle de figurer à son tour sur la face du globe, & dans l'histoire du monde."⁹

Like most of his contemporaries, Raynal believed that France could become the greatest nation, favored as she was by the mildness of her climate and the fertility of her soil, if Frenchmen lived under the rule of reason and liberty. France had accomplished great deeds even under absolutism; how much more would she have accomplished if she had known patriotism, which, in spite of their bad climate, had revitalized the English to such a degree! "The English language has also produced its poets and prose writers who have endowed it with a character of energy and

audacity bound to immortalize it. May it be learned by all the peoples who aspire not to be slaves. They will dare to think, to act, and to govern themselves. English is not the language of words, but that of ideas, and the English have had none but strong ones. They were the first to say *the majesty of the people*, and these words alone consecrate a language."¹⁰ To be saved, a nation needs laws, which presuppose freedom of expression, and virtuous habits of life which depend upon the form of government, whether it is exercised in the interest of one man or one group, or whether it aims at the commonweal and the interests of all. Thus Raynal recognized clearly three foundations on which a free people could build: the English tradition of liberty; rational laws; and habits of life conducive to the active participation of all in the commonweal.¹¹ Where else could these conditions be fulfilled at that time outside the English colonies of North America? Their growth to nationhood in the American Revolution set therefore an example to the European continent and especially its leading people, the French.

2

Many influences combined to determine the character of the new nationalism arising in the English colonies of North America. Some were inherent in the situation: the English tradition of constitutional liberties and common law, as expressed in the colonial charters, and the young and experimental character of the settlements so remote from European society and its time-honored distinctions. In the wide and open spaces of the yet unexplored continent, common dangers and tasks facilitated the rise of individualism and equality at the same time. The situation was favorable for experiments in democracy like the short-lived attempt in Virginia in 1618, where Sir Edwin Sandys abolished forced labor, worked out a program of public education, and introduced a legislative body elected on general suffrage. The Mayflower Compact of 1620 covenanted all male members into a civil body politic and thus extended the sectarian feeling of religious community to the political field. The spirit of the Puritan Revolution remained stronger in New England than in the mother country;

the Restoration had much less influence. Though the Puritans in the colonies frequently showed a strongly antidemocratic character and replaced the status of birth by the new status of wealth and education, nevertheless the colonial situation was favorable to social experiment, and class distinctions based upon acquired character were infinitely more flexible than those of inheritance. New waves of immigrants, coming mostly from the lower classes and bringing various religious affiliations with them, prevented the rigid stabilization of class or religious domination for any protracted period. Those Puritans who returned from the colonies to England in the middle of the seventeenth century, "carrying back a resolute optimism in their blueprints of social betterment, turned all their energies to the support of the left-wing adherents of the Parliamentary cause." One of them, Hugh Peters, attacked the static social order which he found in England, in a sermon preached to Parliament and the Assembly of Divines on April 2, 1645: "I have lived in a Countrey, where seven years I never saw beggar, nor heard an oath, nor looked upon a drunkard; why should there be beggars in *your* Israel where there is so much work to do?"¹²

Like the Puritans in England, those in the colonies felt themselves to be the new Israel.¹³ Their perilous migration to a new and fertile country, in which they soon were to prosper both in numbers and wealth, increased their self-identification with the old Hebrews and kept it more strongly alive. In his *History of Plymouth Plantation* William Bradford applied the words of Psalm 126 to the new settlers and then went on: "Doe you not now see the fruits of your labours, O all yee servants of the Lord? that have suffered for his truth, and have been faithful witnesses of the same, and yet little handfull amongst the rest, the least amongst the thousands of Israell? You have not only had a seede time, but many of you have seene the joyefull Harvest; should you not then rejoyse . . . ?"¹⁴ Cotton Mather compared Bradford with Moses, and called John Winthrop "our New-English Nehemiah, managing the public affairs of our American Jerusalem."¹⁵ No wonder the feeling of being the Chosen People became more widely accepted in New England than it had ever been in the mother country. With it went a great emphasis upon Hebrew.¹⁶ The Old Testa-

ment attitude towards kingship became a powerful element in promoting republican sentiment. The widely read Algernon Sidney quoted Philo as imputing the institution of kingly government in Israel to the fury of the sinful people.¹⁷

Biblical interpretation could of course support very opposite conclusions, and the leaders of the Bay State theocracy, including Winthrop and John Cotton, were able to appeal to the Scriptures in defense of a spiritual aristocracy against a "meere Democratic."¹⁸ But the interpretation of the Scriptures in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and by many in the Puritan Revolution in England, became the foundation on which modern democracy was built. The two schools in early New England—one represented by men like Cotton, the other by men like Hooker and Williams—corresponded to the two currents in Old Testament development, the institutional theocracy and the prophetic religion. Both regarded the New England settlements as "holy experiments in government," and as a new beginning with immense potentialities for the improvement of the race, the most perfect fruit of English development. The Chosen People idea was there at the beginning of the English colonies in America: it was secularized and democratized under the impact of the natural rights concept of eighteenth century Enlightenment, it was broadened by the growth in space and wealth and numbers, by the visible blessings of Providence, and it became one of the elements out of which an American national consciousness arose at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As Jonathan Edwards put it, Providence intended America to be the "glorious renovator of the world."¹⁹

John Wise of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in his *Vindication of the Government of New England Churches* (1717), followed the line of the Puritan Revolution and Locke, of the Scriptures and the light of nature, and contended that "nature, having set all men upon a level and made them equals, no servitude or subjection can be conceived without inequality; and this cannot be made without usurpation or force in others." Wise maintained that "the original of civil power is the people," and that "a civil state is a compound moral person, whose will (united by those covenants before passed) is the will of all, to the end it may use and apply the strength and

riches of private persons towards maintaining the common peace, security, and well-being of all, which may be conceived as though the whole state was now become but one man; in which the aforesaid covenants may be supposed, under God's providence, to be the divine fiat pronounced by God, 'Let us make man.' " ²⁰ The fiat of which the New England pastor spoke created not man, but the new reign which he defined when he said, "The end of all good government is to cultivate humanity, and promote the happiness of all, and the good of every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, honor, etc., without injury or abuse done to any." ²¹

The ways of history are so intricate and the motivations of human actions so complex that it is always hazardous to attempt to represent events covering a number of years, a multiplicity of persons, and distant localities, as the expression of one intellectual or social movement; yet the historical process which culminated in the ascent of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency can be regarded as the outstanding example not only of the birth of a new way of life but of nationalism as a new way of life. The American Revolution represents the link between the seventeenth century, in which modern England became conscious of itself, and the awakening of modern Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. It may seem strange that the march of history should have had to cross the Atlantic Ocean, but only in the North American colonies could a struggle for civic liberty lead also to the foundation of a new nation. Here, in the popular rising against a "tyrannical" government, the fruits were more than the securing of a freer constitution. They included the growth of a nation, born in liberty by the will of the people, not from the roots of common descent, a geographic entity, or the ambitions of king or dynasty. With the American nation, for the first time, a nation was born, not in the dim past of history, but before the eyes of the whole world.

Nobody could have foreseen the rise of a nation in the North American colonies in the middle of the eighteenth century. The colonies were completely separated from one another. "Each settlement was a little world by itself, physically isolated, and communicating with its neighbors by river and sea routes. . . . It was little wonder that colonies long remained as much divided in their inter-

ests and affections as Christian and Turk." Andrew Burnaby, an Englishman who traveled in the thirteen colonies during the French and Indian War, wrote: "Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other."²² The change in the status of the colonies was not foreshadowed by any state of oppression or of misery, by any feeling of bitter disloyalty or despair. On the contrary, the colonists were the least oppressed of all peoples then on earth, politically, economically and nationally. Motherland and colonies were bound together by the growth of commerce and commercial capitalism, which gave them the feeling of a common interest and a common future. Politically the colonists were infinitely freer than any people on the European continent; they were even freer than Englishmen in Great Britain. The favorable conditions of frontier life had brought Milton's and Locke's teachings and English constitutional liberties to faster and fuller fruition in the colonies than in the mother country, where after 1660 the prerogatives of court, aristocracy, and church had been reestablished.

The Puritan Revolution had been a middle-class revolution, but the Restoration had retransformed England into an aristocratic society, though with changed political foundations. In the colonies the middle classes, their virtues and ideas, became the pattern of society, and the Puritan Revolution lived on in the sermons of many New England clergymen. The American colonies revolted, not because they were oppressed, but because they were free and their freedom carried the promise of still greater freedom, one unrealizable in the more settled and static conditions of old society but beckoning as a possibility in the new continent. Mother country and colonies grew from the same roots: the Magna Charta and common law, parliamentary institutions and local self-government, the Puritan and the Glorious revolutions, Milton and Locke. Though the development in the colonies soon surpassed that of the mother country—first in the actual conditions of life, later in theoretical formulations—the colonies could and did revolt only because they were English. Their demands found as warm defenders in Great Britain as at home, not only among "radicals" but among

the highest dignitaries of the Crown and the Law, like Charles Pratt, Earl of Camden, who called the British Constitution one "whose foundation and centre is liberty, which sends liberty to every subject" within "its ample circumference."²³ Opposition to the American Revolution was voiced not only in England but by many colonists in North America. Thus the ranks were split on both sides of the Atlantic: a civil war comparable to that of the seventeenth century broke out. This time, however, its result was not the awakening of a nation to self-consciousness, but the birth of a new nation.

That was made possible not only by geographic circumstances, but by the new emphasis on the interpretation of liberty as a rational and universal attribute. This element had in no way been lacking in the seventeenth century English Revolution, in which many appealed to reason as against tradition.²⁴ In the American Revolution, especially at the beginning, there was much insistence upon the rights of the colonists as Englishmen under the British constitution; but at the same time and in a growing measure the emphasis shifted to the natural rights of men. The destiny of the colonies was seen not as an English destiny but as a human destiny. "I always consider the settlement of America with reverence and wonder," wrote John Adams in 1765, "as the opening of a grand scene and design in Providence for the illumination of the ignorant, and the emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the earth."²⁵ The religious universalism of Protestant independentism was not abandoned; it was secularized in the light of eighteenth century rationalism.²⁶ The cosmopolitanism of the age with its rejection of any historical patriotism was clearly voiced by Thomas Jefferson when he said, "Our ancestors, before they emigrated to America, were the free inhabitants of the British dominions in Europe, and possessed the right which nature has given all men, of departing from the country in which chance, not choice, has placed them, of going in quest of new habitations, and of there establishing new societies, under such laws and regulations as to them shall seem most likely to promote public happiness."²⁷ This cosmopolitan sentiment was reaffirmed by Benjamin Franklin when he expressed his conviction and hope shortly before his death that "a

lover of liberty may find a country in any part of Christendom." ²⁸

Though the American Revolution, a branch on the tree of the English Revolution, and the American nation, a branch of the British nation, grew and developed transplanted on a new soil, the "philosophy" of the Revolution and the nascent nation was not supplied by one of the long established colonists: the rallying cry was offered to Americans by an Englishman who had landed only a few months ago. ²⁹ Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* was written by a citizen of the world who saw in the American Revolution an event without any roots in the past, and who turned what had been a constitutional controversy between British Tories and British Whigs into a struggle for the birth of a new freedom and a new nation on universal principles. It was the "religion of humanity," not that of an English or a yet nonexistent American nationalism, nor that of Puritan Protestantism, which vibrated in every page of his clarion call to independence and helped the American Whigs to gain a new consciousness of their actions and aims. When Paine violently opposed all reverence for the historical English liberties in the name of the natural rights of all men, he voiced only thoughts propounded by most English liberals of the time, especially the two Nonconformist clergymen, Richard Price and Joseph Priestley; but he went beyond them in his "nationalistic" appeal to American vanity. "He carried their imagination forward to that time when the new continent would be the glory of the earth. The Old World was overrun with oppression; America must prepare an asylum for mankind. The 'sun never shone on a cause of greater worth'; all posterity to the end of time was virtually involved." ³⁰

So the American Revolution became not a new link in the chain of English liberty, not the assertion of England's fundamental rights which were so forcefully expressed in the statute: "The laws of England are the birthright of the people thereof; and all the kings and queens who shall ascend the throne of this realm, ought to administer the government of the same, according to the said laws; and all their officers and ministers ought to serve them respectively according to the same." ³¹ It became the venture of a nascent nation which undertook to build its life on the new foundation of the human rights of the eighteenth century. Thomas Paine's

pamphlet was followed a few months later by the Declaration of Independence. In it eighteenth century political theory found its first application in the world of reality. That the colonists, disunited and badly armed, were able to carry through their intentions against the most powerful empire of the time, that the author of the Declaration of Independence could become President of the United States twenty-six years later and consummate the task started in 1776—the very success of the American Revolution made it appear as a “kind of providential confirmation of ideas long accepted but hitherto demonstrated only in books.”⁸²

For by the end of the Revolution the American colonies had emancipated themselves from the past so completely that they did not regard common descent or a common root as the foundation of their community. In 1784 Benjamin Franklin stressed in his “Information to Those Who Would Remove to America” the fact that birth “in Europe has indeed its value; but it is a commodity that cannot be carried to a worse market than that of America, where people do not inquire concerning a stranger, *What is he?* but *What can he do?*” Like Raynal and contemporary Europeans, Franklin praised America for being founded not upon one creed but upon the cohabitation of different religions. “The Divine Being seems to have manifested his approbation of the mutual forbearance and kindness with which the different sects treat each other, by the remarkable prosperity with which He has been pleased to favor the whole country.”⁸³ The diversity and tolerance in religion, unheard of at that period, was matched by the diversity and tolerance of the racial strains mingling in the colonies. As far back as 1782, a keen observer pointed out the emergence of a “new man” in the United States and stressed the astonishing variety of racial elements mingling in the melting pot: “What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European, or the descendant of an European; hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a man, whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. *He* is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices, and manners, receives new ones from the

new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great *Alma Mater*. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world."⁸¹

The American Revolution accelerated this process of the birth of a new man, a new people. Its main aspect was neither political nor economic; it was an intellectual and moral transformation. In introducing his new Schoolbook of an American language Noah Webster wrote in 1783: "The present period is an era of wonder—Greater changes have been wrought in the minds of men in the short compass of eight years past than are commonly effected in a century." Thirty-five years later John Adams wrote in retrospect, in an evaluation of the meaning of the events, that "this radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people, was the real American Revolution." Here a nation emerged, founded on general and rational principles, which was not looking to the past but was constituted by a consciousness of a common present and future. "The Gothic idea that we are to look backwards instead of forwards for the improvement of the human mind, and to recur to the annals of our ancestors for what is most perfect in government, in religion and in learning, is worthy of those bigots in religion and government, by whom it has been recommended, and whose purposes it would answer. But it is not an idea which this country will endure," wrote Thomas Jefferson.⁸² And in an even more succinct form he summed up this point of view when he wrote, "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past."⁸³

3

The rising stream of American nationalism, which was yet barely discernible in American life in the 1760's, was fed from two sources: the English national consciousness which had developed in the seventeenth century and, transplanted to the New World, had found there a propitious soil for its growth; and the natural rights idea which the age of Enlightenment had sent across the

ocean in the eighteenth century. These sources mingled their waters, often so that they became indistinguishable. No contradiction was felt between the two positions. One and the same man, one and the same declaration or manifesto, could adduce both, either at different times or even in the same sentence. Alexander Hamilton, one of the foremost exponents of the English tradition theory, wrote in his first pamphlet, "A Full Vindication" (1774), when he was still a student at King's College in New York: "The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records. They are written, as with a sunbeam, in the whole volume of human nature, by the hand of divinity itself."³⁷ On the other hand, Thomas Jefferson, whose great service to the cause of American nationalism was his reinterpretation of the American Revolution in the light of natural rights, wrote in August, 1776, to Edmund Pendleton, "Are we not the better for what we have hitherto abolished of the feudal system? Has not every restitution of the ancient Saxon laws had happy effects? Is it not better now that we return at once into that happy system of our ancestors, the wisest & most perfect ever yet devised by the wit of man, as it stood before the 8th century?"³⁸

In its origins, the protest of the American colonists against certain measures of the British government was animated by purely constitutional motives. They wished to act in a spirit of true legitimacy, to fight for their inherited rights as subjects of the British crown. In the Commencement exercises of the College of Philadelphia, May, 1766, after the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Rev. William Smith, Provost, praised the Americans for "asserting our pedigree and showing that we were worthy of having descended from the illustrious stock of Britain."³⁹ Their agitation was based upon the British constitution and was destined to enhance its glory. Thomas Barnard of Salem, in his Massachusetts Election Sermon of 1763, emphasized that "the rough Saxons imported those masculine principles of Freedom and Government, that equipoise of Power and Liberty which, built upon and improved, have rendered the British Constitution the admiration and envy of the world."⁴⁰ Pamphlets like Henry Care's "English Liberties, or The Free-Born Subjects' Inheritance, containing Magna Charta, Charta

de Foresta, the Statute de Talagio non concedendo, the Habeas Corpus act, and several other Statutes; with comments on each of them," first published in 1721, were reedited and widely circulated.⁴¹ And John Jay summed up the case when he wrote, "It certainly is chiefly owing to institutions, laws and principles of policy and government originally derived to us as British colonists, that, with the favor of Heaven, the people of this country are what they are."⁴²

Important as the constitutional tradition was, the religious tradition counted equally in the British inheritance, especially in New England, where the ministers carried on the Puritan Revolution and led in the struggle against the Crown, the aristocracy, and the Established Church. The appeal to the British constitution in the colonies was not different from the struggle which the English Whigs conducted against the Tory policy of the King; it was a party dispute within the framework of the Glorious Revolution. But the voices of the New England pulpits echoed a more fundamental and radical struggle, that of the days of Cromwell and Milton. The Puritanism of some of these preachers was liberalized in the light of eighteenth century rationalism. This was the case with Jonathan Mayhew, who in 1766 (the year of his death at the age of forty-six) preached "A Thanksgiving Discourse, at the Desire of the West Church in Boston, Occasioned by the Repeal of the Stamp Act," called "The Snare Broken," in which he said that he had "learned from the Holy Scriptures, that wise, brave and virtuous men were always friends to liberty; that God gave the Israelites a kingdom, or absolute monarch, in his anger, because they had not sense and virtue enough to like a free commonwealth, and to have Himself for their King; that the Son of God came down from heaven to make us free indeed; and that where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."⁴³

Mayhew was a disciple of Milton, Locke, and Sidney; he based his rational Christianity more on the Scriptures than on Calvin. He had gained fame by a sermon preached in 1750 on the anniversary of Charles I's execution, a day which the Anglican Church had proclaimed as a national fast for one canonized as a martyr, and on which its ministers preached "against disobedience and willful

rebellion." Mayhew seized the opportunity to lodge a flaming protest in the spirit of Milton. His "Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers: with some Reflections on the Resistance made to King Charles I and on the Anniversary of his Death; in which the Mysterious Doctrine of that Prince's Saintship and Martyrdom is Unriddled" has been called by Thornton the "morning gun of the Revolution, the *punctum temporis* when that period of history began." ⁴⁴ "Tyranny," Mayhew declared, "brings ignorance and brutality along with it. It degrades men from their just rank into the class of brutes. It makes naturally strong and great minds feeble and little, and triumphs over the ruins of virtue and humanity. This is true of tyranny in every case: there can be nothing great and good where its influence reaches. For which reason it becomes every friend to truth and humankind, every lover of God and the Christian religion, to bear a part in opposing this hateful monster." ⁴⁵

The Puritan spirit showed itself also in the frequent references to the example of Israel. The colonies continued to be compared to the old Israelites, and biblical argumentation against kingship was referred to again and again. President Samuel Langdon of Harvard maintained in a sermon before the Legislature of Massachusetts on May 31, 1775, "The civil polity of Israel is doubtless an excellent general model, allowing for some peculiarities," ⁴⁶ and the President of Yale, Ezra Stiles, started his sermon "The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor" (1783) by speaking of the Covenant with Israel at the time of Moses as "introductory to a discourse upon the political welfare of God's American Israel, and as allusively prophetic of the future prosperity and splendor of the United States." ⁴⁷ In 1775 Jacob Duché, Chaplain of the Continental Congress (but a future Loyalist), preached a sermon "The American Vine," in which he wove together all the different threads. America was "a vineyard planted by the Lord's right hand," who for the purpose of founding the settlements had "cast out the heathen and planted it." The first colonists who had come to this "garden of Eden," leaving behind them a "desolate wilderness," had brought "the charter of temporal freedom and the records of eternal truth." ⁴⁸ Thus the British, biblical, and natural rights threads were

woven into the fabric of American liberty and nascent national consciousness. Samuel Langdon had done the same in his sermon of 1775 when, appealing to the example of Israel for rejection of the idea of a king, he went on, "Every nation, when able and agreed, has a right to set up over themselves any form of government which to them may appear most conclusive to their common welfare."⁴⁹ That no longer differs from Jefferson's championship of the eternal, inherent, and inalienable rights of man. To him, freedom of speech and religion needed no backing by statutes, constitutional grants, or charters. "It is not the gift of any municipal law, either of England, or Virginia, or of Congress; but in common with all our other natural rights, it is one of the objects for the protection of which society is formed, and municipal laws established." Free government was not only the traditional birthright of Englishmen. "Every man, and every body of men on earth, possesses the right of self-government. They receive it with their being from the hand of nature. Individuals exercise it by their single will; collections of men by that of their majority."⁵⁰ Rousseau had carried the day over the Glorious Revolution.

As soon as the waters of American nationalism began to flow freely, the two sources of the British tradition and of natural rights were indistinguishably mingled. A member of the Continental Congress on September 5, 1774, spoke of "the unalienable and inestimable inheritance, which we derive from nature, the constitution of Britain, and the privileges warranted to us in the charter of the province." He was not conscious that he had treated elements of a vastly different and historically even antagonistic background as one and the same; in the living stream of history they had fused into a new reality. Samuel Adams' plea may sound confused, if viewed from its historical origins; it sounded convincing to many of his contemporaries, not only in the colonies but also in England. "It is the glory of the British Prince and the happiness of all his subjects that their constitution hath its foundations in the immutable laws of nature, and as the supreme legislature as well as the supreme executive derives its authority from the constitution, it should seem that no laws can be made or executed that are repugnant to any essential law in nature."⁵¹ In the resolutions of the

House of Representatives of Massachusetts on October 29, 1765—proposed by Samuel Adams, who had been elected a month earlier to the House—the strictest allegiance to the King and the greatest veneration for the Parliament were expressed, but at the same time “there are certain essential rights of the British Constitution of government, which are founded in the law of God and nature, and are the common rights of mankind;—therefore, Resolved, That the inhabitants of this Province are unalienably entitled to those essential rights in common with all men: and that no law of society can, consistent with the law of God and nature, divest them of those rights.” The emphasis upon the rational, universal, and natural rights character of the movement of the colonists came above all from Englishmen, from Thomas Paine, Richard Price, and Joseph Priestley, who disregarded the British constitutional aspect and gave to the American struggle a more democratic interpretation and a universal appeal. It was in that light that the conflict was viewed and interpreted in Europe, especially in France.

4

These were the sources from which the welling stream of American national consciousness was to be fed. But by the middle of the seventies this stream was by no means a mighty current watering and fertilizing American life. To many contemporaries it appeared rather as a thin trickle which might at any moment dry up. For the growth of a national consciousness is a long process with many retrogressions and retardations, spurred on in the excitement of great political issues, wars and revolutions, and losing impetus in the slow-moving course of “normal” times. There seemed little in the seventies upon which to build a new nation. There was no territorial unity, the different colonies and settlements being widely separated not only geographically, but also historically and intellectually. There was no unity of will or purpose; many people in the colonies, especially among the educated classes and the older age groups, clung firmly to their British nationality. They rejected not only the incipient nationalism of

the Revolution but also what they regarded as its antiliberal character, its destruction of those liberties which had been the pride of the British tradition. They saw in it "the barbarian rule of frantic folly, and lawless ambition—freedom of speech suppressed, liberty of press destroyed, voice of truth silenced, a lawless power depriving men of their natural rights."⁶² The struggle against Britain was in their eyes a fratricidal undertaking, the success of which might endanger the most precious heritage of the American settlers: their connection with the mother country, their membership in a great and liberal empire which was the envy of mankind, admired both for its strength and for its progressive freedom—an empire in which America might have to play a role of yet unpredictable grandeur. Daniel Leonard even foresaw a time when a future English king would cross the Atlantic Ocean, when North America would become the center of the Empire and rule Great Britain by an American Parliament.⁶³ None of the commonly adduced objective factors of nationhood separated the Loyalists from the rebels who called themselves "patriots." They were united by common descent, common language, common traditions, and common territory. Nothing separated them but an idea, and that idea was so strong that at the end of the successful Revolutionary War the Loyalists had to leave the colonies and emigrate to Canada, because they could not accept the idea which was to form the basis of the new nation. In 1763, when the British had conquered French Canada, the French Canadians, though entirely different in descent, language, traditions, and territory, were not forced to emigrate; and they did not choose to do so, but remained unhampered under the liberty and tolerance of the British Empire.⁶⁴

No sense of loyalty to America filled the hearts of the colonists before the Revolution. America as a political concept, as a center of allegiance, did not exist. Loyalty belonged to Great Britain and to the individual colonies or settlements. While there was little or no feeling of strangeness or hostility against Great Britain among the colonists, there was much mutual jealousy and violent prejudice in the relations of the colonies to one another. Their commercial and economic competition was as bitter as their distrust and dislike. Lewis Morris of New York provided in his will in 1760 that his

son Gouverneur Morris never be sent to Connecticut lest he imbibe in his youth "that low craft and cunning so incident to the people of that country," among whom many "under the sanctified garb of religion have endeavored to impose themselves on the world as honest men."⁶⁶ In the same year Benjamin Franklin published a pamphlet, *The Interest of Great Britain Considered, with Regard to Her Colonies and the Acquisition of Canada and Guadeloupe* in which he wrote: "We have already fourteen separate governments on the maritime coast of the continent. . . . Their jealousy of each other is so great, that, however necessary a union of the colonies has long been, for their defence and security against their enemies, and how sensible soever each colony has been of that necessity; yet they have never been able to effect such a union among themselves, nor even to agree in requesting the mother country to establish it for them. . . . If they could not agree to unite for their defence against the French and Indians, who were perpetually harassing their settlements, can it reasonably be supposed there is any danger of their uniting against their own nation, which protects and encourages them, with which they have so many connexions and ties of blood, interest, and affection, and which, it is well known, they all love much more than they love one another? I will venture to say, a union among them for such a purpose is not merely improbable, it is impossible."⁶⁷ The opinion of the most eminent American of that time was shared by a competent English observer, the well known economist Josiah Tucker, one of the earliest advocates of the separation of the colonies from the mother country. "The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their difference of governments, habitudes and manners indicate that they will have no centre of union and no common interests. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided into little commonwealths according to natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea and by vast rivers, lakes and ridges of mountains."⁶⁸

The need for independence and for union was not seen by many of the old established colonists, but it was stressed by very recent immigrants from Great Britain—not only Thomas Paine but also

John Witherspoon, who had left his native Scotland in 1768 to become president of the College of New Jersey, and who six years later urged the Americans "to declare the firm resolve never to submit to the claims of Great Britain but deliberately to prefer war with all its horrors, and even extermination, to slavery; to resolve union and to pursue the same measures until American liberty is settled on a solid basis."⁵⁸ And when Timothy Dwight preached to his fellow students the greatness of patriotism in his valedictory address two years later at Yale: "You should by no means consider yourselves as members of a small neighborhood, town or colony only, but as being concerned in laying the foundations of American greatness. Your wishes, your designs, your labors, are not to be confined by the narrow bounds of the present age, but are to comprehend succeeding generations, and be pointed to immortality. . . . Remember that you are to act for the empire of America, and for a long succession of ages,"—he only amplified Paine's stirring words in *Common Sense*, which was then in everyone's hands: "'Tis not the affair of a City, a County, a Province, or a Kingdom; but of a Continent—of at least one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected even to the end of time by the proceedings now."⁵⁹ But in the same year, soon after the Declaration of Independence, John Adams complained: "A more exalted love of their country, a more enthusiastic ardor for military glory, and a deeper detestation, disdain, and horror of martial disgrace must be excited among our people, or we shall perish."⁶⁰ Thus it is not astonishing that one of the foremost historians of the American War of Independence comes to the conclusion that "patriotism of the kind shown in the Civil War, nearly a century later, or of that even higher variety manifested in the Great War [1917-18], was very rare. The 'spirit of '76' meant in the main enthusiasm for Independence, loyalty to a great commander, hate of George III, but not love of a country, of a great ideal, of a cause worth more than life itself. Washington rose to that, as did a few others who had the nobility and the vision, but in the masses loyalty to county, province, or section was the ruling motive."⁶¹

5

The then popular song, "Bunker Hill," glorified patriotic death on the battlefield:

Death will invade us by the Means appointed,
And we must all bow to the King of Terrors;
Nor am I anxious, if I am prepared,
What shape he come in.

Life, for my Country and the Cause of Freedom,
Is but a Trifle for a Worm to part with;
And if preserved in so great a Conflict,
Life is redoubled.

But the American armies of the Revolution had great difficulty in getting men and money, and in living up to the renowned standards of military conduct. Whatever enthusiasm had existed at the beginning quickly ebbed away; men preferred to return to their homesteads or their daily occupations. Military training and discipline was lacking, the troops were disorderly and disobedient, there was as little morale as there was equipment. That these ill prepared and poorly officered troops could prevail in the end was due in large measure to good luck, to the alliance with France, and to Great Britain's far from wholehearted devotion to the struggle. But the fact that the untrained citizens' army of the revolutionary forces withstood and finally defeated the professional troops of the empire filled the Americans with self-confidence and reverberated across the ocean, as proof of the greater worth of free men in battle and the ascendancy of liberty over despotism. The formation of an American nation out of so many disparate elements, the victory of an army of citizens, the flaring up of a republican patriotism almost overnight where none had existed before—all that seemed almost a miracle. George Washington stressed this aspect in his farewell orders to the army from Rocky Hill in November, 1783: "Every American officer and soldier must now console himself . . . by a recollection of . . . the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on

the stage of human action; nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who, that was not a witness, could imagine, that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon; and that men, who came from different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers?"⁶² Americans had gained their independence, and the vast continent with its untapped resources now lay open for their exploitation. The vision of America's future greatness and mission was, however, sadly belied by everyday reality, and the thirteen sovereign states which emerged from the War of Independence were lost in the mire of their miseries, jealousies, and local loyalties; most of their citizens were unable to share in the faith which wished to build a strong foundation for a new nation.

Distances remained enormous. When Noah Webster set out from Philadelphia for Baltimore by stage in 1785 he had to travel two days by way of Wilmington, "over a notoriously bad road, in which chasms to the depth of six, eight, or ten feet occurred at numerous intervals. Accidents were so common that the commissioners of the high roads were accused of maintaining a private understanding with the practitioners of surgery." When in the same year he visited Charleston, South Carolina, an overland journey from Baltimore was out of question, and so he had to engage passage on a sloop. "Twenty-seven days were consumed in the voyage, a fatiguing, disagreeable trip marked with alternating squalls and calm."⁶³ No wonder that antagonism of interest continued "between the sections, and consequent suspicion of motives and harsh accusations instead of friendly rivalry and emulation of members of the same family having common interest." It was inevitable that it should be so, however, when the people lived far apart and few could travel. Thus "the attachment to the soil was necessarily an attachment to that part of it which the American knew, and that was his state rather than the continent. . . . His interest and affections were circumscribed by a very small area."⁶⁴ Looking back on the American Revolution, John Adams wrote to Hezekiah Niles on February 13, 1818: "The colonies had grown up

under constitutions of government so different, there was so great a variety of religions, they were composed of so many different nations, their customs, manners, and habits, had so little resemblance, and their intercourse had been so rare, and their knowledge of each other so imperfect, that to unite them in the same principles in theory and the same system of action, was certainly a very difficult enterprise.”⁶⁵ This situation began to change only after 1815; in the last decades of the eighteenth century the ideological forces which could counteract the unfavorable conditions were still feeble.

The integration of the nascent nation was impeded not only by local loyalties but also by the diversity of creeds and racial strains. The Lutheran liturgy of 1786, for example, contained the following characteristic passage: “And since it has pleased Thee chiefly by means of the Germans to transform this State into a blooming garden, and the desert into a pleasant pasturage, help us not to deny our nation, but to endeavor that our youth may be so educated that German schools and churches may not only be sustained but may attain a still more flourishing condition.”⁶⁶ Peace had come, but with peace came neither prosperity nor a feeling of national solidarity. The public debt seemed staggering, the financial situation chaotic, the condition of the currency even worse. The upper classes distrusted the people and complained of its lack of cooperation and its violence. The masses suffered under the burden of debts. The so-called Federal Government was “like a horse with thirteen bridle reins, each held in the hands of separate drivers.”⁶⁷ The states continued “to harass each other with rival and spiteful measures dictated by mistaken views of interest,” as Madison wrote to Washington on April 16, 1787.⁶⁸ Energetic agitation for a stronger central government, a transformation of the thirteen states into one nation, was carried on by the mercantile and financial interests. Noah Webster stated in 1785 in his “Plan of Policy for Improving the Advantages and Perpetuating the Union of the American States”: “We ought to generalize our ideas and our measures. We ought not to consider ourselves as inhabitants of a particular state only; but as *Americans*; as the common subjects of a great empire. We cannot and ought not wholly to divest ourselves of

provincial views and attachments; but we should subordinate them to the general interests of the continent." ⁶⁰

Alexander Hamilton was among the foremost protagonists of a strong central government. Against those who believed that the interests and habits of the thirteen states were too different to allow the formation of a unified nation, he assured the members of the New York Convention in 1788 "that, under the regular and gentle influence of general laws, these varying interests will be constantly assimilated, till they embrace each other and assume the same complexion." ⁷⁰ He devoted all his energy to the creation of a national government which would guarantee to the United States "a national character and policy." But his understanding of national character was a purely political one. While he was a pioneer in the field of economic nationalism, in which the famous "Report of Manufactures" was a first seed, he neglected that ideological foundation which was characteristically American, and upon which alone an American nation could be built. He was an outspoken adherent of a strong national government. But "not less distinct and scarcely less important was Hamilton's answer to the question what should be the type of civilization in the United States. He wished to create here, as far as the situation would permit, an American England. In all that he did, the models and working ideas were of English origin." ⁷¹ The struggle for a more unified constitution was finally decided in favor of Alexander Hamilton. Elizur Goodrich, in a sermon on "The Principles of Civil Union and Happiness" preached May 10, 1787, had invoked biblical sanction on the intended closer union. "Its [Jerusalem's] inhabitants were not a loose, disconnected people, but most strictly united, not only among themselves, but with all the tribes of Israel, into a holy nation and commonwealth." ⁷² More realistic was the analysis of an English observer who wrote a few years after the issue had been settled: "Some from jealousy of liberty were afraid of giving too much power to their rulers; others, from an honest ambition to aggrandize their country, were for paving the way to national greatness by melting down the separate states into a national mass. The former feared the new constitution; the latter gloried in it." ⁷³ And this glory was expressed by Simeon Baldwin, who in his July

4th oration in 1788 called the new Constitution "the most finished form of government that ever blessed a nation." ¹⁴

The new Constitution was a great step forward on the road to nationhood. The traditionally strong isolationism of the thirteen states had been overcome, a new foundation for peace and security, for economic prosperity and thriving commerce, had been created. An example had been set, not only in the republican form of government but in its federative character, which combined a far-reaching independence of historical, parochial entities with the existence of a strong central authority for common concerns, the number and extent of which would naturally grow with the development of communications and intercourse. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights have remained the unshakable foundations of the new nation. They have drawn their strength not from their legal character but from the ideas which they expressed. In spite of their imperfections they have withstood the test of time better than any other constitution on earth, for during the past one hundred and fifty years all other nations have changed theirs repeatedly. The American constitutional laws of 1789 have lasted because the idea for which they stand was so intimately welded with the existence of the American nation that without the idea there would have been no nation. It was the idea which gave to Americans that unity and strength which built the nation. With all its vigorous political and economic aspects, American nationalism nevertheless has been primarily an ideological nationalism, the embodiment of an idea, which, though geographically and historically located in the United States, was a universal idea, the most vital and enduring legacy of the eighteenth century.

Among the realities of national life, the image which a nation forms of itself, and in which it mirrors itself is one of the most important. Perhaps only slightly less important is the reflection produced by foreign observers and the image thus formed by other nations, for the original image and its reflection shape and influence each other. Though the reality, in many ways, does not correspond to the image, falls far short of its ideal perfection, and often contradicts it in the countless and conflicting trends of the complex actuality, nevertheless this image, woven of elements of reality,

tradition, imagination, and aspiration, is one of the most formative agents in national character. It molds national life; it acts at least as a constant brake, if not always as an impelling force. Thomas Jefferson recognized it clearly in a letter to Joseph Priestley: "It is certain that though written constitutions may be violated in moments of passion or delusion, yet they furnish a text to which those who are watchful may again rally and recall the people; they fix too for the people the principles of their political creed."⁷⁶ Nations like America which have not been rooted for many centuries in a circumscribed soil or nourished by common ancient traditions stemming from the belief in common descent over a long period live even more by the force of their national image or idea. The territory of the United States was not circumscribed; in spite of Noah Webster's efforts the country never developed a language of its own; Negroes and Jews, German Lutherans and Latin Catholics, participated in the Revolutionary War and fought for the American nation;⁷⁷ the national idea alone could serve as a foundation and a tie.

At the end of the eighteenth century the conception which the most enlightened European nations formed of the new American nation was not fundamentally different from the Americans' idea of themselves, except that it was even more removed from the actual struggles of daily reality, even more deeply immersed in the philosophical ideal of the century. America appeared as a symbol of liberty and "natural" virtue, a land in whose vast open spaces the natural order could become creative, unhampered by the traditions and superstitions of past ages. Far-off America seemed a sanctuary for the truly philosophical attitude, a refuge for all those who longed for the rule of nature. Jacques Pierre Brissot, the leading Girondist in France, praised the United States as a land of regeneration and moral reform.⁷⁷ This interpretation abroad reacted upon America's own conception—the more so because it gladly conceded the leadership of America on humanity's road to the future. *Ex occidente lux*; not only did the "ball of empire" seem to roll over to the western world, but also the center of mankind seemed to shift to the West.⁷⁸ In truth, this keen flight of imagination had not the slightest backing in fact: for a very long time to

come, culturally and politically, the young nation remained on the outskirts of the civilized world. Nevertheless something fundamentally new and of immense importance had happened. For the first time a nation had arisen on the basis of these truths held "to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among those are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness"—truths which the nation could not give up without destroying its own foundation. Through all the many sermons, articles, and poems, with their empty bombast, their rhetorical unctuousity, and their tribute paid to the tastes of the times, through all the political struggles and economic maneuvers of petty men and greedy leaders, the American idea lived on, disfigured and sometimes obliterated, and yet struggling for its self-realization.

6

The American national consciousness is based upon the conviction of being different from other nations—different not in representing a peculiar and unique development of human history but in realizing, as the first people, with the greatest possible approximation to perfection, the general trend of human development towards a better rational order, greater individual liberty, and basic equality. American nationalism is thus not a movement of romantic protest against the Western equalitarian and rational attitude, like the German and Russian nationalisms as expressed by many of their leading representatives, but the consummation of this western attitude. It is not a voice crying out of the depth of the dark past, but is proudly a product of the enlightened present, setting its face resolutely towards the future. Noah Webster praised the American system of civil government because it had been "framed in the most enlightened period of the world. All other systems of civil polity have been begun in the rude times of ignorance and savage ferocity; fabricated at the voice of necessity, without science and without experience. America, just beginning to exist in an advanced period of human improvement, has the science and the experience of all nations to direct her in forming

plans of government.”⁷⁰ American nationalism owed its origin and its impetus to a feeling of liberty—individual, not national—and of equality, which though not perfect by any means were yet unequaled elsewhere. Philip Freneau and Hugh Henry Brackenridge, fellow students at the College of New Jersey, wrote in 1771 a poem called “The Rising Glory of America,” in which the vision of a country of liberty was versified:

Here independent power shall hold sway,
And public virtue warm the patriot breast:
No traces shall remain of tyranny,
And laws, a pattern to the world beside,
Be here enacted first. . . .
A new Jerusalem, sent down from Heaven,
Shall grace our happy earth.⁸⁰

What wonder that, in view of these bright visions of the future, preachers like Nathan Fiske waxed lyrical in 1781, after the defeat of Cornwallis: “Happy country! the scene of such wonders, the nurse of such heroes, the defender of liberty, and the care of Jehovah. Here shall religion and liberty extend their benign influences to savage, enslaved and benighted nations. How can we forbear rejoicing in such happy prospects.”⁸¹ But already, three years before, Phillips Payson of Chelsea had joyfully dwelt upon the future in his Massachusetts Election Sermon: “To anticipate the future glory of America from present hopes and prospects is ravishing and transporting to the mind. In this light we behold our country, beyond the reach of all oppressors, under the great charter of independence, enjoying the purest liberty; beautiful and strong in its union; the envy of tyrants and devils, but the delight of God and all good men; a refuge to the oppressed; the joy of the earth.”⁸²

There was a fundamental ambivalence in the relation of the new American nationalism to Europe. Each national idea gains its emphasis by contrasting itself with and differentiating itself from another concept; in the case of America, this concept was Europe. America knew, though she often tended to forget it, that she was Europe’s offspring, that America’s liberty was due to the vision of Milton, Sidney, and Locke, of Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rous-

seau. But what had been vision with these men, and at best no more than an attempt at realization with the European nations, had become reality in America. Whether that was due to the fortunate geographical and social conditions of the New World, or to the virtuous character of the American people, or to a combination of both, was beside the point. The fact remained, and could easily be asserted by a comparison of life on the two sides of the Atlantic. The progressive minds of Europe would not have denied it; on the contrary, most of them supported (and sometimes even surpassed) the faith of Americans in the virtues of life and liberty in the new and unfettered world. Noah Webster's youthful writing in 1782 was in substance an echo of the words of the French *philosophes*. "America sees the absurdities—she sees the kingdoms of Europe, disturbed by wrangling sectaries, or their commerce, population and improvements of every kind cramped and retarded, because the human mind like the body is fettered 'and bound fast by the cords of policy and superstition': She laughs at their folly and shuns their errors: She founds her empire upon the idea of an universal toleration: . . . [This] will finally raise her to a pitch of greatness and lustre, before which the glory of ancient Greece and Rome shall dwindle to a point, and the splendor of modern Empires shall fade into obscurity."⁸⁸

Because America has been realizing what the ideologists of the English and French Enlightenment strove for, because her nationalism has been not original or autochthonous, but universal, America, in proclaiming liberty and happiness both as her foundation and as her goal, regarded herself as the trustee of these blessings for Europe and mankind. In his famous sermon on "The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor," Ezra Stiles pointed out the central position of the United States in cultural and commercial intercourse. "This great American Revolution . . . will be attended to and contemplated by all nations. Navigation will carry the American flag around the globe itself . . . and with commerce will import the wisdom and literature of the East. That prophecy of Daniel is now literally fulfilling—there shall be universal traveling to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. This knowledge will be brought home and treasured up in America, and, being here

digested and carried to the highest perfection, may reblaze back from America back to Europe, Asia, and Africa, and illumine the world with truth and liberty."⁸⁴ The comparative modesty and reasonableness of the vision of the learned President of Yale was brushed aside by his successor, Timothy Dwight, who in 1794 (the year before he became President of Yale) published a poem called "Greenfield Hill" describing the American life and scene at Greenfield Hill, Connecticut, where he had held a pastorate for eleven years. It is doubtful whether that poem fulfilled his patriotic purpose of contributing to the moral improvement of America; it is almost certain that it did not fulfill the author's second intention of demonstrating to Europeans that America offered the makings of native poetry. The lack of poetic imagination, however, was more than compensated for by the fiery patriotic vision:

Ah then, thou favour'd land, thyself revere!
Look not to Europe, for examples just
Of order, manners, customs, doctrines, laws,
Of happiness, or virtue. Cast around
The eye of searching reason, and declare
What Europe proffers, but a patchwork sway . . .

O blissful visions of the happy West!
O how unlike the miseries of the East!
There, in sad realms of desolating war,
Fell Despotism ascends his iron car;
Printed in blood, o'er all the moving throne,
The motto glows, of—Millions Made For One.⁸⁵

The American nationalism, this feeling of realizing Europe's best aspirations and keenest hopes outside and even against Europe, gained in emphasis, the closer the contact with Europe became. Jefferson's American nationalism received its final impress during his sojourn in France. It was a typical *Fremdheitserlebnis* which aroused him, this experience of strangeness and exile which throughout the history of nationalism, from Petrarch on to the present day, has remained one of the strongest incentives to the clarification of

national consciousness. Like other Americans who visited Europe, Jefferson compared it, in the degree of liberty, the distribution of wealth, the simplicity of morals, and the general spread of education, with their own country. From Paris he wrote on June 17, 1785, to a friend in America: "I sincerely wish you may find it convenient to come here. . . . It will make you adore your own country, its soil, its climate, its equality, liberty, laws, people, and manners. My God! how little do my countrymen know what precious blessings they are in possession of, and which no other people on earth enjoy. I confess I had no idea of it myself. While we shall see multiplied instances of Europeans going to live in America, I will venture to say, no man now living will ever see an instance of an American removing to settle in Europe, and continuing there. Come, then, and see the proofs of this, and on your return add your testimony to that of every thinking American, in order to satisfy our countrymen how much it is their interest to preserve, uninfected by contagion, those peculiarities in their government and manners, to which they are indebted for those blessings." ⁸⁶ And in the following year he wrote: "If all the sovereigns of Europe were to set themselves to work, to emancipate the minds of their subjects from their present ignorance and prejudices, and that, as zealously as they now endeavor the contrary, a thousand years would not place them on that high ground, on which our common people are now setting out." ⁸⁷

But Jefferson's exhortations against "contamination" were of no avail. The development of progressive ideas in Europe continued to influence the United States; Jefferson himself became the most important instrument in accomplishing what has been called the second Revolution, which definitely established the character of American nationalism and gave to the new nation a strong moral and ideological foundation as well as political independence. The years after the achievement of independence were filled with bitter struggle between the more conservative groups, who wished to preserve in the United States a greater semblance to the social structure of class society and distribution of political influence prevailing in Great Britain, and the proponents of a socially and politically more equalitarian order. Even a man like Noah Webster,

who in his youth had professed deeply democratic sentiments, "was using his energy to keep subversive persons like Priestley and Jefferson from ruining the nation, and was trying to stem the rising tide of democratic sentiment in Connecticut." In his Fourth of July oration in 1798 he uttered warnings against democracy which he was to repeat during the forty-five remaining years of his life. He "was blind to the faults of Federalism, its insistence upon the property basis of law and the franchise, upon the rights of the few as opposed to the rights of the many, and upon the union of church and state. . . . A new spirit had entered the American people, a spirit he could not support, although he had probably done as much as any man to foster it. This was the spirit of democracy, then noisily illustrated by the clubs and by the party tactics of Jefferson."⁸⁸

But under the conditions of America, Webster and those who thought like him were fighting a losing battle: their efforts were doomed by the social and geographic conditions of the country, and by the ideas on the strength of which they themselves had started and inspired the American Revolution. The new wave of democratic nationalism which swept America in the nineties sprang from the very foundations of the American Revolution. Yet it had received part of its new strength, its greater vision, its new popular appeal, from abroad, from the French Revolution, which threatened to outshine America's liberty and become the vanguard in the march towards human freedom. It not only deeply influenced the thought of Jefferson, Barlow, and other leading thinkers; the masses gained a new confidence, democratic clubs sprang up all over the United States, people were addressed as "Citizen" and "Citizeness," King Street in New York was renamed Liberty Street, the Royal Exchange Alley in Boston became Equality Lane.⁸⁹ The French Revolution exercised a similar revitalizing influence everywhere in Europe. But in the United States this resurgence of faith in liberty, equality, and fraternity was not a passing phenomenon, quickly to be submerged by the victorious counterrevolution. It strengthened the existing foundations and made them impregnable. The Democratic revival in the 1790's was a protest against the recently consolidated Federalist victories, the

adoption of the Constitution, the orientation toward London, the new fiscal policy. The spirit of 1776 was rekindled—the English revolutionary tradition and the new French inspiration mingled in the New World. While despotism seemed to triumph in Europe, while even in France the new liberties waned, in the United States the second revolution, partly itself a consequence of the French Revolution, widened the gap between Europe and America. While the lights of freedom went out all over Europe, they shone more brightly across the Atlantic.

The dire predictions of the Federalists, who regarded Jefferson's election with the utmost horror as the end of all order and the beginning of a reign of terror, were not realized. "The right of private property, marriage, chastity, and decency," which Timothy Dwight had prophesied would be rooted out "under pretense of giving man liberty and equality," remained as unimpaired as it had been before. While liberty and equality were far from perfect, they were not a pretense. They were more of a reality in the United States than anywhere else. The man who "poured the soul of the continent into the monumental act of Independence," as Ezra Stiles had said in 1783,⁹⁰ again expressed its soul. He could do so because there was a decisive kernel of essential truth under the thick layer of Samuel Dickinson's Fourth of July oratory in 1797: "I need not spend time, to prove the equality of men, or the unalienable rights of humanity. You, my country-men, *feel* the *reality*. They are a sacred deposit in the bosom of every American."⁹¹ French Enlightenment had been second only to English constitutional and religious traditions in forming the intellectual climate out of which the American Revolution rose; French armed forces had helped the Revolutionary armies to victory. The French Revolution, which seemed to fail in France because, as Jefferson said, "the mobs of the cities, the instrument used for [the accomplishment of the Revolution], debased by ignorance, poverty, and vice, could not be restrained to rational action,"⁹² and which was then temporarily eclipsed by the forces of the past, became an integral part of the American national consciousness, where there was no past to which a counterrevolution could appeal.

The impact of the French Revolution on American democratic

nationalism was experienced by Joel Barlow, a close friend of Thomas Paine and classmate of Noah Webster at Yale, who in 1788, at the age of thirty-four, sailed to Europe where he remained for seventeen years. In 1792 he wrote, in "A Letter to the National Convention of France on the Defects in the Constitution of 1791 and the Extent of the Amendments which ought to be applied": "I not only consider all mankind as forming but one great family, and therefore bound by natural sympathy to regard each other's happiness as making part of their own; but I contemplate the French nation at this moment as standing in the place of the whole."³ But this shift of the vanguard of mankind from America to France was, even in Barlow's thought, purely temporary. Even one of the most revolutionary acts of France, the creation of a citizens' army, had been foreshadowed across the ocean. "Another of these operations is making every citizen a soldier, and every soldier a citizen; not only permitting every man to arm, but obliging him to arm. This fact, told in Europe previous to the French Revolution, would have gained little credit." In his "Advice to the Privileged Orders in the Several States of Europe, resulting from the necessity and propriety of a general revolution in the principles of government" (1792), Barlow clearly saw the unique position of the United States, where "the science of liberty is universally understood, felt and practised, as much by the simple as the wise, the weak as the strong. Their deep-rooted and inveterate habit of thinking is, that all men are equal in their rights, that it is impossible to make them otherwise; and this being their undisturbed belief, they have no conception how any man in his senses can entertain any other. This point once settled, everything is settled. Many operations, which in Europe have been considered as incredible tales or dangerous experiments, are but the infallible consequences of this great principle." But he recognized that the American Revolution had not yet firmly molded the American character. "The Americans cannot be said as yet to have formed a national character. The political party of their revolution, aside from the military, was not of that violent and convulsive nature that shakes the whole fabric of human opinion, and enables men to decide which are to be retained as congenial to their situation."

He foresaw the influence of the new revolutionary democracy of France on America, as it was soon to triumph in Jefferson's election to the presidency. "The circumstances of their [the Americans'] not being invested with what is called national character, though hitherto a subject of regret, will in future be much in their favor. The public mind being open to receive impressions from abroad, they will be able to profit by the practical lessons which will now be afforded them from the change of system in this quarter of the world."⁹⁴

When Barlow returned to the United States in 1805 and completed his epic poem "The Columbiad," he expressed the advantage of America being a new creation of the eighteenth century, not burdened with the feudal past.⁹⁵ In the United States "regenerate man" will be born in "a new creation."

Here social man a second birth shall find,
And a new range of reason lift his mind,
Feed his strong intellect with purer light,
A nobler sense of duty and of right,
The sense of liberty; whose holy fire
His life shall temper and his laws inspire.⁹⁶

This regeneration of man, however, will not be confined to America. The federal democracy of the United States will become the example of mankind, united after its model.

There stands the model, thence he long shall draw
His forms of policy, his traits of law;
Each land shall imitate, each nation join
The well based brotherhood, the league divine,
Extend its empire with the circling sun,
And band the peopled globe within its federal zone.

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Till each remotest clan, by commerce join'd,
Links in the chain that binds all humankind,
Their bloody banners sink in darkness furl'd
And one white flag of peace triumphant walks the world.⁹⁷

American conservatives and democrats alike, though for different reasons, were repelled by the apparent imperfection of Europe at the turn of the century. The conservatives were frightened by the excesses of the French Revolution and of atheism, and many sought refuge in a new orthodoxy; the democrats were repulsed by Napoleon's reintroduction of monarchy and aristocracy in France. Interest in religion was reawakened on the democratic side, too; it found its expression in the Unitarian movement in Massachusetts and in Baptist and Methodist revivalism on the frontier. But in this withdrawal from Europe there survived much of the very philosophy of eighteenth century Europe: to preserve the simplicity of life and the liberty of the natural order which only the New World could offer, instead of becoming corrupted by traditions of the past and prejudices of a not yet enlightened age. Rousseau's idyllic ethos animated Jefferson when he wrote in 1787: "I think we shall be [virtuous] as long as agriculture is our principal object, which will be the case, while there remain vacant lands in any part of America. When we get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall become corrupt as in Europe, and go to eating one another as they do there."⁸⁸ In this withdrawal, with its feeling of superiority, some of the intellectuals of the young nation began to long for an independent cultural expression of America.

Can we never be thought to have learning or grace
Unless it be brought from that horrible place
Where tyranny reigns with her impudent face;
And popes and pretenders,
And sly faith-defenders
Have ever been hostile to reason and wit,
Enslaving a world that shall conquer them yet?

wrote Freneau in his "Literary Importations" in 1786.⁸⁹ And with less witty grace the young Noah Webster expressed the same sentiments: "America is an independent empire, and ought to assume a national character. Nothing can be more ridiculous, than a servile imitation of the manners, the language, and the vices of foreigners. For setting aside the infancy of our government and

our inability to support the fashionable amusements of Europe, nothing can betray a more despicable disposition in Americans, than to be the apes of Europeans." ¹⁰⁰ In the United States political nationalism and constitutional liberties antedated cultural nationalism, while in Central Europe future national independence and political rights were based upon many decades of toil and labor in the cultural field. In the year of the adoption of the American Constitution, Noah Webster decided that there was a fundamental need for an independent American culture. "As an independent nation, our honor requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as in government. Great Britain, whose children we are, and whose language we speak, should no longer be our standard; for the taste of her writers is already corrupted and her language on the decline." ¹⁰¹ From that time on Noah Webster devoted his life to laying the foundations of an American language and culture.

7

A feeling of cultural nationalism was sorely needed in the young nation to cement the loose ties binding the distant communities and colonies with their divergent traditions and backgrounds. If America was to grow into a nation on a firm foundation, education had to play its part. Nowhere could it have more far-reaching consequences than in the spelling book, from which the child imbibed his first ideas about the world surrounding him and the conduct of life which he had to lead. The spelling books in use before Noah Webster's time reflected English institutions, traditions, and ways of life. Webster's spelling book changed that: for almost a century it was second only to the Bible in shaping the mind of the nation in its infancy. In the preface the author clearly and strongly emphasized his nationalistic intention. "The author wishes to promote the honour and prosperity of the confederated republics of America; and cheerfully throws his mite into the common treasure of patriotic exertions. This country must in some future time, be as distinguished by the superiority of her literary improvements, as she is already by the liberality of her

civil and ecclesiastical constitutions. Europe is grown old in folly, corruption and tyranny—in that country laws are perverted, manners are licentious, literature is declining and human nature debased. For America in her infancy to adopt the present maxims of the old world, would be to stamp the wrinkles of decrepit age upon the bloom of youth and to plant the seeds of decay in a vigorous constitution. American glory begins to dawn at a favourable period, and under flattering circumstances. . . . It is the business of *Americans* to select the wisdom of all nations, as the basis of her constitutions,—to avoid their errors,—to prevent the introduction of foreign vices and corruptions and check the career of her own,—to promote virtue and patriotism,—to embellish and improve the sciences,—to diffuse an uniformity and purity of language,—to add superior dignity to this infant Empire and to human nature.”¹⁰² Webster advocated an education in which “a selection of essays, respecting the settlement and geography of America; the history of the late revolution and of the most remarkable characters and events that distinguished it, and a compendium of the principles of the federal and provincial governments should be the principal schoolbook,” and which would culminate in a tour through the United States.¹⁰³

Noah Webster was in no way alone in his efforts to lay the foundations of a distinct and nationally conscious American culture. Though the number of his active supporters was small, they covered a wide field of activity, centering around historical and geographical studies. The records of the American past, a very brief past but one full of new and stirring ideas and revolutionary and heroic deeds, of pioneer days and long hard years of struggle, were to be preserved for posterity. The contours of the new homeland were to be outlined and made familiar. Intellectual attention and emotional attachment had been directed towards the mother country with its long and glorious past which was felt to be America's own past, towards the sites and cities of England with their memorable monuments, well known from pictures and reading. From now on the attention of the young nation was to be fixed upon the soldiers and statesmen, the agitators and preachers, who

had made the rise of the republic possible, and upon the wide and still thinly populated and half-explored congeries of seaport towns, frontier hamlets, meager fields, and dense forests.

Among the handful of men who devoted themselves to this task, two Congregational ministers, Jedidiah Morse (1761-1826) and Jeremy Belknap (1744-1798)¹⁰⁴ may be mentioned. Morse became "the father of American geography," and his "Geography Made Easy" (1784) went through twenty-five editions during his lifetime. Belknap's interests were focused upon history. He was the author of "A History of New Hampshire" and two volumes of "American Biographies," which contained the lives of famous colonial leaders. In 1790 he sketched the plan for the foundation of an Antiquarian Society, which soon grew into the Massachusetts Historical Society for "collecting, preserving and communicating the antiquities of America." He collaborated with men like Ebenezer Hazard (1744-1817), a pioneer in the collection and publication of original records and documents (Hazard's "Historical Collections" were planned to comprise many volumes but, because of the lack of public interest, never went beyond the first two), and John Pintard (1759-1844), who in 1791 organized a Historical Museum in New York under the auspices of the Tammany Society and in 1804 helped found the New York Historical Society. Charles Brockden Brown (1771-1810), the first professional American writer and a revolutionary democrat deeply influenced by William Godwin and the French Revolution, translated Volney's "Tableau du climat et du sol des États Unis" into English and wrote many novels of American life. In the preface to "Edgar Huntly" (1799), his novel of frontier conditions, he admonished the American novelist to abandon the "puerile superstition and exploded manners, Gothic castles and chimeras" of the European tradition. "The incidents of Indian hostility, and the perils of the Western wilderness, are far more suitable."¹⁰⁵ This cultural nationalism did not remain confined to history, geography and the *belles lettres*. "The word 'American' became indispensable in all textbook titles; all vied in patriotic eloquence. . . . Nicholas Pike prefaced his "Arithmetic" (1788) with a typical Websterian statement: 'As

the United States are now an independent Nation, it was judged that a System [of Arithmetic] might be calculated more suitable to our Meridian, than those heretofore published.'"¹⁰⁶

All these varied efforts pointed towards a system of national education, to imbue youth with patriotic feelings and to act as a much needed bond of unification. Jeremy Bellknap in an "Election Sermon" preached on June 2, 1785, before the General Court of New Hampshire, pleaded for equal educational facilities for the children of all citizens in the national interest. He appealed to the example of antiquity when, according to Lysurgus, children belonged to the state more than to their parents. One of the pioneers in urging an "education proper in a republic" was Benjamin Rush (1745-1813), a physician and a leader in progressive thought. He demanded a general and uniform system of national education for the purpose of creating a more homogeneous people; he helped found in 1774 the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and later became its president; he was a pioneer in the field of public health and a fervent advocate of female education. "They should be instructed in the principles of liberty and government, and the obligations of patriotism should be inculcated upon them," so that they might be able to bring up their sons in the right spirit. History was to be taught as an object lesson of the struggle against tyranny throughout the ages. Rush also recognized the importance of adapting extracurricular activities, play and amusements, to the new spirit of democracy, and of discontinuing the traditional ways. "It is high time to awake from this servility—to study our own character—to examine the age of our country—and to adopt manners in every thing, that shall be accommodated to our state of society, and to the forms of our government."¹⁰⁷ Another proponent of a national system of education, Robert Coram, published in 1791 his "Plan for the General Establishment of Schools throughout the United States," in which he suggested a general tax to maintain national public schools throughout the country, in which foreign or dead languages and religion were not to be taught.

These suggestions did not fall upon fertile soil. It was of little

avail that Du Pont de Nemours, who brought with him from France the Physiocratic enthusiasm for general education, wrote at Jefferson's request in 1800 "Sur l'éducation nationale dans les États Unis d'Amérique,"¹⁰⁸ or that in 1808 some citizens of Connecticut founded an Association of American Patriots for the Purpose of Forming a National Character. Even the American Philosophical Society, instrumental in spreading French Enlightenment and, with leading Americans as president (Benjamin Franklin from 1769 to 1790, David Rittenhouse from 1790 to 1796, and Thomas Jefferson from 1796 to 1815), important as a unifying factor in the intellectual life of the country, was unsuccessful in influencing the situation. In 1796 it offered a prize for "the best system of liberal education and literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the government of the United States." Of the two winning essays in its prize competition, the one by Samuel Knox, "Essay on Education," inclined towards an emphasis on patriotism and suggested the introduction of military exercises and the formation of a national university; the other, "Remarks on Education: Illustrating the close connection between Virtue and Wisdom," by Samuel Harrison Smith, was definitely cosmopolitan and humanitarian in its tendency and wished to educate men to view "the whole world as a single family."¹⁰⁹

Noah Webster's efforts to create a national language met with less success than his plans for national education. A language seemed to him to be an indispensable prerequisite of independent nationhood. "A capital advantage," he wrote about his proposed reform of spelling, "would be that it would make a difference between the English orthography and the American. . . . I am confident that such an event is an object of vast political consequence. . . . A national language is a band of national union. Every engine should be employed to render the people of this country national; to call their attachments home to their own country; and to inspire them with the pride of national character."¹¹⁰ Only a national language could assure the creation of a national literature. Some reformers wished to create an entirely new language for the United States, while others wanted to eliminate the name of "Eng-

lish" for the language spoken in the United States.¹¹¹ Webster believed that the English language would develop differently in the various parts of the world; that among these several languages sprung from the same stock American would soon take precedence on account of the future numerical and cultural superiority of the Western continent, and that it would be spoken before the middle of the twentieth century by more people than any other language on the globe, not excepting Chinese.

Webster's radical linguistic nationalism was not shared by many contemporaries. Ezra Stiles expected the English language in America not to become different but to grow into greater purity and elegance.¹¹² John Adams in a letter on September 23, 1780, suggested the formation of an Academy in America for the cultivation and improvement of the English language. "You must know I have undertaken to prophesy that English will be the most respectable language in the world, and the most universally read and spoken, in the next century, if not before the close of this. American population will in the next age produce a greater number of persons who will speak English than any other language, and these persons will have more general acquaintance and conversation with all other nations than any other people, which will naturally introduce their language everywhere, as the general medium of correspondence and conversation among the learned of all nations, and among all travelers and strangers, as Latin was in the last century, and French has been in this."¹¹³ This expectation of a brilliant future was shared by many Europeans. The Girondist leader and Minister of the French Revolution, Jean Marie Roland de la Platière, drew in 1789 a glowing picture of the Americans: "La douceur de leur gouvernement en fait des patriotes aussi zélés que le furent jamais les plus célèbres républicains; celle de leur principes les rend, dans leur bienveillance universelle, semblables aux plus parfaits cosmopolites, et leur situation doit en faire les commerçants les plus puissants. Que de moyens de s'élever, de s'étendre, de multiplier ses relations et de propager l'usage de sa langue! Le seul charme de leur philosophie, si propre à gagner les cœurs, semble préparer le triomphe de leurs opinions et devoir ranger un jour bien des peuples sous leur religion consolante. . . .

Il me semble que la langue d'une telle nation sera un jour la langue universelle."¹¹⁵

Webster wished to go even farther than a distinct language to emphasize the cultural independence of the United States. He propagated an American "fashion"—partly as an expression of economic nationalism, to foster the growth of an American industry, but partly as an expression of the American spirit. "It is a singular phenomenon," he wrote in December, 1786, "and to posterity it will appear incredible, that a nation of heroes, who have conquered armies and raised an empire, should not have the spirit to say, *we will wear our clothes as we please*."¹¹⁶ Two years later James Sullivan, author of a "History of the District of Maine" and one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, said in his "Thoughts upon the Political Situation of the United States of America," that the first thing necessary, if Americans were to have a character of their own, was to free themselves from slavish adherence to European ways of thinking; Americans had become "so habituated to their fashions and opinions, that we have scarcely dared to wear our coats, if not cut in their modes, though they should change with every moon; or even to think, but in the trammels, which they had forged for us;—it is now full time, that we should assume a national character, and opinions of our own; and convince the world; that we have some true philosophy on this side of the globe."¹¹⁷ But Webster and Sullivan were too zealously concerned with external symptoms. Though the language spoken in America developed features of Americanism¹¹⁷ it remained English, and American schools continued to foster and cherish the great traditions of English letters from Chaucer to the present as their own. Though the frontier conditions demanded certain adaptations of dress and habits, nevertheless Americans did not develop a distinctive national school of fashion. American nationalism was not based upon language, nor upon any external symbols; it was founded upon an idea. It became definitely established when Thomas Jefferson, the "Apostle of Americanism," endowed the growing consciousness of the young nation with the indelible stamp of its faith and its mission.¹¹⁸

8

Jefferson could accomplish the "second Revolution," because his interpretation of American nationalism was borne along by the dominant ground swell in American life.¹¹⁰ He believed the young nation had been singled out by Providence to become the embodiment of the rational and liberal ideals of the eighteenth century. The fight against privilege and for individual liberty, the faith in the common man and his perfectibility—this common task of mankind seemed to Jefferson, especially after his experiences in Europe, more realizable in America than anywhere else. While monarchy, aristocracy, and Church restored in Europe the old order of human inequality and authoritarianism, America seemed to offer the right soil for the growth of the new plants of liberty and equality. Thus America became the vanguard of mankind, full of a proud and blissful faith in its mission. This faith of the American people in itself and its mission made it a nation.

Jefferson was a typical representative of the liberal and humanitarian nationalism of the eighteenth century. He was a patriot: "The first object of my heart is my own country. In that is embarked my family, my fortune, and my own existence. I have not one farthing of interest, nor one fibre of attachment out of it."¹²⁰ National unity was to him a high and important goal. "In a government like ours, it is the duty of the Chief Magistrate, in order to enable himself to do all the good which his station requires, to endeavor, by all honorable means, to unite in himself the confidence of the whole people. This alone, in any case where the energy of the nation is required, can produce a union of the powers of the whole, and point them in a single direction, as if all constituted but one body and one mind, and this alone can render a weaker nation unconquerable by a stronger one."¹²¹ He realized that a free people which has built its life upon individual liberty and the equality of all citizens needs in critical hours a greater voluntary union of all its forces than a nation governed in an authoritarian way. In all its liberty and diversity the nation was to be one, and this supreme allegiance to the national idea, this single-mindedness of the national will in all decisive crises, was to

Jefferson, as to the men of the French Revolution, the prerequisite of national existence. Though (or rather, because) the American nation was to be a universal nation—not only in the sense that the ideal which it pursued was universal, valid, and applicable to the whole of mankind, but also in the sense that it was a nation composed of all racial and linguistic strains—it was to be strongly integrated around allegiance to the American idea, an idea to which everyone could be assimilated for the very reason that it was a universal idea. To facilitate the process of integration, Jefferson strongly opposed the settlement of immigrants in compact groups, and advocated their wide distribution among the older settlers for the purpose of “quicker amalgamation.”¹²³

His patriotism was devoid of any narrowness or exclusiveness. The same strict moral laws which governed the conduct of individuals were valid for the life of nations. “Compacts . . . between nation and nation, are obligatory on them by the same moral law which obliges individuals to observe their compacts.”¹²⁴ No nation was free to act as it desired or as its self-interest seemed to demand; each nation was responsible for its conduct before the Areopagus of all nations. This sense of obligation should be more deeply ingrained in the American consciousness than in that of any other nation, because the people of the United States held their form of government as a trust for mankind. “We feel that we are acting under obligations not confined to the limits of our own society. It is impossible not to be sensible that we are acting for all mankind; that circumstances denied to others, but indulged to us, have imposed on us the duty of proving what is the degree of freedom and self-government in which a society may venture to leave its individual members.”¹²⁵ Americans were a chosen people, to whom God had shown his favor when—to quote the Second Inaugural Address on March 4, 1805—he “led our forefathers, as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessities and comforts of life,” and when he “covered our infancy with his providence, and our riper years with his wisdom and power.”¹²⁶ Like the Hebrew prophets, Jefferson knew that a chosen people did not have additional privileges or the unbroken protection of Heaven, but carried an added burden of

responsibility, a deeper sense of moral obligation and duty. "We exist," he wrote in 1820, "and are quoted, as standing proofs that a government, so modelled as to rest continually on the will of the whole society, is a practicable government. . . . As members, therefore, of the universal society of mankind, and standing in high and responsible relation with them, it is our sacred duty, . . . not to blast the confidence we have inspired of proof that a government of reason is better than one of force." ¹²⁶

Again and again Jefferson emphasized the universal importance of America's nationhood. Its form of government was to him "a standing monument & example for the aim & the imitation of the people of other countries," ¹²⁷ its principles "the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation." ¹²⁸ In the chaos of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Europe, the American form of government, thanks to fortunate circumstances, had proved its unique strength and blessings. "Our difficulties are indeed great, if we consider ourselves alone. But when viewed in comparison to those of Europe, they are the joys of Paradise. . . . Indeed, my friend, ours is a bed of roses. And the system of government which shall keep us afloat amidst the wreck of the world, will be immortalized in history." ¹²⁹ In this happiness there was no thought of exclusiveness. He wished to keep the doors of America open, "to consecrate a sanctuary for those whom the misrule of Europe may compell to seek happiness in other climes. This refuge once known will produce reaction on the happiness even of those who remain there, by warning their task-masters that when the evils of Egyptian oppression become heavier than those of the abandonment of country, another Canaan is open where their subjects will be received as brothers, and secured against like oppressions by a participation in the right of self-government." ^{129a}

Thus one thread runs through the history of the New World from its beginning to the present day: to be a new Canaan for those who wished to throw off the yoke of Egyptian oppression, to seek the haven of liberty in escaping authoritarianism, the haven of equality in fleeing from the hard and fast division of classes and castes, of masters and serfs. The New World had been a land of

promise for the early settlers; it would be so for all newcomers as long as need existed. For finally the need would cease: all other countries would accept the blessings of liberty and equality for which the American form of government stood. Ten days before he died, in the last letter which is preserved, Jefferson reiterated the faith in the American mission which had animated him in writing the Declaration of Independence, half a century before: "May it be to the world, what I believe it will be, (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all) the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of self-government."¹⁸⁰ Thus, over a long life which stretched from the zenith of Voltaire's influence to that of the Restoration and the Holy Alliance, the American apostle preserved his faith in the Enlightenment and its universal blessings. In the fifty years from July 4, 1776, to Jefferson's death on July 4, 1826, what had been a promise and an intention had become the firm foundation of the American republic. The dying man looked back upon a consistent and faithful effort; and it was no accident that he wished to be remembered in his epitaph for two outstanding achievements characteristic of the Enlightenment's struggle against "ignorance and superstition": the separation of State and Church, and the spread of popular education. Ten years before his death he had written to Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, his French fellow soldier in the fight for freedom: "Altho' I do not, with some enthusiasts, believe that the human condition will ever advance to such a state of perfection as that there shall no longer be pain or vice in the world, yet I believe it susceptible of much improvement, and, most of all, in matters of government and religion; and that the diffusion of knowledge among the people is to be the instrument by which it is to be effected."¹⁸¹

Jefferson's bill for establishing religious freedom, which was passed by the legislature of Virginia on December 17, 1785, was the first official measure of complete separation of State and Church: "We, the General Assembly of Virginia, do enact," reads Section II, "that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support

any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs, but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities." The efforts of Roger Williams and of Locke, the struggle of the French skeptics and deists, were here consummated. Separation of State and Church became one of the strongest principles, and in early times one of the most differentiating characteristics, of American government. In 1796 a treaty was signed between the United States and Tripoli, in which one article opened with the words, "As the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion"; and this treaty was ratified by the Senate without objection. The first President of the United States issued during his two terms of office only two proclamations calling on the people to give thanks to God—on October 3, 1789, and on January 1, 1795. In the first, God was called "that great and glorious Being," in the second "the great Ruler of nations." Washington "purposely worded both proclamations so that they would be acceptable to all who believed in a God. Jefferson issued no proclamation of the character we are discussing, but Madison was called upon by Congress to issue one of thanks for the peace with England; and, although he was urged by many people to make it a Christian document, he followed Washington's example, and worded it so that a non-Christian could accept it. After his retirement from office he expressed the opinion that Congress had erred in employing at public expense chaplains to open the sitting with prayer."¹³²

Jefferson was as proud of his indefatigable promotion of public education as he was of his role in establishing religious freedom. In his "Notes on Virginia" (1781), he discussed at length the merits and implications of his proposed bill for the diffusion of knowledge.¹³³ In 1816 he suggested that the Virginia legislature should introduce a perpetual tax of one cent on every inhabitant for maintaining primary schools throughout the state, and a university.¹³⁴ For the University of Virginia which he founded he chose

the motto, "Here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it."¹³⁵ Education was to be one of the main pillars of democracy: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. The functionaries of every government have propensities to command at will the liberty and property of their constituents. There is no safe deposit for these but with the people themselves; nor can they be safe with them without information. Where the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe."¹³⁶ These words of the old and experienced statesman of 1816 repeated what he had written as a young man in 1781: "Of the views of this law none is more important, none more legitimate, than that of rendering the people the safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberty. . . . And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of public education. The influence over government must be shared among all the people."¹³⁷

Though Jefferson was a Southerner, he took throughout his stand in the question of slavery as a true son of the rational Enlightenment. He differed in no way from the Northern advocates of emancipation, men like Samuel Cooke of Cambridge, who in his sermon on "The True Principles of Civil Government" (1770) demanded at least the stoppage of any future importation of slaves. "Let the time pass wherein we, the patrons of liberty, have dishonored the Christian name, and degraded human nature nearly to the level of the beasts that perish."¹³⁸ Jefferson wrote in an even stronger vein in 1781: "With what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriae* of the other."¹³⁹ This deep democratic feeling of the country's foremost progressive statesman was shared by his later conservative opponent, Noah Webster, who wrote in 1785 equally strong words against the evil of slavery: "Aside of the detestable principle of subjecting one man to the service of another, which

dishonours a free government, and the evil of supporting luxury, the bane of society, slavery inspires other principles repugnant to the genius of our American constitutions. It cherishes a spirit of supercilious contempt—a haughty, unsocial aristocratic temper, inconsistent with that equality which is the basis of our governments and the happiness of human society.”¹⁴⁰ Herein, as in all his record, Jefferson remained faithful to the doctrines of his youth, and repeated many years later the sentiments which he had voiced in 1781: “The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people, and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort, nay I fear not much serious willingness to relieve them & ourselves from our present condition of our moral & political reprobation. . . . Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing, in the march of time.”¹⁴¹

There was a second cancer in the tissues of American democracy, the problem of the Indians. Already one of the early English colonists of Virginia, Colonel William Byrd (1674–1744), had treated the Indian problem with a rare humanitarian and liberal vision. In his “History of the Dividing Line” he discussed the policy of the first settlers of Virginia: “They had now made peace with the Indians, but there was one thing wanting to make that peace lasting. The Natives could, by no means, persuade themselves that the English were heartily their Friends, so long as they disdained to intermarry with them. And, in earnest, had the English consulted their own Security and the good of the Colony—had they intended either to Civilize or Convert these Gentiles, they would have brought their Stomachs to embrace this prudent Alliance. The Indians are generally tall and well-proportion’d, which may make full Amends for the Darkness of their Complexions. Add to this, that they are healthy & Strong, with Constitutions untainted by Lewdness, and not enfeebled by Luxury. Besides, Morals and all considered, I cant think the Indians were much greater Heathens than the first Adventurers, who, had they been good Christians, would have had the Charity to take this only method of converting the Natives to Christianity. . . . All Nations of men have the same Natural Dignity, and we all know

that very bright Talents may be lodg'd under a very dark Skin. The principal Difference between one people and another proceeds only from the Different Opportunities of Improvement."¹⁴³ The time for measures of this kind was past when Jefferson took the helm of the young republic. But in his messages to Congress he reiterated the need for a humanitarian and liberal policy towards the Indians, accepting them as an integral part of the American nation. In his Eighth Annual Message on November 8, 1808, he said: "And, generally, from a conviction that we consider them as part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining strength daily—is extending from the nearer to the more remote, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practised towards them."¹⁴⁸

Though Jefferson outlived Rousseau by almost half a century, he remained faithful to his master's emphasis on agriculture as the foundation of economic life, of civic virtue and moral happiness. The industrialization and urbanization of the Atlantic seaboard began during Jefferson's life; but even in his old age he reiterated sentiments expressed in the days of his youth by Salomon Gessner and the poets and prophets of the idyllic and free rural democracy of Arcadia. "Those who labor in the earth," Jefferson had written in 1781, "are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue."¹⁴⁴ They alone appeared wholesome; the existence of others, though perhaps necessary, was redeemed by the life of those who remained in close contact with the soil. "Generally speaking, the proportion which the aggregate of the other classes of citizens bears in any State to that of its husbandmen, is the proportion of its unsound to its healthy parts, and is a good enough barometer whereby to measure its degree of corruption."¹⁴⁵ Like Rousseau, he cherished the ideal of a self-contained community having little economic intercourse with the outer world, a happy island of civic virtue and frugality, preserved from the disturbing influences of other lands. "It might be better for us to abandon the ocean altogether, that being the element whereon we shall be principally exposed to jostle with other

nations; to leave to others to bring what we shall want, and to carry what we can spare. This would make us invulnerable to Europe, by offering none of our property to their prize, and would turn all our citizens to the cultivation of the earth."¹⁴⁶

Jefferson, the representative of agrarian democracy against the urban interests, went so far, in a letter of February 5, 1803, as to regard the two occupational groups as different nations: "The great mass of the people are agricultural; and the commercial cities, though, by the command of newspapers, they make a great deal of noise, have little effect in the direction of the government. They are as different in sentiment and character from the country people as any two distinct nations, and are clamorous against the order of things established by the agricultural interest."¹⁴⁷ Of these two "distinct nations," the agricultural element seemed infinitely more essential to national life: "Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country, and wedded to its liberty by the most lasting bonds."¹⁴⁸ But Jefferson knew that the current opposed to his point of view was strong. He might regret that the United States, though warned by the experience of Europe, would not have the firmness and wisdom to profit by it;¹⁴⁹ nevertheless the young nation and Jefferson had to face the question of a practical equilibrium between agriculture on the one side and commerce and manufactures on the other.

Jefferson was not blind to the implications of the dilemma; on February 1, 1804, he wrote to the well known economist Jean-Baptiste Say, the disciple and popularizer of Adam Smith: "Again, there the best distribution of labor is supposed to be that which places the manufacturing hands alongside the agricultural; so that the one part shall feed both, and the other part furnish both with clothes and other comforts. Would that be best here? Egoism and first appearances say yes. Or would it be better that all our laborers should be employed in agriculture? In this case a double or treble portion of fertile lands would be brought into culture; a double or treble creation of food be produced, and its surplus go to nourish the now perishing births of Europe, who in return would manufacture and send us in exchange our clothes and other comforts."

On the strength of his Rousseauist nationalism, Jefferson answered this question by emphasizing the fact that "we should allow its just weight to the moral and physical preference of the agricultural, over the manufacturing, man."¹⁵⁰ But this evaluation of the predominant importance of agrarian life was, for nationalistic reasons, not shared by the school of American economic nationalism, which began to grow during Jefferson's last years.

The philosophical isolationism of the agrarian Rousseauist, who never ceased to think of himself as a citizen of the world, did not hinder him from being a farsighted and realistic statesman, full of understanding for the implications of world politics and of America's concrete situation in the ever changing field of international relations. By the Louisiana Purchase, undertaken on his own responsibility, he took the decisive step for the firm establishment of the American empire and for the foundations of a fast broadening American imperial expansion. With him ideological understanding and a clear realistic insight went hand in hand. He was firmly convinced of the unique position of American democracy at a time when all Europe was governed by conservative monarchies. "The station which we occupy among the nations of the earth is honorable, but awful," he told the citizens of Washington on March 4, 1809. "Trusted with the destinies of this solitary republic of the world, the only monument of human rights, and the sole depository of the sacred fire of freedom and self-government, from hence it is to be lighted up in other regions of the earth, if other regions of the earth shall ever become susceptible of its benign influence. All mankind ought then, with us, to rejoice in its prosperous, and sympathize in its adverse fortunes, as involving everything dear to man."¹⁵¹ Jefferson had no doubt that all the reactionary governments of Europe necessarily felt a deadly hatred for the United States as a permanent threat and self-reproach, and that they would *therefore spare nothing to destroy it if they could*. "Nothing but a firm union among the whole body of republicans can save it."¹⁵² Though he opposed the American democratic republic to all conservative European monarchies of the Napoleonic period, when the lights of liberty in Great Britain and France which had kindled the American beacon seemed dimmed, he had a clear understanding

of the value of Great Britain for the security of America and the development of liberty. "We see 'with great concern," he wrote to Sir John Sinclair on June 30, 1803, "the position in which Great Britain is placed, and should be sincerely afflicted were any disaster to deprive mankind of the benefit of such a bulwark against the torrent which has for some time been bearing down all before it." ¹⁸³

In the critical period from 1812 to 1815, when the decisive battle was waged to keep Napoleon from the permanent conquest of the European continent (and, should the British Empire fall, from the possible control of the Atlantic and the Americas), Jefferson wrote a letter to Thomas Leiper on New Year's Day, 1814, in which the moral philosopher and the realistic statesman reached the same conclusion. He asked, Should we be "insensible to all sentiments of morality? Is it then become criminal, the moral wish that the torrents of blood this man [Napoleon] is shedding in Europe, the sufferings of so many human beings, good as ourselves, on whose necks he is trampling, the burnings of ancient cities, devastations of great countries, the destruction of law and order, and demoralization of the world, should be arrested, even if it should place our peace a little further distant? No. You and I cannot differ in wishing that Russia, and Sweden, and Denmark, and Germany, and Spain, and Portugal, and Italy, and even England, may retain their independence." But, as much as moral sentiments, the security of the United States demanded the defeat of Napoleon. "Surely none of us wish to see Bonaparte conquer Russia, and lay thus at his feet the whole continent of Europe. This done, England would be but a breakfast. . . . No. It cannot be to our interest that all Europe should be reduced to a single monarchy. . . . And were the consequences even to be the longer continuation of our war, I would rather meet them than see the whole force of Europe wielded by a single hand." ¹⁸⁴

When almost a decade later a combination of European powers seemed to threaten the security and independence of American lands, Jefferson in a letter to President Monroe on October 24, 1823, with regard to the Anglo-American negotiations, urged that "we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship" with

Great Britain because the United States and Great Britain together "need not fear the whole world." Should Great Britain be involved in a war with the Holy Alliance, and should the United States come to Great Britain's help, then Jefferson felt that "the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consequence," would not be Britain's war, but America's. "It is to maintain our own principle, not to depart from it. And if, to facilitate this, we can effect a division in the body of the European powers, and draw over to our side its most powerful member, surely we should do it." For an association with Great Britain would protect the Americas against war with the powers of continental Europe. "For how would they propose to get at either enemy without superior fleets?"¹⁰⁸ It was in this spirit that President Monroe defined the position of the United States in his Message to Congress on December 3, 1822: "The history of the late wars in Europe furnishes a complete demonstration that no system of conduct, however correct in principle, can protect neutral Powers from injury from any party; that the defenseless position, and distinguished love of peace, are the surest invitations to war; and that there is no way to avoid it, other than by being always prepared, and willing, for just cause, to meet it. If there be a people on earth whose more especial duty it is to be at all times prepared to defend the rights with which they are blessed, and to surpass all others in sustaining the necessary burdens, and in submitting to sacrifices to make such preparations, it is undoubtedly the people of these States. . . . The United States owe to the world a great example, and, by means thereof, to the cause of liberty and humanity, a generous support. They have so far succeeded, to the satisfaction of the virtuous and enlightened of every country. . . . It has often been charged against free Governments, that they have neither the foresight nor the virtue to provide, at the proper season, for great emergencies; that their course is improvident and expensive; that war will always find them unprepared, and whatever may be its calamities, that its terrible warnings will be disregarded and forgotten as soon as peace returns. I have full confidence that this charge, so far as relates to the United States, will be shown to be utterly destitute of truth."¹⁰⁹

9

Jefferson's humanitarian and liberal nationalism was characteristic of the period. Washington expressed the same feeling when he wrote to Lafayette on August 15, 1786, "As the member of an infant empire, as a philanthropist by character, and, (if I may be allowed the expression) as a citizen of the great republic of humanity at large, I cannot help turning my attention sometimes to this subject. I would be understood to mean, I cannot avoid reflecting with pleasure on the probable influence, that commerce may hereafter have on human manners and society in general. On these occasions I consider how mankind may be connected like one great family in fraternal ties. I indulge a fond, perhaps an enthusiastic idea, that, as the world is evidently much less barbarous than it has been, its melioration must still be progressive; that nations are becoming more humanized in their policy, that the subject of ambition and causes for hostility are daily diminishing; and, in fine, that the period is not very remote, when the benefits of a liberal and free commerce will pretty generally succeed to the devastations and horrors of war."¹⁶⁷

Though this nationalism of Enlightenment impressed its indelible stamp on the American idea, darker shades were soon to blend with it. The War of 1812 brought stronger national feeling in its wake; a new self-assertive tone made itself heard, especially in the discussions of the economic program of the young nation. Alexander Hamilton's advocacy of manufacture and commerce as the economic mainstay of national life and of tariffs to protect their growth was carried on in a more aggressive way by Mathew Carey, an Irish nationalist who brought his hatred of Great Britain over to the United States and became the father of American economic nationalism, just as Paine's resentment of England made him the father of America's political independence. As a young man, Carey had lived a short time in exile in Paris; with him, as with so many others, life abroad had served only to strengthen his native patriotism. After his return to Ireland he founded in 1783 the *Volunteer's Journal*, which was to "defend the Commerce, the Manufacturers, and the political rights of Ireland, against the oppres-

sion and encroachments of Great Britain." "Let us now cease to look longer to England, but depend only on ourselves—let us continue *united*, and in *arms*,—we'll soon overturn the aristocratic monster, out of whose ashes, there will, phoenix like, arise—a trade, bounded only by the confines of the globe—and a constitution, liberal, wise, and free."¹⁵⁸ Though in these words there is still a definite ring of the eighteenth century ideal of free trade and liberalism, Carey was advocating in his newspaper protective tariffs to retaliate against England. He saw in protecting duties the only adequate measure "to counteract the pernicious effects of our blasting connexion with England." Such tariffs could revive the Irish industries so as not only to supply the local market but to develop a surplus for a profitable export trade.¹⁵⁹ His violent call to armed insurrection brought governmental proceedings against Carey, and as a result he emigrated to the United States at the age of twenty-four; until his death fifty-five years later he continued to live in the shadow of the impressions of his youth. He became an important publisher, and his *Pennsylvania Herald* carried on his plea for protectionism and his violent opposition to Britain. After only one year in his new homeland, he expressed his dismay at America's "unhappy predilection for foreign frippery and gewgaws" and declared that it gave him "the highest degree of pleasure to find the legislatures of the different states turning their attention to every object that can check the progress of importations, and tend to the promotion of domestic manufactures."¹⁶⁰

This very recent immigrant far outdid most of his new compatriots in the violence of his nationalism. In 1796 he published a scathing denunciation of Jay's commercial treaty with Britain. He called it a "badge of American dishonour and disgrace—sacrifice of American prosperity and independence—memento of executive and senatorial usurpation." The treaty seemed to him to forebode dire catastrophe: by its ratification the United States would rescind its Declaration of Independence and again become a colony of "the most corrupt and degenerate government of Europe."¹⁶¹ The prophecy was not fulfilled; America remained independent and Carey's school of neo-mercantilistic nationalism¹⁶² gained in influence; after 1815 Hezekiah Niles, the editor of the *Weekly*

Register, Daniel Raymond, John Rae, and above all Mathew Carey's son Henry Charles Carey carried on his propaganda for an intensely nationalist economy. The father of German economic nationalism and one of the most extreme pan-German imperialists, Georg Friedrich List, got his decisive inspiration during his sojourn in the United States, which began in 1825.

This economic American nationalism had been facilitated by the Napoleonic Wars, which cut the United States off to a large extent from intercourse with Europe, and thus forced it to develop its own industries. America's own participation in the hostilities had threatened to end disastrously for her. Disunity over the war issues was so strong in the young nation that the Union was at the brink of dissolution, sectional feeling reached an unprecedented height, especially in 1814, and many influential voices in New England were raised for separation. The British armies successfully invaded the United States, and it was only by grave British blunders and unforeseeable American good luck that a complete military defeat was averted. British unwillingness to carry on the war brought America a peace which confirmed the *status quo* and revived national sentiment, which in revulsion against its low ebb during the war grew infinitely stronger and soon expressed itself in the cultural as well as in the economic field.¹⁰⁸ The pioneering movement to the West began to obliterate old sectional loyalties. As the United States had represented a mingling of all the ethnic strains of Europe, so the vast territories in the new West were peopled from all the old states. The movement which after 1815 with ever-increasing force pushed the frontier farther and farther to the west was one of the strongest influences toward national unity. American nationalism, born in a great popular uprising for the rights of the people in the spirit of eighteenth century cosmopolitanism and humanism, began to harden in the nineteenth century. The American empire of liberty and human rights started on its path of imperial conquest.

In "A Poem on the Happiness of America," written during the American Revolution and addressed to the patriot army, David Humphreys had contrasted past empires built upon conquest with the new rising empire erected on "freedom's base" and dedicated to

"humanity's extended cause."¹⁶⁴ As the British Empire had carried everywhere its vivifying and beneficent seeds of liberty under law, so the original attitude of American nationalism lived on throughout its imperial expansion. "The American expansionist's nationalism was so little exclusive that it offered refuge to all the devotees of freedom in a world elsewhere threatened with the rising deluge of despotism."¹⁶⁵ Wherever "manifest destiny" carried America, it carried with it, though very imperfectly realized and often obscured and denied, the promise of the "great and equal rights of human nature," the foundation of American nationalism and the legacy of 1776. Though Louisiana was purchased in an outright imperialist and antidemocratic way the inhabitants after a temporary administration, or at least the whites among them, received their full share in the equality and freedom. America, like seventeenth century England, had visualized her own national birth as a step in the struggle for the liberty and happiness of the human race; though she might often allow the consciousness of herself—and her conscience—to become blacked out, nevertheless she could not give it up entirely without undermining the foundations of her existence.

Like every strong nation, Americans had a deep conviction of their mission. It was expressed in different ways, according to the changing intellectual climate of the period. But always underlying was the wish to spread democracy, a government based upon the equality of all, upon individual liberty, and upon the English concepts of guarantees of law. In accordance with the thought of the eighteenth century, Americans frequently hoped to fulfill their mission not by active cooperation with other nations, but by their solitary example. "They expected to lead in the manner of the stars with their kindly light—by the passive radiation of their brilliant example."¹⁶⁶ Though the feeling of responsibility to and for mankind was sometimes submerged in the naive egotism of a self-righteous isolationism, it was always present. President Johnson expressed it in his Fourth Message to Congress on December 8, 1868: "The conviction is rapidly gaining ground in the American mind that with the increased facilities for intercommunication between all portions of the earth the principles of free government,

as embraced in our Constitution, if faithfully maintained and carried out, would prove of sufficient strength and breadth to comprehend within their sphere and influence the civilized nations of the world."¹⁰⁷ When the increased facilities for intercommunication had grown beyond the keenest dreams of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Woodrow Wilson revived the universal message of the American democracy and tried, under changed world conditions, to realize the original implications of the spirit of 1776.

The American nation has not been determined by "natural" factors of blood and soil, nor by common memories of a long history. It was formed by an idea, a universal idea. Loyalty to America meant therefore loyalty to that idea, and as the idea was universal, everyone could be included and, if he were of good will, assimilated. Traditions and memories of ancient events have separated the nations; the dead weight of the past has frustrated efforts at a rational new beginning. Americans could unite men of different pasts, because on the basis of rationalism and individualism they rejected the foundations of the past. "Happily for America, happily, I trust, for the whole human race, they pursued a new and more noble course," wrote James Madison. "Is it not the glory of the people of America, that, while they have paid a decent regard to the opinions of former times and other nations, they have not suffered a blind veneration for antiquity, for custom, or for names, to overrule the suggestions of their own good sense, the knowledge of their own situation, and the lessons of their own experience? To this manly spirit, posterity will be indebted for the possession, and the world for the example, of the numerous innovations displayed on the American theatre, in favor of private rights and public happiness."¹⁰⁸ The influence of the American Revolution upon the awakening of nationalities in Europe was great, especially in France. "Though celebrated writers of this and other countries have already sketched good principles on the subject of government, yet the American War seems first to have awakened the thinking part of this nation in general from the sleep of despotism in which they were sunk," Jefferson reported from France.¹⁰⁹ But the powerful traditions of the past did not allow the European nations to follow the example of the New World. Of the great na-

tions on the continent, France alone seemed to accept wholeheartedly for some time the American model. Germany remained on the whole untouched. Though the incipient German nationalism of the eighteenth century bore the impress of the era of Enlightenment which it shared with the West, historical forces and social conditions were at work to mold German nationalism in a form opposed to that legacy of Milton, Sidney, and Locke, which, under the auspicious conditions of a New World society, had crystallized into American nationalism.

Gut deutsch sein, heisst sich entdeutschen.—Das, worin man die nationalen Unterschiede findet, ist viel mehr, als man bis jetzt eingesehen hat, nur der Unterschied verschiedener Kulturstufen und zum geringsten Teile etwas Bleibendes (und auch dies nicht in einem strengen Sinne). Deshalb ist alles Argumentieren aus dem Nationalcharakter so wenig verpflichtend für den, welcher an der Umschaffung der Ueberzeugungen, das heisst an der Kultur arbeitet. Erwägt man zum Beispiel, was alles schon deutsch gewesen ist, so wird man die theoretische Frage: was ist deutsch? sofort durch die Gegenfrage verbessern: "was ist jetzt deutsch?"—und jeder gute Deutsche wird sie praktisch, gerade durch Ueberwindung seiner deutschen Eigenschaften, lösen. Wenn nämlich ein Volk vorwärts geht und wächst, so sprengt es jedesmal den Gurtel, der ihm bis dahin sein nationales Ansehen gab; bleibt es stehen, verkümmert es, so schliesst sich ein neuer Gürtel um seine Seele; die immer härter werdende Kruste baut gleichsam ein Gefängnis herum, dessen Mauern immer wachsen. Hat ein Volk also sehr viel Festes, so ist dies ein Beweis, dass es versteinern will und ganz und gar Monument werden möchte: wie es von einem bestimmten Zeitpunkte an das Aegyptertum war. Der also, welcher den Deutschen wohlwill, mag für seinen Teil zusehen, wie er immer mehr aus dem, was deutsch ist, hinauswachse. Die Wendung zum Undeutschen ist deshalb immer das Kennzeichen der Tüchtigen unseres Volkes gewesen.

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *Menschliches Allzumenschliches* II (Taschen-Ausgabe, vol. IV, p. 159).

(To be a Good German means to de-Germanise Oneself.—National differences consist, far more than has hitherto been observed, only in the differences of various grades of culture, and are only to a very small extent permanent (nor even that in a strict sense). For this reason all arguments based on national character are so little binding on one who aims at the alteration of convictions—in other words, at culture. If, for instance, we consider all that has already been German, we shall improve upon the hypothetical question, "What is German?" by the counter-question, "What is *now* German?" and every good German will answer it practically, by overcoming his German characteristics. For when a nation advances and grows, it bursts the girdle previously given to it by its national outlook. When it remains stationary or declines, its soul is surrounded by a fresh girdle, and the crust, as it becomes harder and harder, builds a prison around, with walls growing ever higher. . . . So he who is well-disposed towards the Germans may for his part consider how he may more and more grow out of what is German. . . . *The Complete Works*, ed. Oscar Levy, vol. 7, pp. 154–155.)

I

In the age of nationalism, nations are the great corporate personalities of history; their differences in character and outlook are *one of the main factors shaping the course of events*. Only in that age, the will of the nations—rather than that of individuals, dynasties, or non-national bodies like churches or classes—assumes decisive importance; therefore an understanding of their history demands a phenomenology of nations and their characters. These characters are not determined prehistorically or biologically, nor are they fixed for all time; they are the product of social and intellectual development, of countless gradations of behavior and reaction, some of which are hardly discernible in the flux of the past, from which the historian selects what seem to him to be the essential and characteristic elements in a pattern of almost confusing complexity. While the formation of national characters has gone on through many centuries, the crystallization has taken place in the age of nationalism. In the Western world, in England and in France, in the Netherlands and in Switzerland, in the United States and in the British dominions, the rise of nationalism was a predominantly political occurrence; it was preceded by the formation of the future national state, or, as in the case of the United States, coincided with it. Outside the Western world, in Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia, nationalism arose not only later, but also generally at a more backward stage of social and political development: the frontiers of an existing state and of a rising nationality rarely coincided; nationalism, there, grew in protest against and in conflict with the existing state pattern—not primarily to transform it into a people's state, but to redraw the political boundaries in conformity with ethnographic demands.

Because of the backward state of political and social development, this rising nationalism outside the Western world found its first expression in the cultural field. It was at the beginning the

dream and hope of scholars and poets, unsupported by public opinion—which did not exist, and which the scholars and poets tried to create—a venture in education and propaganda rather than in policy-shaping and government. At the same time all rising nationalism and the whole modern social and intellectual development outside Western Europe were influenced by the West, which for a long time remained the teacher and the model. Yet this very dependence on the West often wounded the pride of the native educated class, as soon as it began to develop its own nationalism, and ended in an opposition to the “alien” example and its liberal and rational outlook.

Each new nationalism, having received its original impulse from the cultural contact with some older nationalism, looked for its justification and its differentiation to the heritage of its own past, and extolled the primitive and ancient depth and peculiarities of its traditions in contrast to Western rationalism and to universal standards. Nationalism in the West arose in an effort to build a nation in the political reality and the struggles of the present without too much sentimental regard for the past; nationalists in Central and Eastern Europe created often, out of the myths of the past and the dreams of the future, an ideal fatherland, closely linked with the past, devoid of any immediate connection with the present, and expected to become sometime a political reality. Thus they were at liberty to adorn it with traits for the realization of which they had no immediate responsibility, but which influenced the nascent nation's wishful image of itself and of its “mission.” While Western nationalism was, in its origin, connected with the concepts of individual liberty and rational cosmopolitanism current in the eighteenth century, the later nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia easily tended towards a contrary development. Dependent upon, and opposed to, influences from without, this new nationalism, not rooted in a political and social reality, lacked self-assurance; its inferiority complex was often compensated by overemphasis and overconfidence, their own nationalism appearing to nationalists in Germany, Russia, or India as something infinitely deeper than the nationalism of the West, and therefore richer in problems and potentialities. The quest for the meaning of German,

Russian, or Indian nationalism, the musing about the "soul" or the "mission" of the nation, an endless discussion of its relation to the West, all that became characteristic of this new form of nationalism.

Nationalism in the West was based upon a nationality which was the product of social and political factors, nationalism in Germany did not find its justification in a rational societal conception, it found it in the "natural" fact of a community, held together, not by the will of its members nor by any obligations of contract, but by traditional ties of kinship and status. German nationalism substituted for the legal and rational concept of "citizenship" the infinitely vaguer concept of "folk," which, first discovered by the German humanists, was later fully developed by Herder and the German romanticists. It lent itself more easily to the embroideries of imagination and the excitations of emotion. Its roots seemed to reach into the dark soil of primitive times and to have grown through thousands of hidden channels of unconscious development, not in the bright light of rational political ends, but in the mysterious womb of the people, deemed to be so much nearer to the forces of nature.¹ This difference in the concepts of nation and nationalism was a historical consequence of the difference in effect produced by Renaissance and Reformation between Germany and Western Europe.

In the West, Renaissance and Reformation created a new society in which the middle classes and secular learning gained a growing preponderance, and the universal and imperial Roman concept of the medieval world was abandoned not only in fact, but also in theory. But in Central and Eastern Europe this medieval idea of world empire lingered and even gathered new strength from antiquarian research—the unreal though fascinating strength of a phantom world. The Renaissance and the Reformation had not deeply changed the political and social order in Germany as they had in the West; they were purely scholarly and theological events. Farther east they did not penetrate at all—Russia and the Near East remained untouched—and thus the old cleavage between the Western and the Eastern Empire deepened. To the Moscovite princes of the sixteenth century Russian history appeared as a

continuation of the task of Alexander and of the Roman Empire, "to unite in one organic whole the diverse nations of the East and the West." When the Patriarch of Moscow was installed in 1589, the charter affirmed that "because the old Rome has collapsed on account of the heresy of Apollinarius, and the second Rome, which is Constantinople, is now in the possession of the godless Turk, thy great kingdom, O pious Tsar, is the third Rome. It surpasses with its devotion everyone else and all other Christian kingdoms are now merged in thy kingdom. Thou art the only Christian Sovereign in the whole world, the master of all the Christians."²

While in the West the universal tradition vanished, and while in the East it began to emerge into a politically ephemeral, though metaphysically more lasting existence, Germany in the center of the continent seemed to hesitate between West and East, between consolidation into a national state and the still powerful tradition of world empire. The tradition's survival in Germany was supported by the complexity and irrationality of the Empire's constitution, by the vagueness of its frontiers and the ambiguity of its ambitions. In the south and west Italy and Burgundy, in the east Bohemia, Hungary, and other lands, were often regarded as part of the Empire and thus potentially of a new German living-space. A modern German historian, Heinrich von Srbik, has well formulated this never-ending world dream. He sees in the Germans the predestined bearer of the world imperial idea, and bitterly complains of the fact that in the sixteenth century the German people began to withdraw into itself, abandoning that spirit of expansion and colonization which in the Middle Ages had served as a powerful foundation for its world empire.³

The seventeenth century brought a progressive weakening of the social and political bases upon which a modern German nationalism could have grown up. While in Western Europe religion became a major force in the awakening of a modern political and social consciousness, German Lutheranism⁴ led to political quietism: the Germans were satisfied to remain subjects, they did not strive to become citizens. The religious rift tore the country into two parts, growing more different as time went on; Catholics and Protestants not only met on battlefields as enemies for a century

and a half, but with the ensuing retheologizing of all life the difference of religion forbade all cultural contacts, and the intellectual life in the two Germanys developed along independent lines. Both Churches supported the princes, or rather their princes, unquestioningly; the princes' new centralized states necessarily grew in opposition to a possible nascent German nationalism, which could have been represented only by the Empire; and the medieval foundations of this no longer corresponded to the changing social and political realities.

The imperial knights and the free peasantry, the last social forces which had linked their aspirations with the fate of the Empire, had been defeated by 1550, and had lost all influence from then on. Socially and economically they had not been progressive forces; they had looked back to the ideals and conditions of the thirteenth century, to the liberties of the Middle Ages which they wished to revive. Soon afterwards the German free and imperial cities began to decay at the very time that the urban classes in the West grew to unprecedented social and political importance. Slowly and painfully, new social forces came to the fore in Germany. These new forces were no longer connected with the Empire. Their soil was the territorial state which found its new authority strengthened by the Reformation. With public opinion entirely absorbed in theological questions, the territorialization of religion became a further impediment to any possible national unity. The peace treaty of 1648 marked a milestone in the decomposition of the universal Empire with Germany as its center and bearer.⁵

While the imperial idea of society lingered on in the Catholic Habsburg domain, new intellectual conceptions and forms of society arose in the north. Two forces, independent from, and often hostile to, each other—the erudite class and the rulers of Prussia⁶—played a decisive role in the formation of modern Germany. This erudite class was closely related to the Lutheran parsonage, out of which most of its representatives came, or where they themselves lived. Their intellectual life—though sometimes daring and enterprising within its own realm, the mind and the inner man—remained aloof from political reality and impervious to social responsibility. They did not—and they did not wish

to—create a public opinion as an important factor in the state; they never dreamed of, or longed for, influence in political life. At the best, and even then only rarely, they were conscientious servants of the princes, though never their critics or guides. While Western thought influenced their intellectual life their societal attitude remained strangely untouched by it. The *république des lettres* of the West was, as in Greek antiquity, a political society, an integral and influential part of the national body; the *Gelehrtenrepublik* lived in an entirely unpolitical realm, at the fringes of society and without any influence. It was in the state but not of the state, and even its being in the state was purely accidental: no ties except those of residence bound the scholar to the state. The state was the prince's, a *Fürstenstaat*. Among these princes the Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg and Prussia performed a great constructive work, a rational construction inspired by the concepts of utility and morality of the English and French philosophers—a dependence upon the West similar to that of the erudite class—yet here too the societal organization remained in its attitude and spirit alien to the West. The erudite class and the Prussian princes worked independently of each other, with very little mutual understanding and appreciation. Only at the beginning of the nineteenth century did they begin to cooperate and even to fuse: this took place under the vitalizing influence of the French Revolution, and through the medium of the new "folk" concept, the lasting contribution of that most creative and suggestive spirit in the field of nationalism among the German erudites, Johann Gottfried Herder.

2

Few Germans of the period looked to the Empire for the creation of a strong centralized state which would overcome the religious strife. Lazarus von Schwendi suggested¹ to Maximilian (in whom he saw as the Roman Emperor the head of Christianity, and as the German Emperor the father of the Fatherland) complete equality of the Protestant and Catholic religions to save Germany from foreign interventions. He emphasized that from time immemorial the Germans had excelled, in valor and value, all other na-

tions, and that, as a result of their great strength and cohesion, they had never been subjected to foreign domination, and had even taken over the Roman Empire. The imperial general Wallenstein, a strange and ambiguous figure of a late Renaissance character, envisaged in the turmoil of the Thirty Years' War a unified and hereditary Empire under the Habsburgs from the Baltic to the Adriatic, turned eastward in its ambitions to war against the Turks and to rebuild the Byzantine Empire.

Though Western political thought was familiar to the Germans (in fact, the *Politica methodice digesta atque exemplis sacris et profanis illustrata* of Johannes Althusius⁸ was one of the earliest pleas for popular sovereignty and the social contract), most of the political writings of the seventeenth century centered around the antiquated concepts of the vanishing universal Empire; in spite of popular drinking songs of the sixteenth century expressing indifference to the Empire,⁹ faith in it continued among the people; "the conception of the Emperor as possessor of unlimited world power was quite general among the uninitiated until the eighteenth century."¹⁰ The official theory and the popular imagination clung to the old imperial idea, and few writers were conscious of its emptiness and decay. Most people were shocked when Bogislav Philipp von Chemnitz published in 1640, under the pseudonym Hippolithus a Lapide, a *Dissertatio de ratione status in Imperio nostro Romano-Germanico*, in which he characterized the political configuration of Germany as "funestam et cadaverosam hodiernae Germaniae nostrae faciem," and declared the emperor to be divested of all real power. "Nihil ferè habet, nisi quod inane nomen ejus, et titulus, omnibus Imperii decretis praefigatur."¹¹ This brilliantly written book by a Pomeranian defended the interests of Sweden and the separatist rights of the German territorial princes.

More constructive in his thought was the famous jurist Samuel von Pufendorf, who, according to the non-nationalist character of the period, transferred his loyalty and his services as a historiographer from the king of Sweden whom he had served for many years, to the elector of Brandenburg, in whose service he died. In 1667 he published under the pseudonym of a fictitious nobleman from Verona, Severinus de Monzambano, *De statu Imperii Ger-*

manici ad Laelium fratrem, dominum Trezolani, liber unus. There he called the Empire rather disrespectfully "irregulare aliquod corpus et monstro simile," an "irregular and monstrous body." He approached the problem as a rational thinker, suggesting a reform of the Empire by the establishment of an army supported from common funds, the depolitization of religion, the suppression of the monasteries, and the secularization of the ecclesiastical principalities.¹²

The seventeenth century found German intellectual life dominated by theological questions: the group solidarity that existed united fellow religionists, the political loyalty that existed centered in the territorial state. The greatest event of the century, the Thirty Years' War, did not arouse the Germans to an understanding of its implications for the life of the German nation. The outstanding literary monument of the period, Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen's *Der Abentheurliche Simplicissimus*, does not reveal any trace of national feeling. "We are accustomed to regarding this book as the very mirror of the social conditions of the period of the Thirty Years' War. It is all the more astonishing that it does not take any stand on the war as an event of national significance. Simplicius seems to feel himself above all as a soldier, not as a German, and he seems not to know at all that the existence of Germany was at stake in the war."¹³ The hero of the novel, the adventurous soldier Simplicius Simplicissimus, is not an individual: he is a type and a symbol, the representative of the German Baroque. To the men of the Baroque, life was bewildering and unreal, nature sinful and dangerous, world and society did not really count. The book begins with the motto,

Es hat mir so wollen behagen
Mit Lachen die Wahrheit zu sagen

(I desire to tell the truth laughingly); but it is a bitter truth which the author has to tell, the truth of the worthlessness of life—which is nothing but a painful preparation for a farewell to it. Simplicius, after all his boisterous adventures, ends as a hermit on a desert island, without any wish to return to the world and without any interest in Germany or her fate.¹⁴

"With all its wealth of incident and character, this novel has in reality only one theme: the unmasking of the brute which Grimmelshausen evidently conceives the average man of his time to be." (Or rather which he conceives man of all time to be.) "Of all the characters that appear in it, there is only one who has a heart for his fatherland, only one who dreams and hopes for the future of his [German] race, and he is a demented vagrant!"¹⁵ The lone episodic character of the long novel who shows the slightest patriotic feeling or interest, is depicted as a ridiculous fool; even more remarkable is the content of his hopes and dreams for the future of the German race: a German hero will rise, he prophesies, who by his deeds will create a world empire with Germany as its center and ruler.¹⁶ The strange fool whom Simplicius meets along the road reveals himself as the great god Jupiter who will raise up the German hero who "shall accomplish all with the edge of the sword; he shall destroy all evil men and preserve and extol the righteous." With the magic power of his sword he will conquer the whole world and exterminate all the godless. "Every town shall tremble at his coming, and every fortress otherwise unconquerable he shall have in his power in the first quarter of an hour: in a word, he shall have the rule of the greatest potentate of the world."

This German hero will summon all his enemies to submit. If they refuse, he will execute those whom the German leader of the twentieth century likes to call "warmongers," because he regards them responsible for the refusal of some people to submit humbly to German rule. And when the German hero has won all his victories, Jupiter will come down from heaven to visit the Germans, as the "fool" says, "to delight myself among their vines and fig-trees; and there will I set Helicon on their border and establish the Muses anew thereon: Germany will I bless with all plenty, yea, more than Arabia Felix, Mesopotamia, and the land of Damascus: then will I forswear the Greek language and only speak German; and, in a word, show myself so good a German that in the end I shall grant to them, as once I did to the Romans, the rule over all the earth."

To Simplicius' question whether the princes will not resist the German conquest, Jupiter answers that the hero will trouble him-

self little on that score. He will divide the foreign princes into three classes: the wicked ones, he will punish; those who are ready to live as commoners under German overlordship, he will leave unmolested—but they will live like commoners, while “the German people’s way of living will then be more plentiful and comfortable than is now the life and household of a king”; and finally the third class, those who are too proud for such a role of helots, he will send to Asia, where German soldiers will conquer lands for them. Jupiter is confident that the Western Christian kings will not resist, but will gladly accept their crowns as German fiefs—for rather interesting racial and historical reasons: the kings of England, Sweden, and Denmark will submit, because they are of German race and descent; those of Spain, France, and Portugal, because the Germans of old conquered and ruled those lands.

After all these conquests a perpetual peace will reign among all nations, a peace assured by the victorious German sword. But the German hero will not rest satisfied with the subjection of the whole world to the German peace and dominion. He will also reform all religions and fuse them into one. He will address their heads “and so excellently impress upon them their hitherto most pernicious divisions, that of themselves they will desire a general reconciliation and give over to him the accomplishment of such according to his own great wisdom.” Should the divines be reluctant to obey the German hero, he will first hint “to each theologian about his interest, his peaceful life, his wife and child, and his privileges, and aught else that might sway his inclination.” Should they not be swayed by these veiled threats and bribes, then the German hero will use more persuasive means: “He will plague the whole assembly with hunger, and if they yet delay to complete so holy a work, then he will preach them all a sermon through the gallows, and so first with kindness but at last with severity and threats, bring them to befooled the world no longer with their stiff-necked doctrines.” With unity achieved, he will proclaim the new religion in a great festival, “and whosoever opposes it, him will he torment with pitch and sulphur.”

A fantastic picture indeed, these methods of world conquest, acceptable only from the mouth of a “fool.” Yet three hundred years

later it all sounds rather prophetic, and a German historian of today takes pains to point out that in Grimmelshausen's time the voice of madness often expressed higher wisdom, the eternal dream and ideal of Germanism. "Though Jupiter appears to his fellow men as an incurable fool, he is the man who proclaims the high idea which in spite of all misconstruction, disfigurement, and practical impotence, nevertheless contains truth in the deepest sense of the word, the truth of an idea to which imperfect reality never can completely correspond."¹⁷

The bombastic dream-world of Grimmelshausen was shared by other scholars and writers in his century. Their pride was wounded when they faced the superior civilizations of the West. Divorced from all political and social reality and responsibility, they took refuge in the fantastic world of an imaginary past in which all greatness was due to the Germans. Their only certain heritage from the past was the German language, the instrument of their labor and effort. They invested it with a unique excellency and august rank, a capital language, a "Hauptsprache," compared with which all the others were only "bastard" languages. Characteristically, the alleged esthetic perfection of the German language was interpreted as moral superiority; German ways of life were praised as ethical and upright while those of the Western peoples were branded as proofs of soft living and of superficiality. Justus Georg Schottelius (1612-1676) published in 1663 a book on the German "capital language" in which he extolled its antiquity, purity, power, incomparability and fundamental excellence. The preface and dedication read like a caricature of German self-praise; yet it was meant and generally accepted seriously and sincerely. The Germans were regarded as more ancient, more renowned for conquest and virtue, than any other people. "By Divine Providence they have acquired the universal empire and thereby the supreme glory and the leadership of Christianity." By the number of most powerful and most courageous heroes, by the number of most learned scholars and famous universities and cities, and through the possession of such a glorious rich and pure "capital" language they enjoy a considerable precedence over all other peoples; by the invention of the printing press they have

made mankind educated, by the invention of gunpowder they have made it courageous and warlike; thus in roaming from east to west, from south to north, no people could be found which could compare with the Germans.¹⁸

With such a heritage, the Germans, naturally, in their opinion, did not need foreign examples. To be German was a duty, and at the same time was ethical; to be non-German, *undeutsch*, was treason, and the non-German was regarded as the unethical or ethically inferior.¹⁹ Hans Michael Moscherosch (1601-1669), an Alsatian, presented in his *Wunderliche und Warhafftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald* (1643) a satirical picture of his time. In the eighth of the fourteen visions of the book, he confronts Philander in the castle of Geroldseck with the great heroes of the German past, among them Ariovistus, Arminius, and Siegfried. The chapter is called "A la mode Kehrauss," a protest against the new fashionable ways of living in imitation of the French. The German heroes take Philander violently to task for having a non-German name, for dressing in a non-German way, for eating non-German food, in brief, for abandoning the frugality and vigor of the ancient Germans for the luxury and lightheartedness of the French.

But all these exhortations remained entirely unpolitical; Moscherosch himself regarded the monarchy of Louis XIV as a most accomplished form of government. The aspirations of the generation were confined to the cultural field, to the new societies for the preservation and purification of the German mother tongue. Moscherosch was a member of the oldest of them, the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, or Palmenorden, which was founded in 1617, composed largely of noblemen, poets, and scholars. Other famous societies were the Deutschgesinnt Genossenschaft of Hamburg, which was founded in 1643 and accepted women as members, and the Löblicher Hirten- und Blumenorden an der Pegnitz, founded the next year in Nuremberg and which survived as a literary circle for more than two hundred and fifty years. All lost themselves quickly in trivialities, suggested extreme and ridiculous purisms, and soon succumbed to the growing influence of French civilization over the whole intellectual life of Germany.²⁰

Baroque poets lamented the desire to imitate the French.²¹ The French language was regarded as a secondary or derived language, and the French people were denied an original and autochthonous character. While in France D'Aubéry published a book on the just pretensions of the King of France for the Empire, Grimmelshausen countered with a claim that the French themselves were of German descent, but had adopted non-German ways of life from the Gauls whom they had subjected.²²

As a symbol of this superiority the Baroque reintroduced Arminius as a German hero; towards the end of the century he became the central figure in one of the most widely read novels of the time,²³ which mingled much bombastic talk of love of the fatherland and the honor of German nobility with a complete lack of historical sense or critical understanding. It is an effusive work, in which all great discoveries and all glorious deeds of mythology and of ancient history are attributed to the Germans. True, once they had been defeated by the Romans; but the enemies had been able to prevail only by witchcraft and treachery against which the highly praised German "Treue"—honesty and faithfulness—had been helpless, until finally the Germans had triumphed through Arminius.

With all this empty and boastful polemical writing some useful progress was made in developing a German literary language. The celebrated "prince of German poetry," Martin Opitz (1597-1639), who at the age of twenty wrote his "Aristarchus seu de Contemptu linguae teutonicae," published in 1624 his fundamental treatise on German poetry,²⁴ in which he clearly recognized the differences between German and classical prosody and broke the sway of the neo-Latin verse over German poetry. His German was deeply influenced by his many translations from the Old Testament, from Greek and Latin, English and French. Similar pioneer work was accomplished by Hermann von Conring (1606-1681), who edited the "Germania" of Tacitus, and in his "De Origine Juris Germanici" (1643) drew attention to German law as different from Roman, and demanded the codification of law in German. But none of these men had any politico-national consciousness. Opitz died in Danzig, a secretary and historiographer to the king of

Poland, and Conring served faithfully the kings of Sweden and France. It is a characteristic anachronism that a later German nationalist historian objected to the fact that "Conring had sold his talent to Louis XIV to injure German interests" and called that a contemptible attitude.²⁵ All these scholars who showed such a concern for the German language and character were entirely unconcerned about the political fate of the German nation. None of them became a political factor. At best they served the great or small princes of their time, changing their allegiance as servants change their masters, without differentiating between German and foreign princes. Even the greatest of the German scholars of the period, Leibniz, was no exception.

3

What a different world of activity and influence it was in which Locke or even Bayle moved, forming public opinion and making history, from that of Leibniz, who wasted his forces and gifts or confined them to the conflicting jealousies of courts and princes. He lived at the turn of two periods. The new concepts of freedom under law and of constitutional rights began to penetrate into Germany. "The peoples are not the property of the lord like horses, lands, and other goods, which he can divide up among his children," Leibniz declared in the spirit of the Enlightenment. In a letter in 1706 he wrote: "It is very true that the princes who rule according to the laws are generally those who possess either the greatest or the longest-lasting authority. This English maxim deserves to be that of all nations."²⁶ Such a maxim could not have been applied in the political world in which Leibniz lived; nor did he ever think of it seriously. Much of his thought was still dominated by the medieval concepts of Church and Empire. The emperor appeared to him as lord of the world, as "*advocatus, vel potius caput, aut, si mavis, brachium seculare ecclesiae universalis.*" He worked for many years for a reunion of the Catholic and Protestant churches in a universal church. "If everything in the world would be arranged in the most perfect way, then all lands would be under God's church."²⁷

As he vacillated between the new rationalism and medieval concepts, his loyalties were sometimes those of a world citizen and at other times those of an enlightened but vague German patriot. Treitschke has called him a great cosmopolitan,²⁸ and Leibniz himself has written: "Pourvu qu'il se fasse quelque chose de conséquence, je suis indifférent que cela se fasse en Allemagne ou en France, car je souhaite le bien du genre humain; je suis non pas φιλέλλην ου φιλορωμαῖος mais φιλόανθρωπος" (I am neither a friend of the Greeks nor of the Romans, but a friend of mankind).²⁹ His universalism, like that of Grotius, was philosophical and humanitarian. He welcomed the project of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre for universal peace, and suggested the establishment of a universal republic of letters, a network of scholarly societies and academies which would work together in all countries for the spread of civilization. Such a *societas eruditorum* would in his opinion also lead to the reunion of all religions. He tried to interest various princes in his project—first Louis XIV, then Peter the Great. The proposal was not new then; in April, 1667, the Great Elector, upon the suggestion of a Swede, Benedict Skytte, had thought of founding in Berlin a *nova universitas Brandenburgica gentium, scientiarum et artium*, to promote free scientific research and the reunion of all religions, and to which he had intended to invite representatives of all Christian faiths and sects as well as Jews, Arabs, and all other non-Christians. These cosmopolitan and humanitarian tendencies were entirely in the direction of Leibniz's endeavor. While he worked hard for the interests of the prince in whose service he happened to find himself at a given time, his real loyalty went to the world of scholarship. Nearest to his heart might have been German scholarship; and though his concern for the dignity of the German language and the German name was great at times, it never filled his mind exclusively and never developed into any form of political loyalty.

While Leibniz in later years was hostile to Louis XIV, and attacked him in 1664 in an anonymous little book, *Mars Christianissimus auctore Germano Gallo-Graeco, ou Apologie des armes du Roi Très-Chrétien contre les Chrétiens*,³⁰ he had previously dedicated his *Préceptes pour avancer les Sciences* to Louis XIV, whom he addressed as "the unique, the immortal, the great prince of whom our time is proud and for whom future ages will long in

vain.”³¹ Unfortunately Louis rejected the repeated advances of the philosopher who in his *L'Accommodement avec la France* had pleaded for a recognition of the French occupation of Strasbourg, and in his *De Expeditione Aegyptiaca Ludovico XIV Regii Franciae proponenda*,³² advised France to conquer Egypt as a base for the conquest of Africa and Asia, thus adding to the hegemony of the European continent the control of the seas. But while his political proposals embraced the whole earth, he was often worried by the backwardness of German cultural life. He complained that those who wished to learn had to go abroad and to read Italian and French, so that they grew to love and honor the foreign, and did not believe that the Germans and their language were capable of any noteworthy achievement. As a remedy he suggested the creation of a German Society, which would inspire the writing of useful, thoughtful, and pleasant books in German. For it is better to be an original German than a copy of a Frenchman: “Besser ist ein Original von einem Teutschen als eine Copei von einem Franzosen sein.”³¹

For Leibniz, too, German was the *Haupt- and Heldensprache*.³³ Yet it was his younger contemporary Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) who, as a professor at the University of Leipzig, announced in 1688 the first course in German and began to publish the first modern periodical in that language, “Freimüthige, lustige und ernsthafte, jedoch vernunft- und gesetzmässige Gedanken oder Monatsgespräche über allerhand, fürnehmlich aber neue Bücher”—a monthly accessible to the general educated reader, and the first public forum for the discussion of literary and philosophical questions. Two years later Thomasius, expelled from the University of Leipzig, went to Halle. There he was instrumental, with his Pietist friends, in founding a new university in 1694 which, from the beginning, gave the German language a dominant position and where the spirit of rigid orthodoxy was absent. But Thomasius was only a cautious reformer. Though he was one of the first Germans to raise their voices against the belief in witchcraft, he in no way denied the existence of evil spirits and their direct interference with human life. Nor did he frankly oppose the use of torture, which Leibniz regarded as an indispensable part of criminal procedure; to one of

his students he expressed doubt as to whether it was advisable to wage Christian rulers to follow the enlightened English example in abolishing torture.³⁰

Yet during the eighteenth century Western enlightenment began to stream into Germany not in small rivulets, but in broad rivers, and within a century the intellectual backwardness of the country had been overcome. However, while in a short time German cultural life overtook, and even surpassed, the West (a similar phenomenon could be witnessed in nineteenth century Russia), politics and society retained their primitive and provincial character. In England and in the Netherlands the educated class felt itself responsible for the political destiny of the nation and shared in its guidance; in the United States it molded and directed it; in France it gained by its writings and wit an instrument beyond all legal and constitutional bounds; but in Germany it lived in complete isolation from politics and government. Under these conditions the expression of nationalism, remained confined to the literature, being partly a reminiscence of the patriotic authors of antiquity read in school, partly the influence of English and French writers. The lack of political feelings made itself felt even in literature itself: with subjects for satire all around, German literature developed neither a political satire nor a vigorous patriotic prose.

Living outside the realm of political activity, the German intellectuals took their revenge, a revenge innocuous for the princes but dangerous for the life of the nation. They considered their purely intellectual pursuits as a higher and purer form of life. They transvaluated their exclusion from all political influence into a virtue, the privilege of the scholar or intellectual who lived in "higher spheres," without descending to the lowlands of common humanity. Political life and the administration of the state concerned the princes, the *Obrigkeit*; the subject had neither the right nor the knowledge to interfere. In overcompensation the German writers began to look down upon the intellectual life of Western countries as devoid of the lofty German flight into higher spheres, and as immersed in the apparently superficial and trivial matters of politics and social reality.³⁷

While remote from all political activity, the German intellectuals

were busy laying the foundations for a German national literature. Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766) devoted himself to this task with great earnestness when he came to Leipzig in 1724, and for some time he made the city the literary center of Germany. He joined one of the linguistic societies, the *Deutschübende Gesellschaft*, changed its name to *Deutsche Gesellschaft*, and soon raised it from a purely local organization into a literary society of national character. He dreamed of transforming it into something corresponding to the French Academy, to develop a German literary language. He made the dialect of Upper Saxony, used by Luther, the literary language of Germany, which he wished to purify and regularize into an instrument for poetry and prose similar to French. His idea of German literature was limited to writings in the German language: it was not really a different and original German culture which he sought, but a universal civilization—of which the most perfect model was offered by the French—expressed in the German language. In his insistence upon the language he showed the fanatical zeal of a reformer. When his future wife and collaborator, the highly gifted Louise Kulmus, started to write him in French, he objected violently, and though she answered that she had been taught that it was unbecoming to write in German, he insisted and forced her to use German. Thus his linguistic reform grew into a reform of life.

His influence in the seventeen-twenties and -thirties was tremendous:³⁸ The pompous and unwieldy language of the Baroque disappeared from the German books; German was admitted more and more into the schools; foreign words were used with growing restraint. French literature was faithfully copied in all its forms, and, through Gottsched's influence, continued to dominate German taste for at least half a century. Gottsched aspired to equal the French within the accepted universal standards of literature, not to differ from them. Even when in 1743 Johann Elias Schlegel made Arminius the hero of his drama "*Hermann*," in order to draw attention to German history as a source of dramatic inspiration, he wrote in Alexandrine verse and in rigid conformity with the classical rules.³⁹

Gottsched's successor as *praeceptor Germaniae* was Christian

Fürchtegott Gellert (1715-1769), who also taught in Leipzig (where Goethe heard his courses), and whose fame was unrivaled in Germany by the middle of the century. He was a timid little man and reflected in his writings the ethos and the attitudes of the German middle classes—their *Redlichkeit*, *Bebaglichkeit*, and *Gemütlichkeit*, their honesty, sentimentality, and love of quiet and idyllic comfort. He lived in one of the great historical periods of turmoil: wars were spreading over three continents, reshaping the fortunes of nations and dynasties; new principles for the ordering of human society were being freely and hotly discussed in Western Europe; and the military genius of Frederick II was raising a German territorial state to the rank of a great power. Yet amidst all these events Gellert was concerned only with preserving the quietness of private life, undisturbed and untouched by the tumult of public affairs. He was "most indifferent" as to who ruled Silesia or Bohemia, while the battle of Rossbach evoked in him only sorrow for the many casualties: thinking back he could remember nothing so vividly as the deep fear he had felt when he had accidentally passed near the battlefield. Nothing was more alien to him, and to the generation which he represented, than heroism or a martial spirit. He was more than satisfied to leave all politics to the wisdom of the rulers and their officials, and most thankful for not being interrupted in the enjoyment of a life in which domestic peace, sentimental friendships, and the easy grace of poetry alone counted. His famous "Moralische Vorlesungen," which he delivered as professor of philosophy, contained not a single word about duties to the fatherland, nor about civic virtues or courage. He blamed the Greeks and Romans for the emphasis which they had put upon these traits instead of upon meekness and humility.⁴⁰

Yet Gellert was a true son of the Enlightenment and of its humanitarian rationalism, eager to ennoble human sentiments and to liberate the wellsprings of goodness in the human heart which had been desiccated by the despotism of princes and the rigidity of orthodoxy. His play "The Swedish Countess" anticipated Lessing by introducing on the stage a noble and virtuous Jew who is treated by the Count and Countess as an equal. But all the good intentions of Gellert and his circle stopped short of any attempt to realize

them in society. The only satirical talent of the period, Gottlieb Wilhelm Rabener (1714-1771), could never fully develop his gifts in the Philistine atmosphere of German society where most legitimate subjects of satire were completely taboo. In the preface to the fourth volume of his "Sammlung satirischer Schriften," published in Leipzig in 1755, he frankly declared that he never wished or dared to treat of princes and authorities, clergymen and teachers; for in daring to criticize those in authority, even the lowest official, a subject would only prove that he had not yet learned to be a good subject. And how could such a person give advice to anybody? Thus, his "satire" had to be confined to a rather charitable and kind-hearted pleasantry about the silliness of the middle classes in their daily private lives. "Germany is not the country," Rabener complained, "in which a satire could dare, if bent upon improving things, raise its head with that liberty with which it elsewhere castigates the vice and foolishness of men. In Germany I should not dare risk telling a village schoolteacher a truth which a Lord Archbishop in London would have to listen to."⁴¹

4

By the middle of the century the efforts of Gottsched and Gelert had born fruit: they had made German a reputable literary language and had laid the foundations for a German literature. The profusion of French and Italian words and phrases which had threatened to choke not only the vitality but even the existence of German, was fast disappearing. Latin still remained dominant in the universities and secondary schools of the Catholic part; but in the Protestant lands and in the production of books it was fast giving way to German. While in 1589, 246 Latin and 116 German books had been published in Germany, the proportion changed to 209 Latin against 419 German books in 1714, and 198 Latin books against 1,917 German in 1780.⁴² Thus, a common language and a growing consciousness of a common literature began to unite at least the Protestant part of Germany. Yet loyalty was still not national, but remained exclusively dynastic or religious. The Catholic Germans of the Habsburg lands felt a much greater kinship with

the Hungarians, Croats, and Italians than with the Protestant Prussians who after 1740 had become their enemies.⁴³ German Protestants greeted Swedes and Frenchmen, when the opportunity offered itself, as welcome allies in the wars against German Catholics. Lutheran theologians were as uncompromising and hostile in their attitude to Calvinists as they were to Catholics. Erdmann Neumeister (1681-1756), a Lutheran minister in Hamburg, well known for his gifts as a religious poet and his interest in esthetics, wrote, in a pamphlet against a Calvinist theologian, of "Calvinische Mameluken und Judasbrüder," while the attempts to unite Lutherans and Calvinists were branded as "Luther's temptation by Beelzebub."⁴⁴ The divines of all confessions vied in obsequiousness towards great and small princes alike, and never dared raise their voices to condemn even the most glaring iniquities.

Nowhere in Germany did religion awaken the people or reform abuses to the extent that it did in the Anglo-Saxon countries. The prophetic fire of the Reformation had died with the bloody extermination of Anabaptism, while German Pietism resembled Methodism rather than Puritanism. But Pietism, though it never dared to openly protest against the fast-growing corruption and immorality of life among the upper classes, did, in its quiet way, fight for the common man.⁴⁵ More important, as a movement preparing the ground for modern Germany, was the rational secularization accomplished by the Enlightenment. But while rational humanism and optimistic liberalism led in the West to fundamental transformations of society, their influence in Germany was confined to the intellectual field and to the educated class. When finally, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the will to political and social changes was awakened in Germany, the rational and liberal Enlightenment had given way to Romanticism, with its fundamentally opposite attitudes, which continued, though on an entirely different plane, the irrationalism and enthusiasm of the Pietists, an enthusiasm no longer filling the heart of the lonely individual walking humbly before God, but poured into the mystic body of the national community.

A German national movement did not arise until the nineteenth century. There was no state around which it could have consoli-

dated itself. There was the empty shell of the Holy Roman Empire, full of venerable memories grown hollow and into which few if any could read any future. It gave the German nation a common frame, but the frame enclosed nothing. Political reality had been absorbed in the life of the many large and small German states, their secular or ecclesiastical princes regarding themselves as sovereign, the inhabitants as their subjects, their arbitrary will as supreme, and their power as unlimited. The possible stimulus of foreign oppression was absent in Germany: unlike other peoples the Germans did not live under alien princes or domination. Such oppression as existed, often more cruel than in other parts of Europe, was by native princes, and few Germans before the French Revolution ever dreamed of challenging the right of princes to oppress at will. German nationalism could not integrate around a political idea of liberty as in the West. The Reformation had released forces of potential revolution, but Luther had done his utmost to confine them to the inner life and to discipline them in blind obedience. In his famous "Vom deutschen Nationalgeist" Karl Friedrich von Moser declared that "every nation is motivated by a determining principle: obedience in Germany, freedom in England, trade in Holland, the honor of the king in France. Very fundamental changes would be necessary to redirect the whole trend of thought." These changes came in France with the French Revolution; they never came in Germany. The most prominent critic of Moser's pamphlet even underscored his opinion: "It is scarcely imaginable that a genius could appear whose command would exhaust our obedience." When this genius in despotism really did appear, he could not exhaust their willingness to obey.

While many German writers vied in self-degradation and toadism, others were deeply scornful of everything concerned with politics and thus helped to keep the people in a state of political immaturity and indifference. The peasants, sunk into stupidity, vulgarity and physical degeneracy through centuries of feudal oppression, "suffered everything with dull resignation and were servilely grateful to their gracious lords (*gnädige Gutsberrschaft*) for any relaxation, for any less cruel pressure or demand as for some unmerited favor, and trembled before every seigniorial bailiff

or minor official." "A correspondent of the *Berlinische Monatschrift* in 1783 sent from London a comparison of life in England and at home: "If one witnesses here how the lowest pusher of a wheelbarrow shows an active interest in everything that goes on and does not consider himself a superfluous onlooker, and how boys wave their heads from railings and lamp posts and show their approval by a joyous hurrah, in short, how everyone shows clearly that he too is a man, and an Englishman, as good as the king and the ministers—in witnessing that, one indeed feels entirely different than when one sees at home the soldiers drill." Forty years later Goethe contrasted England and Germany in the same way when, in his conversation with Eckermann, on March 12, 1828, he praised the liberty of Englishmen, "das Glück der persönlichen Freiheit," which endowed them with a noble uprightness, while in Germany every little boy grew up under the strict eye of the police. Whenever he tried to feel himself at liberty, the police would immediately intervene and forbid it ("sogleich ist die Polizei da, es zu verbieten"). It may be that this lack of personal liberty in political and social life induced the daring exploits of intellectual liberty and irresponsibility in which many German thinkers indulged, and that later the absence of the "Glück der persönlichen Freiheit" found its compensation in far-flung dreams of disciplined power and conquest.

In the West nations grew up as unions of citizens, by the will of individuals who expressed it in contracts, covenants, or plebiscites. Thus they integrated around a political idea, looking towards the common future which would spring from their common efforts. A nascent German nationalism, unable to find the rallying point in society or in a free and rational order, found it in nature or in the past, not in a political act but in a given natural fact, the folk community, formed by the ties of a hoary past, and later of prehistoric, biological factors. This natural foundation was not simply accepted as a fact, but raised to the dignity of an ideal or of a mystery. The political integration around a rational goal was replaced by a mystical integration around the irrational, precivilized folk concept.

Herder, who can be regarded as the first representative of German nationalism and of folk nationalism generally, was influenced

by Rousseau's stress upon the primitive and precivilized stages of human development, the natural folkdom of "unspoiled" peoples. The youthful Storm and Stress movement in Germany, in some ways a forerunner of German nationalism, rejected the classic and universal norms and canons and emphasized originality, *das Ur-wilchsige*, that which grows out of its own deep roots without influence from outside. The Rousseauian contrast of nature and civilization, of sentiment and reason, was here taken up with a new and aggressive stress upon the creative character of the artist's unique, incomparable, and unequaled passion. But neither Herder nor the Storm and Stress had any political will: the one discovered the folk as the source of all cultural creativeness and inspiration, the other proclaimed the uniqueness of the artist in revolt against society. Only in 1806, after the existing political order had completely disintegrated, was the cultural concept of the folk politicized, and the uniqueness of the folk proclaimed as an aggressive factor in the struggle against Western society and civilization. Then the seeds sown in the second half of the eighteenth century began to bear strange fruit in the nationalism of German romanticism with its violent opposition not only to France, but to the principles of the French Revolution and of the eighteenth century, to the liberal and humanitarian character of the nationalism of 1776 and 1789. Western nationalism seemed to be something artificial, a creation of politicians and political movements, while German nationalism appeared spontaneous, inspired by nature itself, springing from the depths of the past, rooted not in universal and rational principles, but in an individual and indigenous folk genius.

Yet the new emphasis in Germany upon indigenous originality was partly due to foreign influence, that of Rousseau and of a general European current, which, rising in England, found its most lasting and decisive expression in Germany. The sentimentalism and the melancholy of Samuel Richardson's "Clarissa" (1748) and "Sir Charles Grandison" (1753), of Edward Young's "Night Thoughts," and the antiquarian revival of supposed Celtic legends of the third century in the works of James Macpherson ("Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland," "Fingal," and "The Works of Ossian"), and finally Thomas

Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry" (1765), exercised a much deeper influence in Germany than in England. They were translated in many editions and greeted as the revelation of deep originality and of the wealth of primitive folk spirit. Thomas Percy's "Northern Antiquities" made the old Nordic legends preserved in the Edda better known. They inspired Klopstock to replace Greek mythology by the newly discovered Germanic legends, which opened out a new German past, unknown to the German humanists of the Renaissance. These truly, or supposedly, ancient sources were not received in an exclusively nationalistic spirit in the eighteenth century; the decisive fact was less the discovery of Germanic folklore than the appreciation of the original folk genius of any people or race. Ossian aroused a similar enthusiasm for Greek and Hebrew folklore. Primitive antiquity, in which man supposedly felt near the sources of Nature and manifested a freshness of inspiration which later dried up under the dust of civilization, was now regarded as the age not only of the noble savage but also of the blind singer. The writers of the Homeric and the biblical epics appeared as nameless poets and seers who were the mouth of spontaneous folk song. Blackwell had insisted in 1735 on the "naturalness" of Homer; Wood emphasized in his "Essay on the Original Genius of Homer" (1769) the kinship with Ossian, both expressing the heroic spirit of their people; Robert Lowth (1710-1787), an English divine and professor of poetry at Oxford, delivered "Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews." Johann David Michaelis, a leading German theologian, and for many years editor of the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, translated Lowth's book in 1758, and Hamann was so impressed by it that he called the Jews the "most alive springs of antiquity" (*die lebendigsten Quellen des Altertums*), compared with whom Greeks and Romans were only "perforated wells" (*durchlocherte Brunnen*).⁴

Thus the influence of Rousseau and of England merged in the rising stream of German thought which was to stress the originality and the peculiarity of national tradition as against universal standards and values. It may appear strange at first glance that the revolt against Western civilization and influence, which the Storm and Stress and German Romanticism proclaimed, was inspired by

Western sources. This process of cultural contact and reaction is discernible throughout the history of modern nationalism. Russian Slavophilism, which insisted upon Russian autochthonous and indigenous forces against Germany's preponderant influence upon Russian civilization, owed its inspiration to German Romanticism. The rejection of Western influences by later Indian nationalists and their turning to aboriginal traditions was due to an intensified study of European critics of modern civilization. Many fundamental thoughts of Italian Fascism were received from French sources, and some of the most important concepts of National Socialism are to be found in the writings of Maurice Barrès. But what had been a minor cult in English, French, or American thought, without any popular influence and often of purely ephemeral significance, became a most powerful and even decisive aspect of nationalism among the Germans, the Russians, and the Indians. Literary ventures in the West often became great and swelling movements east of the Rhine and the Alps, threatening the dikes built by the discipline of rationalism and the traditions of law and liberty. That was the fate of Burke's influence, whose thoughts in his old age fell nowhere on more fertile soil than in Germany; that was above all the fate of Rousseau's influence, in so far as he had rejected the artfulness of civilization for the freedom of nature, and had demanded that education be based upon the natural man, cleansed of the alien influences of civilization which could only falsify the organic growth from within. "What his genius had thrown out in a moment of inspiration, was systematized in Germany."⁴⁸

Contemporary German historians praise Herder and the Storm and Stress highly, because their discovery of the folk prepared the rise of German nationalism.⁴⁹ But Herder and the Storm and Stress can be called nationalistic only by a wide stretch of the imagination; today's German nationalism overlooks that no eighteenth century thinker—not even Herder—regarded the "reality" of the folk as the natural and therefore unchangeable and unchallengeable foundation of all history. Herder may be regarded as a lonely figure who lived in opposition to his time and country and died embittered because misunderstood,⁵⁰ but he would be more than amazed to find ascribed to him an "organic-heroic mentality"

(*organisch-heroische Gesinnung*) and "the categorical turning away from the theoretical spirit of the Enlightenment to the new German acting virility" (*die kategorische Wendung vom theoretischen Geist der Aufklärung zum neuen deutschen Tatmenschen*).⁶¹ Neither Klopstock nor Herder knew of, much less postulated or triumphantly proclaimed, a deep gulf and an unending struggle between Western universal civilization and German culture, a struggle in which Germans today see the fundamental feature of modern intellectual history.⁶² Herder and his generation were too deeply steeped in universal civilization to think of rejecting it. Though Herder prepared the folk nationalism which arose in revolt against Western and universal civilization, the responsibility for this development does not rest upon him; he was the man who sowed the seeds which were to fall on too fertile a soil and to grow into a harvest which the sower would probably never have recognized and would almost certainly have repudiated.

Though German nationalism received one of its main foundations in Herder's folk concept, the conditions for its growth were created by two other movements, which in their origins and in their whole outlook were fundamentally opposed to it—the Enlightenment and Prussianism. Neither the thinkers of the Enlightenment nor the builders of the Prussian state thought of German nationalism, nor could they ever have dreamed that out of the soil they were tilling such a strange flower would grow, so different and even entirely opposite to all original intentions. The Enlightenment, and to a lesser degree Pietism, broke the grip of rigid orthodoxy on German life; but while in England rationalism and Puritanism fused in the rise of modern English nationalism, in Germany Enlightenment and Pietism remained alien to nationalism and to political life.

Eighteenth century Prussia aroused in some Germans an understanding for, and an interest in, political life and the forces of history. Prussia had not grown from any organic or folkish foundations, it was the product of the conscious will of princes under the influence of the enlightened and rational statecraft of the West. Consisting of several non-contiguous territories brought together by dynastic interests, it was neither a geographic entity, a home-

land, nor a racial entity; it was an idea, and as such it began to exercise an attraction upon many Germans who were not born in Prussia, and who only in mature years decided to enter the service of the Prussian state. Neither Prussianism nor Enlightenment tried to form focal points for the growth of a German national sentiment: Prussianism demanded the exclusive loyalty to the Prussian king and turned against any still lingering feeling of attachment to a wider German polity; Enlightenment, and later on Classicism, taught the harmonious perfection of the individual according to the universal norms of the European Republic of Letters, to which the greatest Prussian king was proud to belong.

5

The Enlightenment and eighteenth century Prussia had much in common. The greatest Prussian king, who became the center of the Prussian myth, was deeply imbued with the doctrines of the Enlightenment; he adopted the administrative technique and the economic maxims of the period, and through their application his country gained more in strength and cohesion than any other land east of the Rhine. But this adoption of Western doctrines and techniques and their extremely skillful application did not transform the social and spiritual foundation of the state; in spite of the king's personal allegiance to the rational liberalism of the West, the country's core remained strangely untouched. Prussia had risen as a land of colonizers and conquerors, of masters and docile serfs. The tradition of the Teutonic Knights had combined the lordly warrior ideal with the ascetic religious ideal of the monk and crusader into a rare amalgam of a compelling sense of duty and service and the proud reliance on domination and arms. Like the Puritans, the Prussians showed a passion for work and frugality: but what with the Puritans became the mark of a rising urban middle class, with the Prussians became the backbone of a conservative rural aristocracy—in both cases producing efficiency, self-reliance, and thrift.

Under the Hohenzollerns Prussia was united with Brandenburg, another march or colonial frontier land, in recently Slavonic terri-

tory. The dynastic policy of the ruling house added other territories, but geographically and economically, in administration and local tradition, they all remained separate and different lands. These domains, scattered on the plain of northeastern Germany which merges imperceptibly into the shapeless and endless prairies and forests of Poland and Russia, were united only by two things: the dynasty and the need of defending the long frontiers. Because of its poor natural resources and its lack of industry the state could be militarily strong only by a most efficient and economical administration and by giving precedence to the military over all other activities: for this the traditions of the Teutonic Knights offered a felicitous model and a strong foundation. The Enlightenment had developed in a liberal middle-class society with an optimistic, pacifist, and forward-looking disposition. Its technique, but not its inner meaning or its humanist and humanitarian implications, was in Prussia grafted onto the traditional foundations of the militant aristocracy, animated by a rather pessimistic view of man. The grafting did not destroy these foundations but strengthened them. The process was repeated and Prussia was again strengthened after 1806, when, under Baron vom Stein, she adopted some of the main technical and administrative reforms of the French Revolution in order to combat that Revolution and its spirit more successfully. Similarly Bismarck, after having successfully challenged and destroyed liberal constitutionalism in the Prussia of the eighteen-sixties, later adopted some of its outward forms and adapted them to the services of an expanding and modernized Prussia.

Thus, enlightened rationalism in the service of power—not power in the service of reason, ethical goals, or human happiness—became the distinct character of a state which one of its representative historians, Otto Hintze, called the personification of the political power-idea. The Enlightenment also served Prussianism by the secularization of life and of ideals. The restraint which religion had imposed upon the Teutonic Knights vanished; the state, and the state alone, could now become the focus and fountainhead of all ethical life and the sole center of devotion. German historians and political scientists have clearly recognized this peculiar and

unique character of Prussia and of its new ethos in the eighteenth century.⁶³ Religion was only tolerated, as far as it was useful to the state. Peace among the different religions and creeds became a governmental policy because it was a condition for the economic progress and the military strength of the country. The new ethos of the state expressed itself above all in the army, which was not only the one tie binding the different provinces into unity, and forging all their traditions into a new loyalty to a common ideal, but was the model for all life, permeating all social and private existence.

The Prussian state was not built around the political ideal of liberty like the Western nations, nor around the cultural traditions of the German folk, nor around the natural factor of the German race: it was as remote from liberalism as from any German nationalism. It was a conscious and political creation, like the modern nations of the West, and thus more akin to them than to later German nationalism; but it did not spring from the will of the people, or from a desire for greater justice and more human happiness, or from any generous message to mankind: it was the result of a will imposed upon the people from above. Hierarchy, authority, obedience, and devotion were the foundations of the army and of Prussianism. King, aristocracy, and people, each one within his rank, served the one idea. For this service the king had to be educated: the center of his education was the army. Frederick the Great wrote in his testament that the educators of the heir to the throne "must speak to him of the army with the same sacred veneration with which the priests speak of their imaginary divine revelation." The privileged classes, upon which the structure of the state rested—the landowning aristocracy, the army officers, and the bureaucracy—were deeply respected because they served the state; the economic life, the promotion of agriculture and industry, the system of taxation and expenditure, in fact everything was subordinated to the one central purpose of the power-state. The Prussian idea demanded the complete devotion of the individual to the state, even the extinction of personality. "*Der preussische Staatsgedanke beruhte auf der vollständigen Hingabe des einzelnen an den Staat bis zum Auslöschen der Persönlichkeit.*"

Prussia's growth represented a revolt against the German unity embodied in the Empire. Its complete indifference to the existence of a German nation extended also to the cultural field. Prussian political growth was unaccompanied by any regard for, or desire of cooperation from, German intellectual life. Frederick William I had no intellectual interests whatsoever; culture was distasteful and meant nothing to him; he regarded Leibniz as a "good for nothing, not even fit to be a sentry" (*einen Kerl, der zu gar nichts, nicht einmal zum Schildwachestehen, taugt*).⁵⁴ Frederick II was a highly cultured man, but in a long life, filled with writings and studies, he remained indifferent to German intellectual life and had no desire to learn anything about it even after it had reached during his own lifetime a high, and in many ways fascinating, level. The growth of Prussia was dominated by only one goal—power; by only one norm—Prussia. Everything else counted only in so far as it served that goal and norm.

By 1680 Berlin was still a very small town in a sparsely populated, and economically and culturally backward, country. Towns east of the Elbe had a different background from those in western Germany, which dated from before the rise of princely power and had known centuries of great wealth and cultural flowering; those in eastern Germany were founded by princes and barons and were mostly poor—whatever they had, they owed to the princes. When the Great Elector died in 1688, his capital had only about 20,000 inhabitants, though it had grown considerably in his long reign (having only 6,000 inhabitants at the beginning). He had welcomed to Berlin approximately the same number of Huguenot refugees, which accounted for the rise of its prosperity and industrial life, and for the fast growth of French cultural influence—later consciously cultivated by Frederick I and his wife Sophia Charlotte, the sister of George I of England, who desired to model Berlin on Versailles. He assumed in 1701 the title of a King in Prussia, enlarged and beautified the capital, founded the Prussian Academy of Arts and Sciences, drew foreign scholars to his court, and tried in every way to impress the world by the splendor and refinement of his new Athens on the Spree.

His successor, Frederick William I (1713–1740), despised and

hated this imitation of Athens; he wished to create a Sparta, and one which would not be an imitation. He had only one passion and he molded the state to its perfect image and instrument: the creation of a powerful army. He was frugal and thrifty, hard-working and conscientious, without ambition or imagination in any field but the strictly military. Even in that field he had not the genius of a general (he never fought a war), though he had all the talents of a glorified drill sergeant. He was extremely rude and boorish, and despised all intellectual refinement, regarding arts and letters as devil's works and a criminal waste of time. He saw only one task for everybody: the art of warfare for men, keeping house for women. As a statesman he wished above all to imbue the nobility of the different provinces with this spirit and to attach them to himself and to service in his army. While his predecessors had accepted as officers capable men from all countries and all walks of life, he confined himself to the sons of the Prussian nobility, they were discouraged or forbidden to enter, as they had formerly done freely, the services of any other prince.⁵⁵

It was his son Frederick II (1740-1786) who first revealed the true power of Prussia. The father had been a simple man; the son, who had grown up in hostility to his father, was a complex character: an apparently un-Prussian youth, he became the great master and instrument of Prussianism. He was not a drill sergeant but a great general, not a cautious house father but a statesman who took great risks and masterfully played the game of unscrupulous diplomacy. He spent his youth in the happy pursuit of arts and letters and remained faithful to them throughout his life, writing copiously on philosophy, history, and literature, and seeking the company of writers, scholars, and reformers. He shared the philanthropic and humanitarian views of the age, its faith in reason, its fight against prejudices and for enlightening the human mind and ennobling its passions. As a young prince he dreamed of peoples governed by wise philosophers, guided by a blending of Stoicism and secularized Christianity; one year before he ascended the throne he wrote a refutation of Machiavelli's "Prince." But from his early youth he burned with desire for power and glory, with an elemental and almost demonic ambition to make Prussia

a great power. Rarely has an irrational ambition for power used rational methods and abilities so efficiently and pursued its ambitions with such complete devotion. He subordinated his humanitarian ideas to the needs of power politics in international relations and in domestic policy, where the people were overburdened with merciless exactions in the interest of war and diplomacy. In everything touching the success of his policy he was as hard as his father. "As far as one can see, Frederick never regarded the barbarity of his militarism as a problem, nor did he think about it; he never tried to introduce more ethical or more humane principles into its foundations. He did not illuminate the dark depths of the power of the state with the light of his humanitarianism."⁵⁰

While the prince had condemned Machiavelli's unethical autonomy of power politics, the king became its most grandiose embodiment. In the way in which he broke or interpreted treaties, suddenly attacked unprepared adversaries with a well prepared army, and started unprovoked aggression for personal glory and the greatness of his state, he was Machiavelli's perfect disciple; but he was never that with a clear conscience. Yet necessities of power politics—he regarded himself as sole judge of whether these necessities existed—justified, in his opinion, any abandonment of the philosophical principles in which he believed. In the preface of 1743 to his *Histoire de mon Temps* he wrote: "I hope that posterity, for whom I am writing, will distinguish in me the philosopher from the prince and the honest man from the politician. I must confess that it is very difficult to preserve decency and purity, when one is thrown into the great political whirlpool of Europe. One sees oneself permanently in danger of being betrayed by one's allies." (In this apology Frederick conveniently forgot that he had started the betrayals and had shown himself an unsurpassed master of that art, so that he was always less in danger of being betrayed by others than others were of being betrayed by him.) "One finds oneself finally before the terrible decision of choosing either to sacrifice one's people or one's word." (The happiness and peace of Frederick's people were endangered by nothing except his own ambitions.) "One can regard the urge for aggrandizement as the foundation of all government, from the smallest to the greatest."

(Here the "realism" of power politics shows its lack of realism in observation of reality and ascribes its own motives to everybody else in an effort of self-justification; expansionist dynamism is by no means the foundation of all government.) "The passions of princes know no other restraint than the limit of their power."⁵⁷ And twenty-five years later, in 1768, he wrote in his testament to his successor: "Keep well in mind that there is no great prince who does not harbor the idea of extending his dominion." To the humanitarian philosopher, expansion and empire seemed the mark of greatness.

Though Frederick's Prussia was administered according to the rational and mechanistic principles of the age, the educated classes were not encouraged to grow up to political maturity, nor were the people a living concern of the state. Frederick did not think of any national foundation or any linguistic uniformity for his kingdom. He regarded the squirearchy of the lands east of the Elbe as his real realm; he was willing to exchange the Duchy of Cleves and the Counties of Mark and Ravensburg on the Rhine for Saxon lands and to hand them over to France, because he could not assimilate them to his eastern possessions. He was as willing to accept Polish subjects as Germans; the qualitative character of the population did not count—what mattered was the quantitative accretion of power in potential soldiers and economic resources. What Frederick demanded was the personal loyalty of his subjects, but not loyalty to a Prussian nation; the love of fatherland of which he sometimes spoke was with him a utilitarian consideration based on the actual material welfare which individuals derived from their state, not an emotional tie or a spiritual force.⁵⁸

The same utilitarian conception of patriotism was professed in the pamphlet "Vom Tode fürs Vaterland" by Thomas Abbt (1738–1766), then, in 1761, professor of philosophy at the Prussian university of Frankfurt an der Oder. He was not a Prussian himself. He was born in Ulm in southern Germany, and he died as a Lutheran divine in Bückeburg, the capital of the small principality of Schaumburg-Lippe, where Herder became his successor. Characteristically, the pamphlet started: "I do not know by what unhappy accident the opinion is almost generally held that only

a republican can be proud of his fatherland and that in monarchies the fatherland is nothing more than a mere name, an empty illusion." As a loyal subject, for the time being, of the King of Prussia, Abbt intended, when the Seven Years' War was at its height, to plead for the readiness of the Prussians to die for their king. Nothing was further from the mind of the author than any feeling of nationalism. But even in the simple duties towards one's prince, Abbt regarded himself as a very lonely voice amidst a general refusal to understand patriotism. He complained that nobody wished to hear of death for the fatherland; even officers, who were paid for their readiness to get killed, and for whom soldiering was the only way of gaining a living, laughed at the idea and called it ridiculous. Abbt's famous pamphlet is the best proof of the complete lack of patriotism at the middle of the eighteenth century, even in Prussia.⁵⁰

6

Though Frederick's successes did not arouse any patriotic feeling in the educated classes and left the masses indifferent, they raised the level of German statecraft and inspired praise and song. In a famous passage of "Dichtung und Wahrheit" Goethe pointed out that "der erste wahre und höhere eigentliche Lebensgehalt kam durch Friedrich den Grossen und die Taten des Siebenjährigen Krieges in die deutsche Poesie."⁵⁰ Some of these poets were well known in their day, like Johann Peter Uz (1720-1796), Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719-1803), who participated in the Second Silesian War and wrote the "Preussische Kriegslieder in den Feldzügen 1756 und 1757 von einem Grenadier," and Ewald Christian von Kleist (1715-1759), who was born in Pomerania, served first in the army of the King of Denmark, joined Frederick's army in 1740, and died of a wound received at Kunersdorf. But all their poems were devoid of even the slightest German or Prussian national feeling. They sang a primitive and poorly expressed love for the Prussian army and military success. In a characteristic beginning Gleim's famous "Schlachtgesang vor der Schlacht bei Prag" derided the Austrian soldier and praised Frederick:

Was kannst du? Tolpatsch und Pandur,
Soldat und Offizier!
Was kannst du? Flichen kannst du nur;
Und siegen können wir.

Wir kommen; zittre! Deinen Tod
Verkündigt Ross und Mann!
Wir kommen, unser Kriegesgott,
Held Friedrich, ist voran!

And on a higher poetical level Kleist's "Ode an die preussische Armee" was animated by the same primitive feelings:

Unüberwundnes Heer, mit dem Tod und Verderben
In Legionen Feinde dringt,
Um das der frohe Sieg die guldnen Flügel schwingt,
O Heer, bereit zum Siegen oder Sterben! . . .

Die Nachwelt wird auf dich als auf ein Muster sehen;
Die künft'gen Helden ehren dich,
Zieh dich den Römern vor, dem Casar Friedrich,
Und Böhmens Felsen sind dir ewige Trophäen.

These few poets did not create a Prussian period of German civilization: that civilization owed its inspiration and strength in the eighteenth century to entirely different sources. The new Prussian state remained alien to the German intellectuals and to the German masses. The former were too deeply imbued with universal cosmopolitanism and ethical humanism, the latter too concerned with their own little personal destinies and too averse to all political aspirations, not to be repulsed by Prussia's militarism. Antipathy to the Prussian way of life was expressed all over Germany. Friedrich Nicolai, traveling in southern Germany in 1780, wrote that "these free people look down upon us poor people from Brandenburg as slaves."⁶¹ Wieland voiced the same sentiment: "King Frederick is certainly a great man, but may God save us from the fate of living under his cane or scepter."⁶² Frederick's often heralded "liberalism" was characterized by Lessing in a letter to Nicolai from Hamburg on August 25, 1769: "Vienna

may be as it is, but I think it holds greater promise for German literature than your Frenchified Berlin. . . . Don't tell me of your Berlin freedom of thinking and writing. It reduces itself exclusively to the liberty of saying as much nonsense about religion as one wishes. And by now the honest man must be ashamed to make use of this liberty. But let anyone in Berlin try to . . . tell the truth to the noble Court rabble there as Sonnenfels did in Vienna; let anyone in Berlin raise his voice for the rights of the subjects against exploitation and despotism, as it is now being done even in France and Denmark, and you will soon learn which country is even today still the most enslaved in Europe." ⁶³

Even more bitter was Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) who, born in Brandenburg, a Prussian subject, had escaped from there to the more congenial atmosphere of Dresden and to Rome. From there he wrote in 1763, the year in which Frederick reached the zenith of his career, that he shuddered from head to foot whenever he thought of the Prussian despotism and of Frederick. This slave driver of peoples would transform his country, which had been cursed by nature itself and covered with Libyan sands, into an abomination for men and burden it with an eternal curse; "better to be a circumcised Turk than a Prussian." And another German, born in Prussia, the young Herder, advocated the dismemberment of Prussia for the happiness of its peoples and prophesied that Frederick's work would remain sterile and his empire disintegrate. As a modern German historian has put it: "One can hardly speak of a real relationship between Frederick and his subjects, not to speak of the German nation, in the period of his three great wars. Too oppressive was his regime, too extremely Spartan was the character of the state, too absolute was the rule of the king who kept all branches of the administration exclusively in his own hands, looked into every corner, kept his servants on their toes, suffered no dissent, and trusted no one except perhaps his secretary, his Eichel. Because of his French culture he was too isolated from the cultural life of his own nation, in all its classes." ⁶⁴

The aversion of all classes for militarism and even for soldiers found its expression on the stage as well as in the press. In 1774 Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz, the gifted representative of the

Storm and Stress and friend of the young Goethe, wrote a comedy called "*Der Hofmeister oder Vorteile der Privaterziehung*." In the second scene of its fifth act Rehaar summed up the popular wisdom of the period by preferring students to officers. Students, he said, though bad enough, "still have some honesty left, but the officers! They make mothers out of maidens, and neither dogs nor cocks crow about it; that is the result of their courage, for he who has courage is capable of all vices."⁶⁶ In 1776 in another comedy, called "*Die Soldaten*," Lenz bitterly commented on officers and soldiers: "O soldierly profession, what caricatures thou makest of men!" A decade later the influential journalist P. A. Winkopp wrote in his *Deutsche Zuschauer* that a nation is happy "when it possesses neither fortifications nor guns, nor soldiers, a profession which has produced so much evil and misery and so little good in human society." Or, as he expressed it at another time in an outcry against standing armies: "Put the possibility of an invasion by a neighbor into one scale, and into the other put all the misery, all the disruption of family life, all the moral evils and cruelties permitted in many standing armies, and then ask whether the sum of all these evils in a period of fifty years does not immensely outweigh all that the most cruel enemy could do to a country."⁶⁷

When Frederick was sometimes praised in his later years by his subjects or by other Germans, he was lauded not for his military glory and victories, but for the wise self-limitation with which he used the years after his three great wars to improve the administration and the economic conditions. But neither Frederick's heroic career nor his enlightened administration aroused any truly patriotic feelings in the Prussian people. One year before the king's death a pastor in Welschleben near Magdeburg, Christian Ludwig Hahnzog, published his "*Patriotische Predigten oder Predigten zur Beförderung der Vaterlandsliebe für die Landleute in den preussischen Staaten*"⁶⁸—patriotic sermons which were necessary, he stated, because there was no other country in which patriotism was as unknown as in Prussia. Frederick's rule did not inspire patriotism in his subjects. Goethe, who visited Berlin in 1778, received the impression of a great machine in which every individual was only a wheel without a will of his own, kept in motion only

by Frederick.⁶⁸ The king himself in his later years felt his extreme loneliness and the indifference around him; his contempt for men developed into a bitter misanthropy. He was reported to have exclaimed shortly before his death: "I am tired of ruling over slaves." Mirabeau, who was in Berlin at Frederick's funeral, noticed the general indifference of the people. "So that is the end, after so many victorious battles, after so much glory, after a rule full of miracles for almost half a century! One was tired of him, almost to the point of hating him."⁶⁹

Thus, Frederick's long and memorable reign was a military despotism, kept efficient and relatively benevolent by the person of the enlightened monarch. In 1764 a decree was necessary, formally forbidding military authorities to interfere in civilian jurisdiction or punish subjects and peasants.⁷⁰ Of the peasantry in the German-Slavonic lands east of the Elbe a great European historian recently said: "The more I learned of Germany, the more obvious it seemed to me that her discipline, her spirit of obedience, her militarism, and her lack of political ability and understanding, were largely explained by the renaissance of serfdom that occurred in the sixteenth century. In these respects there is a profound and radical difference between Germany and the Occidental countries. But for the almost universal serfdom to the east of the Elbe, could Lutheranism ever have spread as it did, and could the organization of the Prussian state have been conceivable?"⁷¹ A German historian of the middle of the nineteenth century summed up the importance of the reign of Frederick II in words which seem conclusive and just: "While free and politically mature peoples take pride in achieving greatness through their own efforts and regard their rulers only as guardians and administrators of what they themselves have won and created, the subjects of Frederick II felt only the greatness of their king and took every occasion to impress this greatness upon others. Thus the Prussian people developed that peculiar royalist trait which has remained characteristic of them until today, that propensity by which they wish to owe everything to their rulers, nothing to themselves."⁷²

Prussian efficiency and spirit of duty, however, contrasted favorably with the spirit of most of the other German states of the time

and attracted active and energetic men from all parts of Germany to Prussian service. But under Frederick's successors an entirely different regime developed, devoid of the Spartan virtues considered to be characteristic of Prussia. The people immediately, and almost jubilantly, turned to the new regime and groveled before the favorites and mistresses of Frederick's successor. Bereaved of its soul, Frederick's state collapsed in 1806, not so much through a military defeat as through a disintegration of the whole structure. Only under the influence of the French Revolution, directed against it, were the foundations of the Prussia state rebuilt and strengthened by the cultivation of a Prussian nationalism which soon was to merge into, and shape, German nationalism.

Frederick II would have been as little able to understand a Prussian, as a German, nationalism.⁷³ He remained faithful to the cosmopolitan rationalism of his youth: it seemed to him to be the fulfillment not only of his own age but of all ages. It was with much more than graceful flattery that he wrote to Voltaire on July 24, 1777: "Pour moi, je me console d'avoir vécu dans le siècle de Voltaire; cela me suffit." When in 1743 he restored the Academy of Berlin as the "Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Prusse," a Frenchman, the mathematician and astronomer Maupertuis, was made its first president; and after his death in 1759, the presidency was offered to Voltaire's friend, the philosopher and scientist, Jean d'Alembert. Through Frederick's personal initiative the Academy chose French and not Latin as the language of its proceedings and publications.⁷⁴ Frederick remained faithful to the tastes of his youth; throughout his life he preferred Pope to Shakespeare, Virgil to Homer. Unnoticed by him, the taste and the cultural conditions had changed completely. One year before his rise to the throne he had expressed a wish for a more civilized Germany.

Ah! quand verrai-je enfin ma stérile patrie
Réformer de son goût l'antique barbarie,
Offrir un doux asyle aux beaux arts négligés,
Réchauffer leur ardeur, dans son sein protégés,
Et faisant reflourir l'esprit et le génie,
Rendre la gloire aux arts, et les arts à la vie.⁷⁵

He had been king of the politically most active German state for thirty-seven years when in a letter of December 17, 1777, he told Voltaire of an argument which he had had with the Count de Montmorency-Laval, who wished to learn German, and whom Frederick tried hard to dissuade because no good German authors existed to make the effort worth while.⁷⁰ He had not noticed that meanwhile a great German literature had come into being, a literature of universal importance, in which nationalism had as little place as it had in German political life and aspirations of that period.

7

The second European Renaissance of the end of the seventeenth century reached Germany almost a century later; like the first Renaissance it became a literary and intellectual movement rather than a factor molding political and social life. Spiritually it renovated Germany, politically it remained inconsequential. As in Russia a century later, a rich flowering of literature was paralleled by the inability of the educated class to transform the state; state and society remained separate, as if belonging to two different worlds, in Germany until the later nineteenth century, in Russia until the twentieth century; and then in both cases the state molded and shaped the society. The life of great spiritual intensity in eighteenth century Germany was a private life. There was no public opinion comparable to that of England or France.⁷¹ All Germans were convinced of the necessity of blind obedience to the established authorities, whatever their worth.⁷² German authors spoke of a natural inclination of the people to be subject, to serve to the point of self-denial, to be imposed upon. Some of the young poets and writers grandiloquently challenged despotism, yet their challenges were abstract theorizing which did not come to life outside the printed page. Helfrich Peter Sturz (1736-1779), a well known writer of the period, admonished the stormy youth: "Don't defy the princes, youth intoxicated with liberty, you, who perhaps will kneel at their feet when you have become a man. They do not merit your poetical zeal, because many of them are friendly

and good and give bread even to those who hate princes!" These admonitions were really superfluous; the young men knew the reality only too well themselves. They agreed with Sturz, who wrote some years later, in an anonymous article "On Patriotic Pride," that "fatherland and liberty are in our language not much more than sounds without meaning."⁷⁹

Patriotism or nationalism was only rarely mentioned, and then without any emotional feeling or deeper meaning. Yet the concerns of the period pointed in the direction of a nascent national feeling. Everywhere the new rationalism and humanism not only acted as a powerful leaven within the stagnant and traditional bounds of intellectual life, but aroused a new interest in man, his origins, his development, and the forms of his social life; scholars and amateurs began to collect documents and to inquire into the past of their countries or towns. The new rationalism led to a new critical understanding of history in an effort to rationally explain the past. This new understanding spread cautiously to the religious field and helped to deepen the slowly growing feeling of tolerance. Religion lost some of its dogmatic rigidity, in the more advanced circles it became synonymous with rational and universal morality, with *philanthropia* and *humanitas*. The new popular philosophy aroused an interest not only in nature and mankind, but also in the sentiments and situations of the individual, in sociological and psychological discoveries. In the intellectual domain it was an age of great self-confidence, great daring, and great curiosity. As in seventeenth century England, natural science and experiments began to fascinate many minds. The new humanitarianism wished to bring the blessings of enlightenment also to the common man, to liberate him from the darkness of ignorance and superstition. Eberhard Rochow (1734-1805) tried to organize the elementary and especially the village schools in Prussia. Under the influence of Rousseau's *Emile*, and with the help of the Prince of Anhalt, Johann Bernhard Basedow (1723-1790) founded in 1774 a school in Dessau, called Philanthropinum, in which he stressed the importance of physical education, of instruction in the mother tongue, and of the study of the natural sciences and of modern languages in addition to the ancient.⁸⁰

Yet when the words "patriotism" and "nationalism" were mentioned it was remarkable how little content these concepts held and how fundamentally they differed from anything which later was known as nationalism. A pioneer in the field, Johann Georg Zimmermann (1728-1795), a Swiss physician who had traveled in the Netherlands and in France, published in Zurich in 1768 an essay "Vom Nationalstolze."⁸¹ His psychological approach led him to some just observations about the fact that "every nation contemplates itself through the medium of self-conceit, and draws conclusions to its own advantage, which individuals then adopt to themselves with complacency, because they confound and interweave their private and their national character," and that "the vanity of mankind has ever filled the immense vacuity beyond the authentic memorials of the origin of every nation with fabulous history." But he was no nationalist: for him national pride meant pride in liberty; patriotism, only a utilitarian gratitude for advantages assured by constitutional freedom. Patriotism could only mean, to quote his conclusion in Chapter 14, "the pride of the republican, a feeling of the advantages of liberty, equality, tranquillity and happiness, which raises him above the subject of a despot." Only in the second edition of his Essay did he add a chapter discussing the possibility of national pride in a monarchy.

More important for the early discussion of German patriotism was the pamphlet "Von dem deutschen Nationalgeist" (1765) by Friedrich Karl von Moser (1723-1798). He was one of the few "German" patriots of the century, feeling loyalty for the Empire as a whole. In Swabia, his homeland, the imperial tradition survived in the motley array of many small sovereign princes, estates, and cities. His father, Johann Jakob Moser (1701-1785), one of the most productive scholars in German constitutional law, had warmly defended the existing imperial constitution. He was an upright and courageous man and had dared to defy Duke Karl Eugen of Württemberg, one of the minor German despots of the time, who was famous as an extravagant patron of art, a merchant in soldiers, and founder of the Karlsschule which the young Friedrich Schiller attended for seven years. In a conflict between the Estates and the Duke in 1759 Moser took the side of the former,

and in spite of the Duke's threats, stuck to his opinion with words unheard of in the Germany of his time: "I am not a serf, but a freeborn German, and I will live and die as such," for which the Duke kept him without a trial for five years in painful imprisonment.

Many thoughtful Germans shared his appreciation of the existing imperial constitution. It prevented the development of a strong and coercive state in Germany, a fact as important for the growth of liberty and manifold individuality within, as for the preservation of European peace without. It was regarded as a safeguard against despotic uniformity and against the formation of a strong aggressive power in the center of the continent. Wieland in 1780 praised the imperial constitution because the Germans could find refuge from a despotic prince in a neighboring territory and could choose among the many states the one which was most conducive to the unhampered development of their individual faculties. Wieland was convinced that as long as the Germans preserved the existing order, "no great civilized people in the world will enjoy a higher degree of human and civic liberty and be more secure against political and ecclesiastical subjugation and serfdom than the Germans."⁸⁹ Johann Stephan Pütter, whose "*Historische Entwicklung der heutigen Staatsverfassung des Deutschen Reichs*" (1786) was the most authoritative treatise on German constitutional law of the period, warned "the peace-loving world against the pernicious hour of German unity" and ended his praise of the Holy Roman Empire with the fervent admonition: "Woe to the liberty of the continent, when the hundreds of thousands of German bayonets should ever obey one ruler!"⁹⁰ In the second half of the eighteenth century the Empire still seemed destined to continue for an indefinitely long period. The Germans did not pay much regard to it; they liked it for its peacefulness, and except for the ambitious plans of Prussia there was scarcely any animosity toward it. There was hostility to Prussia, for, to quote Treitschke, "this land of arms appeared to the Germans as an immense barracks. Only the resounding goose step of the giant Potsdam grenadiers, the harsh words of command of the officers, and the cries of distress of the deserters, chased through the streets, rose from the

oppressive silence of the vast prison and were heard in the Reich." ⁸⁴

These sentiments were shared by Friedrich Karl von Moser; as a patriot he hated Frederick for his destruction of German unity, as a humanitarian he hated him for his military despotism. "As an adversary of the *miles perpetuus* and of military rule, in which he saw the cause of many evil signs of his time, he declared himself openly against the Berlin system. He thought it advisable to imitate Prussia's civil administration, but impossible to imitate its military administration; and even if it should be possible, he thought it forever undesirable for the salvation of Germany." ⁸⁵ But his pleas for a German patriotism met with very little response; characteristic was Thomas Abbt's reply: "What kind of man does Herr von Moser demand? The German citizen? First he must point out the existence of a German interest in which all subjects of the different princes of Germany could participate according to common laws and obligations. When, however, there are Prussian and Austrian subjects, when their princes have different interests, then it is no longer the duty of the Prussian or Austrian subject to inquire what the German Reich requires of him: but only what he owes to his fatherland, that means to that land, the laws of which protect him and make him happy." ⁸⁶ Thus one of the very few writers of the time who took any interest in patriotism at all rejected uncompromisingly Moser's German patriotism.

8

Moser's patriotism was derived from many sources: ⁸⁷ the still lingering memory of ancient imperial greatness in Swabia, whose many diminutive territories regarded the emperor as a guarantor of their survival; the doctrine of the French philosophers, which claimed that good government is not only a duty of the prince but a right of the people; above all, the influence of near-by republican Switzerland, where in 1758 Franz Urs Balthasar of Lucerne had published a pamphlet "*Patriotische Träume eines Eidgenossen von einem Mittel, die veraltete Eidgenossenschaft wieder zu verjüngen*" (Patriotic Dreams of a Confederate on Means of Rejuvenating the

Antiquated Confederation). This pamphlet was distributed by Isaak Iselin (1728-1782) of Basle, the leading Swiss enlightened philosopher, who founded in 1760 the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*—a society for the study of Swiss history, the education of a patriotic youth, and the promotion of a feeling of unity in the Confederation—and was elected its president in 1764. His friend Moses Mendelssohn praised the society in the "Briefe, die Neueste Literatur betreffend," and brought Moser and Iselin together. Under this influence Moser wrote his pamphlet on the German national spirit.

He introduced it with what must have appeared to most readers as a startling challenge. "We are one people, of one name and language, under one common head, under one body of laws determining our constitution, rights, and duties, united to one great common purpose of liberty, joined together for this important purpose in a national assembly more than one hundred years old, in inner might and strength the first empire in Europe, the royal crowns of which shine resplendently on German heads; and yet we have been for centuries a puzzle in our political constitution, a spoil for our neighbors, an object of their ridicule, . . . insensitive to the honor of our name, indifferent to the dignity of our laws, jealous of our head, distrustful of one another. German men, in whose breasts the name 'Fatherland' still lives, is it too harsh, or is it untrue, if one must confess in the name of one's people: we do not know ourselves any longer, we are estranged from one another, our spirit has departed from us. . . . The indifference and coldness of one German province to another grows evermore. . . . We must again get acquainted with ourselves, again believe in one Fatherland, as we believe in one Christian Church." To that end Moser demanded a new education emphasizing knowledge of the imperial constitution and traditions.

In the pamphlet Moser for the first time used the word *Nationalgeist* (a translation of Montesquieu's *esprit de nation*) which later, as *Volksgeist*, played such a role in German nationalism. For Moser the national spirit was nothing all-pervading, it was more of a legal concept than a vital reality. Of the several published answers to Moser's pamphlet only one, by an anonymous author—

probably Johann Jacob Bülow, town clerk of Zerbst—interpreted the national spirit in a broader sense. "I imagine," he wrote in his "Noch etwas zum deutschen Nationalgeiste," "the national spirit is a peculiar quality, or the aggregate of all the peculiar qualities, by which a people differentiates itself from all others. These distinguishing qualities express themselves in all actions of all the members of the people, in general, and in the public actions undertaken by the people as people, in particular." Bülow stressed the uniqueness of each national character and demanded a comparative study of the different ways in which these characters manifest themselves, in war and peace, in commerce and scholarship, in religion and law, and the changes which they undergo in history. He found Moser's pamphlet lacking in an understanding of the national spirit. "Of the national spirit of the Germans he has said nothing in his book, nothing conclusive at all. If the title was to correspond to the contents, it should have been 'Of the Duty of Loyalty of the German Estates to Their Emperor.' For he deals with that above all, and apparently he identifies what others call patriotism with that alone."⁸⁸

Moser replied to Bülow in his "Patriotische Briefe," published in 1767 in Frankfurt am Main, where the coronation of Joseph II as Roman Emperor had kindled many hopes. Here Moser made it clear that his national spirit was a political idea, much more akin to the concepts of the West, of Montesquieu and Iselin, than to later German *Volksgeist*. "In every political constitution there must be one great, one general idea, the *punctum saliens*, which represents the vitalizing power of the national mind. If this idea gets hold of the mind of a whole people, if it becomes its conviction, its political creed, then it becomes its national spirit, the sum of the most noble and most important elements which leaven the general mentality of a people, without which nothing would remain but a *caput mortuum*." Such a national spirit, Moser thought, was needed in Germany. Patriotic teachers should teach German public law to the youth and thus restore the vitality of imperial tradition. "Though a cloud of prejudices hangs over us, be it far from me to regard as an impossibility what has become possible and real in other states by the combined courage and unity of wise, enlight-

ened, and impartial men; and oh, may this glorious day soon dawn in full splendor!" With these words Moser concluded his "Von dem deutschen Nationalgeist"; the example of the Helvetische Gesellschaft was undoubtedly before his eyes. But in the Germany of his time he did not find the men to follow his call.

Moser continued to work for his idea in many publications, among them his *Patriotisches Archiv* (1784-1790). But he had to recognize the failure of his efforts. Germany seemed as far away from liberty as from unity. Moser noted the growing despotism, for which he held Prussia and its insistence upon blind obedience responsible, and in which all his fair hopes withered. "The military spirit has spread from Berlin into all German lands and has taken hold of all minds and all governments wherever and as far as it could." In spite of Moser's efforts German patriotism did not spread. As far as there was any mention of patriotism at all, it was purely utilitarian, a sense of dutiful gratitude for benefits conferred, confined to the existing territorial state.

Such a patriotism had been suggested for Prussia by Abbt and for Austria by Joseph von Sonnenfels (1733-1817). The latter, the son of a Jewish scholar who had been converted to Christianity, was one of the leading enlightened statesmen and worked successfully for the abolition of torture, for the improvement of the penal procedure, and for the reform of the Viennese stage. He edited for some years a weekly called *Der Mann ohne Vorurteil* (The Man without Prejudice), and published in 1771 a little book "Ueber die Liebe des Vaterlands." There he complained that "our hearts remain cold at the name Fatherland. This is because one cannot be strongly touched by something which one hardly knows, or knows too little. . . . In our ears the name Fatherland is only an insignificant sound, to the Roman or the Greek it sounded like the name of a beloved." The young Goethe reviewed the book in the *Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen* in 1772 and objected even to the limited utilitarian sense of patriotism: "If we find a place in the world where we can rest with our property, a field to feed us, a house to shelter us: have we not there the Fatherland? And have not thousands and thousands this in every state? And do they not live happily in this limitation? Why now this fruitless longing for

a sentiment that we neither can have nor wish to have, which was and is only the result of a coincidence of many happy circumstances in certain peoples and at certain epochs? Patriotism like the Roman! God protect us from it as from a giant's statue! We could not find any chair to sit on, any bed to lie on." "As late as May, 1793, Wieland wrote in his "Neuer Teutscher Merkur" that for the last few years he had heard much about German patriotism, without understanding what a German patriot was, or his duties, or how they could be harmonized with the duties which he owed to "the other nations which descended from one common ancestor with us Germans and who therefore are our fellow men and brethren." In his youth, he continued, he had been told much of his duties to God, to his fellow men, to himself, and also to the established authority; but of the duty to be a German patriot so little had been said that he could not remember ever having heard the name "German" mentioned in an honorable way while the word *Deutschtum* (Germanism) had been completely unknown.

The German press showed a similar aloofness from any active concern with the political future of the nation. The first two German weeklies which could be called organs of public opinion appeared after 1720 in Zurich and Hamburg, cities with republican traditions, where the middle classes first found the courage to express their own morality and their own case. By the end of the century several important monthlies were published, like Moser's *Patriotisches Archiv*, the *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, and August Ludwig von Schlözer's *Staatsanzeigen*.⁶⁰ These periodicals did not claim the right to influence the princes or to doubt the wisdom of their governments. Only in Hanover, thanks to English influence, was the situation somewhat better. The University of Göttingen, the Georgia Augusta, founded in 1734 by George II, became Germany's leading university, especially in history and political science; as its professor, Schlözer enjoyed there a liberty unknown elsewhere in Germany. But even he was only allowed to criticize or satirize the small German princes—never Prussia, Austria, or his own government. Only once did he dare mild criticism of a Hanoverian government institution, the Post Office. Immediately he was warned not to commit such an act of arrogance again, and

he printed in his monthly a humble apology: "Thank God I have never been capable of the ridiculous presumption that my journal was entitled to judge or to enlighten government officers in their administration."

The limit set to the hopes of the German publicists was made clear in an article "A New Way to the Immortality of Princes" in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* of 1787. The author advised the princes to educate their peoples gradually towards self-government, and then to renounce voluntarily their power and to establish a republic. Thus a prince would bestow liberty and patriotism upon his people, win their hearts, and gain immortal glory. The article was not meant as a satire, but as a serious suggestion: the message of the political liberty and the patriotism of free peoples had reached Germany, but the people were so accustomed to accepting guidance and direction from above that the realization of human dignity and civil liberty seemed to be possible only by the grace of the prince or by order of the authorities. Most German intellectuals approved of and admired for other peoples, or in the realm of ideas, that which none wished or dared to visualize as a reality for Germany. Few had a deeper understanding of the moral significance and the political and human greatness of the French Revolution than Kant, and few remained so faithful to their original enthusiasm for it. Yet the same Kant demanded from every subject unconditional obedience to the Prussian king, assured him of his perfect devotion and loyalty, and refused to countenance even the demand for a limited monarchy. Thus Germany remained, like all other countries east of the Rhine, outside the great currents of political transformation which in Western Europe had laid the foundations for the growth of modern nationalism and of rational liberty.²¹

9

Under these conditions the political influence of the West remained ineffective. The example of America aroused much enthusiasm. Many Germans had emigrated there to escape military service or religious persecutions; many dreamt even of a German America. Some found their personal fortunes involved in the

American struggle for independence. Johann Kalb, of German peasant stock, who had served with the French army with great distinction as an officer, fought in America and died in 1780 of wounds received in the Battle of Camden. At his grave the Freemasons, to whom he had belonged, erected a monument calling him a "German by birth, but in principle a citizen of the world." Baron Frederick von Steuben, a former officer in the Prussian army, came to the United States at the end of 1777 as a military expert. He remained there and wrote to Germany of the new country as "the beautiful, the happy land, without kings, without priests, without exploiting tax collectors and without idle barons, . . . where everybody is happy and poverty an unknown evil."² Even its enemies learned from the American Revolution. August Neithardt von Gneisenau, an officer of the Margrave Alexander of Ansbach-Bayreuth, joined the British forces in North America in 1782 and gained there a new understanding of military methods, of the importance of nationalism in war, of the superiority of patriotic and educated troops. The North Americans did not fight in closed ranks as did the armies of the eighteenth century, conscripted from illiterate peasants and drilled in blind discipline; they fought as individuals, adapting their tactics to the terrain. Gneisenau was not one of the sons of liberty to whom the new vast continent beckoned; he returned to Germany and entered the services of the king of Prussia. Yet he did not forget the lessons of patriotic valor which he had learned in America; by their application he helped to transform the Prussian army after 1806. Thus, the only field in which the American example became effective in Germany was that of military efficiency.

Of the other and more important aspects of American liberty, German intellectuals could sing or write with enthusiasm. An anonymous university professor published in April, 1783, a poem "Die Freiheit Amerikas" in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift*:

Wer nie sich freute, freue sich deines Glucks!
 Wer nie gejauchzt hat, jauchze! Dein Beispiel ruft
 Laut den entferntesten Nationen:
 "Frei ist, wer's sein will und wert zu sein ist!"

.

Wo susse Gleichheit wohnet und Adelbrut,
 Europens Pest, die Sitte der Einfalt nicht
 Befleckt, verdienstlos bessern Menschen
 Trotzt und vom Schweisse des Landmanns schwelget.

Euch preist noch oft mein schüchternes Saitenspiel,
 Hellenen unsrer Tage! der Fabelzeit
 Erstandne Helden, kühn und bieder,
 Arm, aber frei; ohne Prunk, dock glücklich!

Was säum' ich?—Doch, die eiserne Fessel klirrt
 Und mahnt mich Armen, dass ich ein Deutscher bin.
 Euch seh' ich, holde Szenen, schwinden,
 Sinke zurück in den Schacht und weine.

What fiery declamation for liberty, what impatient denunciation of aristocracy, and yet what shameful, what purely literary and complacent confession of weakness!

Among the few German intellectuals critical of the American Revolution was Schlözer. He resolutely took England's side, not only because he lived in Hanover but because he had a keen understanding of German political realities. He saw in the limited monarchy after the English model the desirable goal for Germany. In the "uniquely fortunate Albion" the estates of the Middle Ages which elsewhere had withered away before the scorching power of absolutism, had retained their vitality. But Schlözer and his friends in Göttingen were almost the only ones to look to England; British influence, so very considerable in the literary field, was almost nonexistent in the political. Nor did Schlözer understand the element of nationalism which began to manifest itself in Western thought of the eighteenth century. For Schlözer it was not the people or the nation, it was the constitution which determined history or society. Like all representative German thinkers of the age, he never thought of himself as a German; and he never envisaged a common nationhood for Germany. Thinking as an old man of the troubled times experienced long ago in St. Petersburg, he exclaimed: "Germany! For the first time, perhaps

also for the last time, I envisaged under this name a unity, perhaps even a fatherland." To him patriotism was a purely utilitarian concept, centered in the state which he wished cautiously to reform so as to assure the happiness of the subjects.⁶³

Rousseau's influence upon a nascent German political and national feeling was stronger than that of the political conditions of England or America. Rousseau spoke through a medium which the German intellectuals could understand: literature. His influence was strongest in Switzerland, whence much of his own inspiration had come. Though Switzerland grew politically, and in its whole social structure, more and more unlike Germany, the literary ties between the German-speaking cantons and southern Germany became closer in the eighteenth century. The new appreciation of nature in German literature found its first expression in the poem "Die Alpen" of Albrecht von Haller, a famous physiologist and botanist from Bern. The critical writings of Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698-1783) prepared the new understanding of Milton and Homer in Germany. Zurich equaled Leipzig as a center of the movement to improve the literary taste, but Bodmer and his circles did not confine themselves to belles lettres and esthetics as Gottsched did in Germany: they sought to bring about a general reform of Swiss life and politics.

The Swiss Confederation had for centuries presented a unique phenomenon: rural democracies and prosperous cities, without princes or kings, had united to become a militarily and politically strong factor in Europe. But by the beginning of the eighteenth century the religious struggle between Catholic and Protestant cantons, the bitter jealousies, distrust, and even hatred among the sovereign cantons, and the introduction of several oligarchic regimes instead of the old democracies caused the decay of the country. A few cantons, especially the old rural ones like Uri, Schwyz, Obwalden and Nidwalden, Zug and Appenzell, had preserved their democratic institutions, the *Landsgemeinde*, a kind of town meeting where all the citizens assembled, discussed, and voted. Other cantons had introduced very exclusive, and in varying degrees oppressive, oligarchic systems. All cantons differentiated between the original sovereign inhabitants and the subject

lands and towns—acquired in the course of history by conquest or purchase—which were deprived of any share in the government. The Swiss Confederation of the eighteenth century resembled Germany in its lack of a common patriotism; each canton thought only of itself, the old democracy was gone, the former simplicity of life had disappeared; little remained of Rousseau's ideal picture but a rapidly waning recollection of a better or idealized past.

At the tercentenary celebration of the University of Basel, in April, 1760, Isaak Iselin discussed with Salomon Gessner and other guests from Zurich the foundation of a patriotic society, to rebuild the national foundations and to revive a common past through which "the Swiss living in egoistic isolation could regain the consciousness of their unity and thus an honored position before other countries." The Helvetische Gesellschaft held its first meeting in 1761 in Schinznach, a small resort in the Aargau.⁹⁴ Its aims were those of the enlightened patriotism of the period, to revive the historical traditions and to raise the moral level of Swiss life. Bodmer collected and edited in Zurich source books of the country's history, and when a special chair for patriotic history and politics was founded he was the first to occupy it. In 1764, in a lecture on the history of Zurich, he praised enthusiastically the innocence and beauty of primitive rural life, which he thought had begun to decline when, to protect themselves against the invasions of the Huns, people settled closely together behind urban walls. After painting the history of Zurich in Rousseauian colors, Bodmer demanded a return to the old simplicity, the abolition of the position of subject populations, the equalization of burghers and peasants as citizens, so that all would embrace their fatherland in a common love.

The Helvetisch-Vaterländische Gesellschaft in Zurich, before which Bodmer had delivered his lecture, became a center of Puritan patriots, disciples of Rousseau, and reformers of society. The best known among these young moralists were Johann Casper Lavater (1741-1801), Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), and Johann Heinrich Füssli, Bodmer's successor as professor of patriotic history and later editor of the first modern Zurich newspaper. On behalf of this group Lavater in 1765 edited a journal called *Der*

Erinnerer, eine moralische Zeitschrift; it soon aroused the ire of the ruling oligarchy, which cut its life short at less than two years. In 1767 Lavater published anonymously ("by a member of the Helvetische Gesellschaft in Schinznach") a collection of poems, "Schweizerlieder." They were quickly put to music and became in the shortest time folk songs. In them the poet addressed his countrymen: "O youth, open thine heart to the indescribably sweet delight of singing on a quiet morning or a golden eve for thy fatherland." They followed him in his patriotic fervor for Swiss unity, in his delight in the beauty of the landscape, in the call to simplicity of life and the heroism of ancestors who had fought for liberty.

O Schweiz, du Heldenvaterland!
 Sey nie mehr deiner Väter Schand,
 Und halt das neu geknüpft Band
 Der Einigkeit mit treuer Hand,
 Dann ist in dieser Welt kein Land
 Dir gleich, du Heldenvaterland.

The ruling oligarchies of Bern and Zurich disliked the new call to liberty. Rousseau was deeply suspected; a very few years before he had been obliged to leave his native town and had been ordered out of Bern, where he had sought refuge. Lavater's poems sharply criticized the existing order, they complained of the lack of patriotism and liberty, and they attacked the vested interests of privilege and luxury. The young generation not only called for reform, but confronted its fathers with the demand for a new brotherhood irrespective of existing sovereignties and class barriers. True, it sounded more dangerous than it was; most of the young men belonged to the governing class, and their reforming zeal remained poetry, for Bodmer's enthusiasm did not arouse them to practical action. Yet there were exceptions. Pestalozzi wrote years later of the impression which Bodmer's teaching and example produced on him: "It set my heart aglow. It could not be otherwise. It fused with all the dreams which lived in me, with my heart that was benevolent and longed to do good and to create good with an unquenchable fire. I saw the misery of the people. I saw the low

and self-seeking disposition which around me oppressed and rendered miserable all who wished to grow and could have become happy." In that spirit Pestalozzi, at the age of twenty-two, abandoned life in the city where he had been born and where he was going to college, bought a farm near Birr in the Aargau, called it "Neuhof," and began to gather neglected, delinquent children whom he wanted to reclaim through education. His application of Rousseauan principles failed financially in 1779, yet it set the pace for future reforms.

Bodmer's patriotic disciples tried also to win the women for the fatherland. In recalling the participation of the women of Zurich in the early struggles for liberty, Lavater appealed to the girls of his day to abandon luxury and to love the fatherland:

Hörts Mütter, Schweizermädchen hörts
Im seidenen Gewand;
Habt ihr, wie eure Mütter, Herz
Und Blut fürs Vaterland?

Young women should choose their future husbands for their patriotism, they should educate for Helvetia sons aglow with liberty and daughters loving the simplicity of virtue. These young Swiss patriots therefore recommended the education of women in order to familiarize them with the new political morality and with patriotic aspirations—the hopes of the century. Until then all higher education in Zurich had been left to the Church and to private concerns. Now all education was proclaimed the duty of the state, as Louis René de Caradeuc de la Chalotais had pointed out in his "Essai d'Éducation Nationale ou plan d'étude pour la Jeunesse," each nation had "an inalienable and imprescriptible right to educate its members." Such a reform was carried through in Zurich in the early seventies. Natural sciences, modern languages, and bookkeeping became part of the school curriculum, and instruction in civic ethics and patriotic history was introduced. The reform was motivated by the necessity of educating equally all children like brothers, because it was felt that the welfare of a free state rested upon the harmony and fraternity among all its citizens.

The new schools demanded new textbooks for all subjects and

all grades. The correct use of the mother tongue and patriotism were emphasized throughout. Fussli, who succeeded Bodmer in 1775 as professor of patriotic history, wrote a "Catechetische Anleitung zu den gesellschaftlichen Pflichten." It started with a discussion of happiness and ended with three characteristic questions and answers:

"What is the duty of every citizen regarding the protection of the fatherland? To sacrifice willingly and joyfully his property and life to it.

"What do we call the aggregate of all civic duties? The political virtue.

"What do we call the man who endeavors to practice political virtue with the greatest possible perfection? A true patriot."

Füssli wrote that a country is best protected when "every one one of its citizens has the conviction that it is better for him to lose his property and his life than to be deprived of the protection of the state in which he has found his happiness." He planned to write, together with Johannes Muller, a new history of the Swiss people from the sources. A publication called *Schweizer Museum*, founded in 1780, was spreading the knowledge of all worth-while matters regarding the fatherland.

Side by side with this antiquarian group under Rousseau's influence, another circle turned its attention to the natural sciences and, under the influence of the physiocrats, to the new political economy. This circle found its center in the *Ephemeriden der Menschheit* which Iselin published in Basle. His "Geschichte der Menschheit" (1768) became famous as a refutation of Rousseau's pessimism regarding civilization; his "Philosophisch-Patriotische Träume" (1755), dedicated to Bodmer, had proclaimed that "nature has endowed everyone with the same rights." The following year Gabriel Fr. Coyer, inspired by the example of antiquity, published his essays "Ueber das uralte Wort Vaterland" and "Ueber die Natur des Volkes"; he also coined the characteristic slogan "Et la Patrie et l'Humanité!" The philanthropic philosophy of the period did not remain confined to literature and discussion. The Lehr- und Arbeitsschule für die dürftige Staatjugend (Academic and Trade School for the Needy Youth of the State) was an

innovation in Central Europe, as was the Frauenzimmer-Lesegesellschaft [Female Reading Circle] auf Zimmerleuten founded in 1783 to cultivate the taste of women of the upper classes by political and civic lectures and discussion. This enlightened philosophy with its patriotic appeal to liberty and good government aroused the ever growing apprehension and hostility of the ruling oligarchies. In vain; a few years later the influence of the French Revolution was to sweep away the oligarchies with the remnants of the traditional sovereignties and to inaugurate the rebirth of a Swiss nationalism on a broader and a modern basis.

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Switzerland appeared to the German liberals in the same light ^{as} as North America did to the liberals in Western Europe, as a last refuge of innocence, happiness, and liberty, the realization of Rousseau's dreams. Schubart called it "the seed of sacred liberty and of republican courage." ^{as} Those who actually visited the Swiss cantons, like Johann Michael Afsprung, judged the situation with greater realism. He found in 1784 in the oligarchic cities much that reminded him of the lack of liberty in Germany, but his attendance at the Landsgemeinde of Appenzell filled him with enthusiasm for the country and its living democracy,

Wo herrlicher als selbst in Rom und Griechenland
Der Freiheit Majestät im reinsten Glanze thronet.

Under the inspiration of the Swiss example Schubart founded his *Deutsche Chronik* in 1774, dedicating it to his prophetic vision of Germany's mighty future, an astonishing vision if measured by the reality of contemporary Germany: "But don't lament, German men, the lions awake . . . they break forth, as the Cherusci broke forth out of the forest, and they tear out of the arms of the foreigners the lands taken away from us, and ours are again the fertile fields and vineyards. A German imperial throne will arise above them and will cast a terrible shadow over the provinces of its neighbors. Reader, do not think this vision a prophetic dream, it can come true. Already we are superior to all other

nations in numbers, measure, and weight. If we remain united . . . we shall soon be the first nation of the world." ^{or}

Schubart knew well the great difficulties facing an enterprise like his *Deutsche Chronik*. "It is surprising," he exclaimed in 1774, "with what liberty the editor of an evening paper now writes in England! He says things aloud which one hardly dares to think in Germany." And a year later he wrote: "I, a German, can't tell him anything new of my Fatherland. The secrets of state don't come to my notice, and the rest, which one is allowed to say and should say as a chronicler, is dull to the point of boredom" (*schläfrig bis zum Gähnen*). Nevertheless Schubart succeeded in publishing some material which quickly made him unpopular with the authorities. He had to transfer his journal from Augsburg to Ulm, and once in 1777 when he strayed outside the limits of this free city, he was apprehended by the police of the Duke of Württemberg and kept in prison without a trial for ten years. Liberated in 1787, he began to republish his journal, slightly changing its title to *Vaterlands-chronik*. He commented with pride on the great progress which Germany had accomplished during the decade, and he anticipated joyfully the "sunny days when free Germany, which is now already on its way, will be the focal point of all European force and the august Areopagus which will arbitrate the feuds of all people."

But in spite of his patriotism Schubart was above all an enlightened humanitarian. When the French National Assembly in August, 1789, abrogated the feudal institutions and provincial rights existing in Alsace from former German times, and Alsace became an integral part of the new revolutionary France, Schubart jubilantly exclaimed: "To become French is a greater benefaction than any German can understand who dreams of himself as a free man while the whip of the despot cracks behind him." At the beginning of 1790 he dropped the word "Fatherland" from the title of his journal, which henceforth was simply called *Chronik*. He regarded the invitation to participate in the festival of fraternity in Strasbourg in 1790 as the greatest honor of his life. Thus Schubart's patriotism was deeply tinged by cosmopolitan fervor; he put the main emphasis on civic liberty and human dignity.

At about the same time Weckherlin wrote: "The true question

is whether our situation will become better if we change our masters. . . . Our interest lies there where we find an improvement of our civic situation, where we find more equitable and enlightened laws, more moderate taxes, gentle officials, more tolerant clergymen, and lower tariffs and tolls."⁸⁸ The prose and poetical writings of the time were largely didactic; their purpose was to create better men and better citizens, and if the phrase "better Germans" was used at all the emphasis was on "better," not on "German." One of the Swabian patriots of the period, G. D. Hartman, spoke for the whole generation when he pointed out in his poem "An meine Freunde in Deutschland" that it was love of mankind and pride in human dignity which had made him write poetry.

Liebe zur Menschheit und Stolz auf menschliche Würde
Hat mich zum Dichter gemacht.

Patriotism meant love of, or striving for, good government, enlightened laws and regard for human dignity; the antonym of patriotism was despotism, the denial and rejection of the new philosophical ideas of the century. Fatherland was not the German nation; in a few rare cases it was the Holy Roman Empire, but in the large majority of cases it was the territorial state in which one happened to live. Some of these states, like Prussia, could be seen developing into something like a nation; but there were many diminutive territories, where the inhabitants sometimes expressed patriotic pride surpassing that felt by the subjects of larger states.⁸⁹

When in 1785 Joseph II of Austria wished to acquire Bavaria in exchange for the Austrian Netherlands—a plan clearly in the interest of strengthening the German imperial power, most German princes did not see it in that light. They were not interested in Germany, any more than their subjects were. They were only interested in the greatness and independence of their own territories. Frederick II of Prussia took the lead in forming a League of the German Princes—the Fürstenbund—to oppose the attempt. Frederick had fought Germany and the German princes in collaboration with the great non-German powers of Europe throughout his life. Now, one year before his death, he turned to the

German princes as allies against the Emperor. Many pamphlets and booklets were published during the conflict; most of them, taking the side of the princes, praised highly the existing constitution of the Empire and pretended to protect it against the Emperor. They even appealed to France, the guarantor of the Westphalian peace, and contended that it would be to France's interest to keep Austria and Germany weak with Bavaria as a counterbalance against Austrian influence in southern Germany. The Swiss historian Johannes von Müller (1752-1809), who was then in the service of the elector of Mainz, wrote in 1787 his "*Darstellung des Fürstenbundes*." As an advocate of Prussia and the princes against the Emperor, he appealed to Europe's conscience not to allow the formation of a strong Empire in the heart of Europe. Such an Empire would endanger the independence of all other countries and the liberties of the human race. In the interest of Europe, the balance of power in its heart land had to be preserved. Müller's opinions were then generally shared throughout Germany. Nobody wished a politically strong or united Germany, nor did Joseph II harbor any designs in that direction.¹⁰⁹

The excitement about the League of German Princes quickly died down. Joseph II had to abandon his plans, Frederick II died; and even to the very few who had hoped for some rejuvenation of the German body politic it soon became clear that the League did not care at all for Germany but only for the interest of the princes. A melancholy postscript to the whole episode was written in a remarkable pamphlet on Germany's expectations from the League of Princes, "*Erwartungen Deutschlands vom Fürstenbund*," which Müller published anonymously in 1788. Müller saw Germany with the clear perspective of an outsider. From his native land he brought a deep understanding of national traditions; at the same time, like all his contemporaries, he was under the spell of cosmopolitan ideals. In his checkered career as a publicist and statesman he followed both lines of thought; and they merged in him into a contradictory and yet meaningful expression of a transitory period. In a style of decisive clarity and passionate violence, then unknown in Germany, he demanded the abandonment of the status quo. Germans should march ahead to new insti-

tutions and "to a common patriotic spirit, so that finally we too may be entitled to say: We are one nation!"

A new and unfamiliar note rang in the words of the Swiss writer when, in a spirit of intellectual self-confidence, he advised the people not to look to their princes, but to the educated leaders of their nation. He called the German intellectuals to a new responsibility and to a new venture. "Whom God's spirit drives to speak publicly for the rights of mankind, he should sow the seed of rational freedom, without worrying whether he will see it through. Montesquieu has accomplished more than leagues of princes." *The great winds of history did not blow because princes and generals wished it: they sprang from the will of the nations and the words of their spokesmen. A new feeling of history began to kindle anew the embers of German imagination and will. Schubart understood better than Burke the implications of the coming revolution. He warned England in 1788 that the new spirit in France would not weaken the country in spite of some apparent chaos, for never is a nation more powerful than when liberty and patriotism animate it. When a year later the French Revolution broke out, Schubart greeted it enthusiastically: "Mankind has not become feeble or old when a people, whom we thought decaying in trivialities, gives such proof of courage and greatness."*¹⁰¹ A new confidence animated the German intellectuals. Under Rousseau's influence Afsprung had regarded democracy as suitable only for small Swiss cantons. "If there existed a nation of gods, it would govern itself democratically; but such a perfect form of government is not suitable for men." But now Afsprung wrote: "If such frail creatures as men are to be governed by mere men, then it can be done in fairness only democratically; it could be done aristocratically only if they were governed by angels, and monarchically if they were to be governed by God."¹⁰²

II

By the eighties of the eighteenth century Germany was changing rapidly. The spirit of the age found its expression in enlightened princes and in the flowering of literature, in the rising standard of

living of the middle classes, and in a spread of journals which created the beginning of a public opinion independent of the courts and churches. The new literature not only aroused a new pride and self-confidence, paralleled as it was by the spectacular development of German music under Gluck, Haydn and Mozart;¹⁰⁰ it also created an unifying element, though its influence was largely confined to Protestant Germany and to the small educated class. No contact yet existed between this new literature and the people, between the new thought and political life. German classical literature reached at the end of the century one of the highest peaks in the whole panorama of the human spirit; but it was a lonely peak, from which no roads led down to the plains where the people lived. The influence of the Enlightenment on political and social legislation, as in the Allgemeine Landrecht in Prussia,¹⁰¹ was much more due to the direct influence of Western thought than to the intermediary of German literature. German classical literature and philosophy never became representative of the German nation, and they failed to mirror the synthesis of its aspirations as did the classical literature of Athens or of seventeenth century France. "The peculiar feature about German classicism is that it is not, like the earlier classical movements in other literatures, 'the product of a nation and a generation which has consciously achieved a definite advance, moral, political, intellectual, and is filled with the belief that its view of life is more natural, human, universal and wise than that from which it has escaped.' It is only in a very limited measure the expression of 'a body of common sentiments and thoughts which the artist shares with his audience, thoughts and views which have for his generation the validity of universal truths.' Only a very small élite shared the view of life taken by the German classics."¹⁰²

German classicism, a late fruit of the rationalism and universalism of the Enlightenment, found much of its inspiration in the rediscovery of antiquity which went like a general thread through all manifestations of life in the later eighteenth century. The excavations in Herculaneum, begun in 1738, aroused the interest in ancient art. The French archaeologist, Count de Caylus, who had traveled in Italy and Greece, became in 1750 director of the

Academy of Paris; and in 1762 the Academy, which formerly had confined itself to biblical subjects, for the first time assigned a subject from classical antiquity for its annual prize competition. The new style, the character of which had been defined by the French painter Alphonse-Charles Dufresnoy as *majestas gravis et requies decora*, had definitely established itself. It lent the decorative background to the political transformations of the time, to the new patriotic morality, to the republican fervor and the new oratory. It found in Germany its most advanced expression in the field of art and theory. Winckelmann demanded the *imitatio veterum* as the only way to art and to beauty, preferring the study of ancient art to the study of nature itself, and characterizing Greek art as noble simplicity and quiet greatness.¹⁰⁰ The Greek classics were translated into German; the Swiss around Gessner and Bodmer led in the translation. This new humanism dimmed the light of French literature, which had been the guidepost until then, but it did not replace it with any national guidepost: the timeless or eternal human nature which had once found an almost perfect expression in ancient Greece remained the norm. Man could always find salvation from the passing troubles of the time, in the timeless humanity of eternal nature and Greek civilization. "See! Homer's sun smiles for us too."¹⁰¹ German classical literature was not concerned with the German nation, nor had it a German ideal. It was concerned with man, who had to form himself into a personality to realize himself in his individual humanity, the perfect personality being the universal man, "ein allgemeiner Mensch."

The first of the great German classical writers was Gorthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781). He represented a synthesis of the spirit of Enlightenment and of the new humanism. He was deeply influenced by the classical spirit and by his friendship with Winckelmann; he sojourned for some time in Italy, where he wished to settle. His criticism turned against the preponderance of French in German esthetics; he praised Shakespeare, though his own dramatic production followed more classical and rational rules. It brought new life to the German stage: in his tragedies and comedies he portrayed the life and aspirations of the middle classes. Through his work as a critic and creative writer he helped to lay

the cultural foundations for the future German nation; but this future development was neither foreseen nor willed by him. State and fatherland were to him abstractions which left him cold. He worked for the education of mankind on its road to an universal rational order. He accepted the fact of the German nation as a political entity determined by the constitution of the Empire; politically he was as little interested in it as in any of the German territorial states; as a cultural or spiritual concept, a German nation did not exist for him. In his "Hamburgische Dramaturgie" he smiled at "the kind idea of providing the Germans with a national theater, for we Germans are not yet a nation. I do not speak of the political constitution, but alone of the moral character. One should almost say, the German character seems to be the desire not to have a character."¹⁰⁸ In a letter to the Prussian poet Gleim, he pointed out that he had no understanding of what love of the Fatherland meant. It appeared to him at best to be a heroic weakness which he was glad to miss.¹⁰⁹ He did not wish to be praised by patriots, especially not by those who would wish him to forget that he should be a citizen of the world. And as a citizen of the world, as a man looking to the future of universal enlightenment, he wrote his last and most mature works. In 1779 he gave to the world his greatest stage play "Nathan der Weise," which was preceded in 1788 by "Ernst und Falk: Gespräche für Freimaurer," didactic dialogues on the importance and mission of Freemasonry, and was followed by his last publication, "Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts." "Nathan the Wise" was a great plea for humanity and tolerance, a homage to Lessing's close friend Moses Mendelssohn, and a testimony to the equality of all men and all creeds. Thirty-six years later Goethe praised the vitality of the play on the stage: "May the well known story, ably presented, remind the German public forever that it is not only being called to see but also to hear and to understand. May at the same time the divine sentiment of tolerance and mercy which is expressed in it remain sacred and dear to the nation."¹¹⁰

Of greater breadth, though of lesser depth, than Lessing's work was that of his younger contemporary Christoph Martin Wieland who, four years younger, outlived him by thirty-two years. He

came from a Protestant parsonage; the atmosphere of pietism and the influences of Klopstock, Rousseau, and the Swiss poets colored his earlier writings. But he soon changed. He was at home in the ancient classics as well as in the modern English and French writings, and he accomplished an important task in translating many of them into German. Thus he was the first to try to incorporate fully Shakespeare into German literature by translating twenty-two of his plays; the rather easy and frivolous style of his mature work was formed by the eighteenth century French writers, while his last years were given in large part to the translation of Greek and Latin philosophers and orators. He spent most of his later life in Weimar, where he had been called to tutor the young princes. There he founded in 1773 the *Teutscher Merkur*, one of the most important periodicals for the formation of German literary taste, and in 1796 the *Attisches Museum*, which he opened with a translation of the "Panegyricus" of Isocrates, and which was devoted to the task of familiarizing the German public with the thought, literature, and life of ancient Hellas.

All these influences—Rousseau, Greek classical thought, contemporary English and French literature—brought the idea of patriotism before Wieland's fertile and receptive mind, but it never caught his imagination. In 1766 he began to publish his famous "Geschichte des Agathons," the first German educational and psychological novel on the growth and formation of a human personality. His hero was the Athenian tragic poet Agathon, of whose work little is known, but whose memory rests secure by the famous banquet given in his house to celebrate his winning the tragedian's prize. But Wieland entirely disregarded the patriotic attitude of the Ancients when he made Agathon leave Athens, his fatherland—because in his opinion Athens sought more its own good than that of mankind—in search of "a better fatherland in any corner of the world, where virtue is allowed to dwell." In Tarentum he found the perfect realization of his political and civic ideal, which was identical with the humanitarian ideal.

Wieland, like his Agathon and like all great German classical writers, gave to the duties towards mankind and the moral law precedence over those towards the fatherland.¹¹¹ And looking

around in the Empire, where were the patriots to be found? "German patriots who love the whole German Empire as their fatherland, who love it above everything else, who are ready to bring considerable sacrifices not only for its preservation and protection against the common enemy, but also, when the danger is past, for its welfare, for the healing of its inflictions, and for the promotion of its prestige: where are they? . . . Thus let us not flatter ourselves too much with our alleged patriotism; perhaps it is with most educated men only the aggregate of all the impressions which the maxims and examples of patriotism, about which they read in their youth in the ancient authors, have made upon their then still impressionable minds." ¹¹²

In his "Patriotischer Beitrag zu Deutschlands höchstem Flor" (1780) he saw Germany as a collection of many different peoples and states, held together only by a common, though not yet generally accepted, literary language and the imperial constitution which caused the Germans "never to think and act as one people." But Wieland did not regret that fact; on the contrary, he welcomed it. He dreaded the rise of a united German nation with a central capital, playing an active role in Europe. He was convinced that such a development would destroy human liberty and intellectual life in Germany.¹¹³ All his hopes were directed towards more humanity, not towards a national goal. In his last years, when Napoleon's armies dominated Germany, he turned to translating and commenting upon Cicero's letters, of which he published five volumes before death interrupted the work of the octogenarian. In those years he questioned the possibility not only of German nationhood, but even of the survival of the German language. "How long will the bond of language hold us together? How probable is it that the language into which I am translating Cicero's letters will be a dead language in less than one hundred years or at least such a lamentable gibberish (*Kauderwelsch*), that no decent man will wish to speak or write it any longer!" ¹¹⁴

12

On no German thinker had Rousseau's influence been so decisive and lasting as on Kant. "Rousseau set me right. I learned to honor

man," he wrote.¹¹⁵ Both shared the fundamental respect for the dignity of the human individual, but Kant's ethics never knew any other horizon than the universal one of mankind. To treat man as an end and not merely as a means, to subject him to no other legislation than that to which he has concurred as an autonomous member of the general will, was Rousseauian; but beyond that Kant visualized mankind, a universal society of free individuals, as the goal of all human development. Man should always act on the principle of absolute reciprocity, principles applicable to every man, not to any particular nation, class, or caste.¹¹⁶ Rousseau had thought more in the concept of the political life of a national community, Kant thought exclusively in the concepts of a rational order for mankind. The principles of the French Revolution were enthusiastically welcomed by him.¹¹⁷ Friedrich Gentz rightly said that Kant's philosophy contained "the complete theory of the often praised and little understood rights of man which emerged from the quiet and modest reasoning of the German philosopher, without any noise, without any pomp, yet in the most perfect form."¹¹⁸ But Kant did not remain confined to the inalienable rights of man; his universalism led him to demand a world order under rational law, an association of constitutional republics guaranteeing the liberty of the citizen and the peace of the peoples.

Kant has sometimes been regarded as a Prussian in a deeper sense than that of a mere subject. Prussian emphasis upon duty and discipline and Kant's primacy of duty seemed to reveal a certain affinity between their ethical attitudes. In reality the similarity is purely superficial and is confined to one point; in their origin and essence the two attitudes were not only different but opposed. Prussianism centered in the state, for which Kant's philosophy showed hardly any understanding or love. Prussia was founded upon authority and subjection; Kant's philosophy, upon equality and autonomy. It was this fundamental and central position of freedom in his philosophy which attracted Schiller; Kant's influence brought him to maturity and fulfillment as the contact of classical antiquity in Italy did Goethe. "No greater word has ever been pronounced by a mortal man," Schiller wrote to his friend Körner on February 18, 1793, "than Kant's word, which is the es-

sence of his whole philosophy: determine yourself by yourself (*bestimme dich aus dir selbst*)!" On the autonomy of man a new world was to be built: the world of man's maturity, in which a universal order of rational law could enable every man to develop his capacities and his humanity to the fullest. The great winds of the century swelled the sails of the ship on which Kant's mankind traveled to its destiny. To him the Middle Ages appeared as an "incomprehensible aberration of the human mind." In December, 1784, Kant published in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* a brief article "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?" (Answer to the question: What is the Enlightenment?). "Enlightenment," he began, "is man's emergence from his immaturity, an immaturity for which he himself was responsible. Immaturity is the inability to use one's own intelligence without another's guidance. One bears the responsibility for this immaturity if its cause is not the lack of intelligence but the lack of resolution and courage, to use it without another's guidance. *Sapere aude!* Dare to use your own intelligence! That is the motto of the Enlightenment."¹¹⁰ In these opening sentences the meaning of all history for Kant was revealed. It consisted in the progress from subjugation to autonomy.

True, Kant's daring and his claim for autonomy were confined to the mind and private life; in public and political life he accepted the submission to authority so characteristic of Germany. He distinguished between the inner life and the actual social reality, between the person and his public function, not very different from the way in which Luther had distinguished *Person* and *Amt*, the inner individual and the office. When Kant's opinions in the field of religion brought him into conflict with the reactionary regime of Frederick William II, he submitted.¹²⁰ But in his ethical philosophy Kant was the unflinching proponent of human progress to liberty. In his *Reflections* he once wrote: "The rights of man are more important than order and quiet peace" (*Auf die Rechte der Menschen kommt mehr an als auf die Ordnung und Ruhe*).¹²¹ Nature for him had one ultimate goal: the greatest perfection and happiness of men, as far as they themselves can produce it.¹²² For men must work to establish the reign of morality on earth. It is a great prerogative of Western civilization to pursue the continu-

ous progress of mankind to perfection and to spread it all over the earth.¹²² Mankind is still young. "It is only in the last two hundred years that we have opened out communication with the *other continents beyond the seas*. America. Japan. The South Sea Islands. It is only in the last hundred years that we have the system of constitutional rule of one great country, England. As regards international law we are barbarians even now. We have no general educational system yet. A new age." In these words Kant's *Reflections* expressed his conviction that his century saw the beginning of a new period of mankind: for the first time the whole earth had been discovered and opened up; for the first time the foundations of progressive constitutional rule of a commonwealth had been laid and England was leading mankind, Western civilization first, the other continents later, on the road of liberty; yet, as regards international law, still no definite first step had been taken and no system for the education of humanity had been developed.¹²⁴ Kant was above all concerned about the establishment of a universal world order based on law. For, as he said in another *Reflection*, "there is still something barbarian about our states, for they do not wish to submit to the restraint of law as far as their neighbors are concerned."¹²⁵ The only real contribution which a nation can make to human history, Kant felt, is to help the progress towards the universal order of liberty and law; he regarded the revolutions in Switzerland, the Netherlands, and England as the most important events in modern history, because they blazed the trail for liberty.¹²⁶

While many former friends of the Revolution turned away, while the reaction, in the name of a new mysticism, began its fight against liberty, equality, and reason, the septuagenarian wrote in his "*Der Streit der Fakultäten*": "The revolution of a civilized people, which we have witnessed in our day, may succeed or it may fail; it may be filled with misery and horrors to such a degree that a right-thinking man would not decide, if he could hope to make it succeed at a later time, to make the experiment at such tremendous costs—nevertheless, such a revolution, I say, arouses in the minds of all spectators (who are not involved themselves) a desire to participate, one which almost verges on enthusiasm, and which as its expression was dangerous, could therefore have no other cause

than a moral faculty in mankind." Even should the revolution fail, its moral value would not have been in vain. "For such an event is too great, too closely interwoven with the interests of mankind, and in its influence too widely spread to all parts of the globe to be easily forgotten by the peoples, if favorable circumstances should make new experiments of this kind possible." Kant clearly foresaw that the French Revolution would not remain confined to any one people or to any one continent: its effects were bound to spread to all the peoples on earth, who would participate in them sooner or later.¹²⁷

Long before German Romanticism started its war against the principles of the French Revolution, Kant warned: "Friends of humankind and of everything that is most sacred to it! Accept what appears to you most credible after a careful and sincere examination, be it facts, be it rational causes; only do not deny to reason that which makes it the highest value on earth, the right to be the ultimate touchstone of truth! Otherwise you will become unworthy of liberty and you will certainly lose it, and even more you will inflict this misfortune also on the innocent part of mankind who otherwise would have wished to use their liberty according to law and thus also for the good of the whole world."¹²⁸ Kant clearly realized that the forthcoming attacks against reason were attacks against human liberty, and ultimately against human dignity and against the belief in human progress.

This belief in human progress has found two of its lasting philosophical expressions in Kant's essays on the "Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht" and "Zum ewigen Frieden." The "Idee," which appeared in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* of November, 1784, was the first of Kant's writings to be read by Schiller; and it influenced him decisively.¹²⁹ "Das grösste Problem für die Menschengattung, zu dessen Auflösung die Natur ihn zwingt, ist die Erreichung einer allgemein das Recht verwaltenden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft." The greatest problem for mankind is the establishment of a cosmopolitan order of universal law, a problem of utmost difficulty, as Kant concedes, but one which man is forced to solve because otherwise the mounting chaos of wars will destroy him.¹³⁰ Kant did not regard the universal order

of peace and liberty as a Utopia; he was convinced that human development would by necessity lead to it. He saw it as a rational fulfillment of the ethical faculties of man. In his essay "On Eternal Peace" (1795) he drew up a list of conditions necessary for the establishment and maintenance of peace by the enforcement of law. For that purpose all states must be organized on the principle of liberty and equality of all their citizens, which Kant called "inalienable and innate rights, belonging necessarily to mankind" (*diese angeborenen, zur Menschheit notwendig gehörenden und unveräusserlichen Rechte*).¹²¹ Kant saw clearly that peace could be maintained only by law and justice, and that injustice anywhere makes itself felt everywhere.¹²² He would have preferred the establishment of a world republic to a federation,¹²³ but he did not believe that practical at the time; he foresaw the danger of a peace imposed by world conquest and world despotism;¹²⁴ he was entirely convinced that an eternal peace would come because mankind would be forced into it by morality as well as by necessity.

"For the fact that something has not yet succeeded, is not proof that it will never succeed; nor would such an argument even justify the abandonment of any practical or technical efforts, such as, for example, the attempts to make pleasure excursions in aerostatic balloons. And still less would such conditions justify the abandonment of a moral purpose which, as such, becomes a duty if its realization is not demonstrated to be impossible. Besides all this, many proofs can be given that the human race as a whole, is actually further advanced in our age towards what is morally better than it ever was before, and is even considerably so when its present condition is compared with what it has been in all former ages, notwithstanding temporary impediments, which, being transitory, can prove nothing against the general position. And hence the cry about the continually increasing degeneracy of the race, just arises from the fact, that as it stands on a higher stage of morality, it sees so much the further before it; and thus its judgment on what men are in comparison with what they ought to be, becomes—as in our own self-examination—the more severe the more the stages of morality which mankind have already surmounted in the whole course of the world's history as it is now known to us. . . . Uni-

versal violence and the evils arising from it, at last force a people of necessity to resolve to subject themselves to the constraint of public Law, which is the very means that reason itself prescribes: and thus to form and enter into a civil or political Constitution. And, in like manner, the evils arising from constant wars by which the States seek to reduce or subdue each other, bring them at last, even against their will, also to enter into a universal or cosmo-political constitution. Or, should such a condition of universal peace—as has often been the case with overgrown States—be even more dangerous to liberty on another side than war, by introducing the most terrible despotism, then the evils from which deliverance is sought will compel the introduction of a condition among the nations which does not assume the form of a universal Commonwealth or Empire under one Sovereign but of a FEDERATION regulated by law, according to the Right of Nations as concerted in common.”¹⁸⁵

The realization of such a federation under a common law of nations presupposed the existence of separate peoples. Kant neither denied their existence nor foresaw their extinction in the near future; but within his system he did not place any importance upon them: neither morally nor politically had the nation an essential place in it. In writing his Reflection about “the demand of fools in Germany for national pride,”¹⁸⁶ Kant reacted possibly to a lecture by O. K. R. Teller on patriotism which was published in November, 1793, in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift*.¹⁸⁷ Teller did not think patriotism and cosmopolitanism mutually exclusive, but in view of the events in France he wished to inspire Germans with national pride. Kant was very far from any inclination to desire German national pride.¹⁸⁸ He praised the Germans for their lack of national pride, for their readiness to recognize the merits of other peoples rather than their own. Germany appeared to him as the country of cosmopolitans (*das Land der Weltbürger*);¹⁸⁹ the Germans, as the people “to gather the good of all nations and to harmonize it, and to accept all of them equally willingly.” He regarded Germany as a federation of nations which could become the nucleus of a general federation, and agreed with Rousseau in the praise of the peace treaties of 1648 as the basis of this desirable situation.

Like Goethe and Schiller, Kant believed that among the Germans character resided in the individual, not in the nation. "If everybody in the nation has his own character, the nation has none. If no one has character, the nation has one."¹⁴⁰ Kant only very rarely showed an interest in nationality. In 1800 he wrote a postscript to a Lithuanian-German dictionary compiled by Chr. G. Mielcke, pleading for the rights of national minorities.¹⁴¹ The preservation of small and ancient nationalities appealed to him not only for reasons of scholarship, but because he felt that a state would profit from minorities which faithfully preserved their national character and traditions, and because the educational enlightenment of national and linguistic minorities could much better be accomplished in their own mother tongues. As a result, he also pleaded for the cultivation of the Polish language in the newly acquired eastern provinces of Prussia. In spite of these occasional references to nationality, however, the whole trend of Kantian thought stressed the universal much more than the particular or parochial. This became clear in Kant's critical and rather negative review of Herder's "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit" in the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*. He had no understanding of the new type of historical interpretation represented by Herder. For Herder, the central category was the eternal "becoming" with its individual differences; for Kant, it was the universal applicability of what ought to be. Thus Kant, at the threshold of the German romantic counterrevolution, invested the principles of a rational universal order with a form of finality, never surpassed in German. He spoke above all as a moralist, while his disciple, Schiller (1759-1805), invested Kant's message with the wealth and beauty of poetical vision.

13

In youth Schiller shared the revolt of the Storm and Stress against the rigid fetters of the feudal society of his time, demanding individual liberty, not in constitutional forms, but as a protest against social conventions and as an assertion of human dignity. Pressure at home was so great, however, that as a young man of

twenty-four he made many plans for leaving Germany. On November 6, 1782, he wrote to Dr. von Jacobi that he thought of going to St. Petersburg. "Until now I have been only a refugee. Within three to four weeks I hope to be a free citizen of the world."¹⁴² Several months later he wrote to Henriette von Wolzogen of his plans to go to England and from there to the New World. "If North America will become free I shall certainly go there."¹⁴³ He did not go abroad, however; he found the realm of liberty not in any political society but in the philosophical hopes of his century. In 1785 he wrote his poem "An die Freude," a message of the promise of brotherhood for mankind—later immortalized by Beethoven in the Ninth Symphony.

Two years later he went to Weimar. There, classical antiquity took its place alongside Rousseau and the humanitarian liberalism of the eighteenth century as a controlling influence in his life, and in "Die Götter Griechenlands" he paid homage to the eternal Greek models of all beauty and life; and a year later, in the year of the French Revolution, his poem "Die Künstler" fused the message of the past and the message of the century. Beginning with a paean to the eighteenth century, he wrote:

Wie schön, o Mensch, mit deinem Palmenzweige
 stehst du an des Jahrhunderts Neige,
 in edler stolzer Männlichkeit,
 mit aufgeschlossnem Sinn, mit Geistesfülle,
 voll milden Ernsts, in tatenreicher Stille,
 der reifste Sohn der Zeit,
 frei durch Vernunft, stark durch Gesetze,
 durch Sanftmut gross und reich durch Schätze,
 die lange Zeit dein Busen dir verschwieg,
 Herr der Natur, die deine Fesseln lieber,
 die deine Kraft in tausend Kämpfen übet
 und prangend unter dir aus der Verwild'ung stieg!

culminating in the great words:

Der Menschheit Würde ist in eure Hand gegeben—
 bewahret sie!¹⁴⁴

The ancient world always remained for him the eternal esthetic inspiration. In his "Tabulae Votivae" in the *Musen-Almanach für 1797*, he dedicated one votive table to German art, exhorting it to borrow its light from Rome and Athens:

Muss der Künstler nicht selbst den Schössling von aussen sich
holen?

Nicht aus Rom und Athen borgen die Sonne, die Luft?

The German language, he felt, was deeply indebted to so-called "dead languages," which lived on in the German of his day:

Tote Sprachen nennt ihr die Sprache des Flakkus und Pindar,
Und von beiden nur kommt, was in der unsrigen lebt!

In the center of Schiller's intellectual world, as in that of Kant, stood the dignity of the individual, and the oneness of mankind. State and political life meant little to him. "The greatest state is only human work," he wrote on November 27, 1788, to Caroline von Beulwitz; "man is the work of the inattainable great Nature. The state is a creature of accident, but man is a being of necessity, and what else makes a state great and venerable than the forces of its individuals? The state is only a result of human forces, only a work of our thoughts, but man is the source of the force itself and the creator of the thought."¹⁴⁵ Kantian thought permeated all Schiller's later writings. "The first law of decency," he wrote, "is to preserve the liberty of others; the second, to show one's own freedom."¹⁴⁶ Rousseau and Kant, the French Revolution and the eighteenth century, found their poetical exaltation in "Die Worte des Glaubens"—the three words "liberty," "virtue," and "God," without faith in which man loses all value. In 1797, when Schiller wrote the poem, his challenging words sounded like a sharp rebuke to all the detractors of the French Revolution:

. Der Mensch ist frei geschaffen, ist frei,
und würd' er in Ketten geboren,
lasst euch nicht irren des Pöbels Geschrei,
nicht den Missbrauch rasender Toren;
vor dem Sklaven, wenn er die Kette bricht,
vor dem freien Menschen erzittert nicht.¹⁴⁷

In "Don Carlos" Schiller spoke to his compatriots "as the deputy of all mankind" through the mouth of Posa. Posa's heart beat

For all mankind; his passion was
The world and future generations.

He did not wish to create Utopias, virtuous republics like Sparta or Rome, but to realize the ideal of the Enlightenment. "Alles was in der Zeit vor der französischen Revolution an liberalen and humanitären, an toleranten and kosmopolitischen Ideen aufgespeichert lag, ist hier von der Bühne herab laut geworden durch den Mund Posas, welcher der Sprecher seines Jahrhunderts ist. Nie haben die Schlagworte von Weltbürgertum, von der allgemeinen Menschenliebe, von der Gedankenfreiheit und der Glaubensfreiheit einen beredteren und mächtigeren Ausdruck gefunden!"¹⁴⁹ In Marquis Posa's appeal to the King, liberal Germany heard its own voice and its own hope. "One received the speech and its writer with acclamations of joy," wrote Professor Minor, "and one will receive them similarly whenever and wherever he raises his voice."¹⁵⁰ What Posa demanded, as the spokesman of his time, was nothing concrete except liberty of thought; otherwise he confined himself to generalities on the sacred rights of mankind, on cosmopolitan humanitarianism, and on the happiness of free subjects. He did not speak as a patriot, he always felt himself a citizen of the world; he did not hesitate in the drama to inveigle half of Europe and even the Turks against his Spanish fatherland.¹⁵⁰ His speech has remained to this day the great classical document of German liberalism.

In the famous scene between the Marquis and the King, the latter points to the happiness of Spain under his rule, which, in many ways, set a precedent for modern totalitarian oppression:

Behold my Spain, see here the burgher's good
Blooms in eternal and unclouded peace.
A peace like this will I bestow on Flanders.

To which the Marquis retorts:

The churchyard's peace! And do you hope to end
What you have now begun? Say, do you hope

To check the ripening change of Christendom,
 The universal spring, that shall renew
 The earth's fair form? Would you alone, in Europe,
 Fling yourself down before the rapid wheel
 Of destiny—which rolls its ceaseless course—
 And seize its spokes with human arm? Vain thought!
 Already thousands have your kingdom fled,
 In joyful poverty: the honest burgher
 For his faith exiled, was your noblest subject!
 See, with a mother's arms, Elizabeth
 Welcomes the fugitives, and Britain blooms
 In rich luxuriance, from our country's arts.
 Bereft of the new Christian's industry,
 Grenada lies forsaken, and all Europe,
 Exulting, sees its foe oppress'd with wounds
 By its own hands inflicted! You would plant
 For all eternity—and yet the seeds
 You sow around you are the seeds of death!
 This hopeless task, with nature's laws at strife,
 Will ne'er survive the spirit of its founder.
 You labour for ingratitude:—in vain,
 With nature you engage in desperate struggle—
 In vain you waste your high and royal life
 In projects of destruction. Man is greater
 Than you esteem him. He will burst the chains
 Of a long slumber, and reclaim once more
 His just and hallow'd rights. With Nero's name,
 And fell Busiris', will he couple yours.

Restore us all you have deprived us of,
 And, generous as strong, let happiness
 Flow from your horn of plenty—let man's mind
 Ripen in your vast empire—give us back
 All you have taken from us . . .

. . . One pen-stroke now,

One motion of your hand, can new create
The earth!—but grant us liberty of thought.¹⁵¹

In his "History of the Revolt of the United Netherlands" Schiller reverted once more to the struggle of liberty against despotism. He saw in Philip II "the most powerful sovereign, whose dreaded superiority menaced the independence of Europe, whose treasures surpassed the collective wealth of all the monarchs of Christendom, whose ambitious projects were backed by numerous and well disciplined armies, whose troops, hardened by long and bloody wars and the recollection of their own past victories, and confident in the irresistible powers of the nation, were eager for any enterprise that promised glory and spoil, and to second with prompt and ready obedience, the daring genius of their leaders." And yet a peaceful people, not heroic by nature but strong in their love of liberty and their union, rose up against him and won. Schiller depicted them as a "moral, commercial people," forming a democracy and plutocracy fertilized by the new rational truths dawning upon Europe, and thriving by industry and living in abundance; yet when threatened by the most powerful monarch of the time they dared appeal to the rights of nature and were willing to die for liberty.¹⁵² The Marquis of Posa had spoken as the representative of the eighteenth century. To the further praise of that century Schiller devoted his inaugural address, as professor of history at the University of Jena: "What Does Universal History Mean, and for What Purpose Do We Study It?" He pointed out that an age of liberty and progress had opened before man. "All thinking minds are now united by a cosmopolitan bond of friendship, and all the light of the age may now illuminate the mind of a modern Galileo or Erasmus." And for this new age the Germans seemed better prepared than others, because they lived under a constitution which allowed freedom, and which, different from the Roman Empire, did not make possible any plans of conquest or of dominion.¹⁵³

Though Schiller had begun as a reformer, as a *Weltverbesserer*, with the whole enthusiasm of revolutionary youth, personal worries later forced him into the service of princes, into an acceptance

of the existing order and into disgust with conditions which he felt unable to change. So he turned, as so many Germans did, from politics to the realm of ideas, to antiquity, and to the idyllic character of Rousseauan nature. His philosophical principles did not change—he remained faithful to humanity; but he renounced their realization in the immediate future. He had no doubt that the principles of the French Revolution were the only right ones, the eternal foundations of human life. "If it had been true that the extraordinary had really happened," he wrote in 1793 to the Duke of Augustenburg, "that political legislation had been given over to reason, man respected and treated as an end in himself, law enthroned and true liberty made the foundation of the edifice of the state, then I would have bid farewell forever to the Muses to devote all my activities to the most beautiful of all works of art, the monarchy of reason. But I doubt this fact." Schiller felt this realm of reason and liberty could be prepared only by education. He regarded art as the great means of education; but sometimes his means threatened to become an end, and he took refuge from the storms of the time in the ivory tower of classical art.

In 1795 he formulated what was to be the program of the last decade of his life: "We wish to be and to remain in body citizens of our time, because it is impossible to be otherwise; but in spirit it is the privilege and the duty of the philosopher and of the poet to belong to no people and to no time, but to be truly the contemporary of all times."¹⁸⁴ Throughout his life, to repeat his words in the Announcement of the "Rheinische Thalia" (1784) he wrote as a "citizen of the world who serves no prince"; and instead of "prince" he could have said as well "state" or "nation."¹⁸⁵ National motives interested him slightly as poetical themes, and in his lecture on "The Stage Considered As a Moral Institution" he said: "I cannot overlook the great influence which a standing theatre would exercise upon the spirit of the nation. I understand by national spirit the similarity and agreement of the opinions and inclinations of a people in matters concerning which other nations think and feel differently. It is only possible for the stage to effect this agreement in a high degree, because it appropriates the whole domain of human knowledge, exhausts all the situations of life, and sheds

light into all the corners of the human heart; because it unites all classes and conditions, and possesses the most popular avenues to the heart and understanding. . . . What is it that chained the different states of Greece so firmly to each other? What is it that drew the people so irresistibly to the stage? Nothing but the patriotic themes of their plays; it was the Grecian spirit, the great and overpowering interest of the republic and of a better humanity, which pervaded them."¹⁵⁶

National themes might sometimes have attracted him, but he never paid any special attention to them. Though the content of his thought was universal, the form, as he well understood, was German, determined by the language he used—a point of view not fundamentally different from the attitude of the Soviet Union to nationality problems. "Kein Schriftsteller," he wrote to Körner, "so sehr er auch an Gesinnung Weltbürger seyn mag, wird in der Vorstellungsart seinem Vaterland entfliehen. Wäre es auch nur die Sprache, was ihn stempelt, so wäre diese allein genug, ihn in eine gewisse Form einzuschränken und seinem Produkt eine nationale Eigenthümlichkeit zu geben." But he could not think of a national subject for his own work. He rejected the idea of writing about Frederick II: "I cannot feel any sympathy for this character, he does not inspire me enough to undertake the tremendous task of idealizing him." What concerned him in all themes was their humanity, their human interest, the progress of mankind represented by them, to whatever century or nation they might belong.¹⁵⁷ If he had any objection to the Greeks and the Romans, it was to their patriotism; and he praised the modern age because it was devoid of this. Patriotic interests, he wrote to Körner on October 13, 1789, "are important only for immature nations, for the youth of the world. It is a poor and trifling ideal to write for one nation; such a limitation is totally unbearable for a philosophical mind. It cannot find satisfaction in such a changing, accidental, and arbitrary form of mankind, a mere fragment (and what else is even the most important nation?). It can have no warm feelings for it except in so far as a nation or a national event appears important for the progress of mankind."¹⁵⁸

Two of Schiller's latest plays are sometimes quoted as proof of

some patriotic interest—"Die Jungfrau von Orleans" and "Wilhelm Tell." In reality, Schiller chose neither theme out of patriotic interest. He was certainly not thinking of the Germans when he idealized the Maid of Orleans and Wilhelm Tell, for the human stand these simple Rousseauan characters took against oppression and power. Nothing is more characteristic than the Maid's complaint:

Kümmert mich das Los der Schlachten,
 Mich der Zwist der Könige?
 Schuldlos trieb ich meine Lämmer
 Auf des stillen Berges Höh.
 Doch du rissest mich ins Leben,
 In den stolzen Fürstensaal,
 Mich der Schuld dahinzugeben,
 Ach, es war nicht meine Wahl.

And the meaning of "Wilhelm Tell" was expressed beyond any possible doubt by Schiller himself when he sent the play to Karl Theodor von Dalberg, the arch-chancellor of the dying German Reich, accompanied by one of his very last poems in which he summed up not only the meaning of the play, but his whole philosophy, with its glorification of idyllic peace, its respect for the dignity of man, and its praise for modesty and moderation in victory.

In that fell strife, when force with force engages,
 And wrath stirs bloodshed—wrath with blindfold eyes—
 When, 'midst the war which raving faction wages,
 Lost in the roar—the voice of Justice dies,
 When but for license, sin, the shameless, rages,
 Against the holy, when the willful rise,
 When lost the anchor which makes nations strong
 Amidst the storm,—there is no theme for song.

But when a race, tending by vale and hill
 Free flocks, contented with its rude domain—
 Burst the hard bondage with its own great will,
 Lets fall the sword when once it rends the chain,

And, flushed with victory, can be human still—

There blessed the strife, and then inspired the strain.

Such is my theme—to thee not strange, 'tis true,

Thou in the great canst never find the new! ¹⁸⁹

Schiller's sharp and uncompromising rejection of Spartan Prussianism and of all totalitarian philosophy of state was well expressed in a lecture, "Die Gesetzgebung des Lykurgus und Solon," in which he contrasted Sparta and Athens, military authoritarianism and peace-loving democracy. "Viewed from its own purpose, the legislation of Lycurgus is excellent and proves his knowledge of politics and of the human soul. He wished to establish a powerful, self-sustaining, indestructible state; political power and durability were his aim, and he accomplished it as far as circumstances permitted. But if the aim of Lycurgus is viewed against the purpose of mankind, then an emphatic condemnation must replace the admiration which a first hasty glance has won from us. Everything may be sacrificed to the interests of the state except that for which the state itself serves only as a means. The state itself is never the end. It is important only as a condition for the realization of the end of mankind, and that end is none other than the development of all the powers of man, progress. If a constitution impedes the development of all the forces in man, if it impedes the progress of the mind, then it is condemnable and dangerous, even if it be ever so ingenious and perfect in its own way. In such a case its durability becomes a reproach rather than a glory, it is only the prolongation of an evil; the longer it continues, the more dangerous it becomes." Schiller bitterly condemned Spartan education. "A single virtue was practised in Sparta at the expense of all others: patriotism. To this artificial sentiment the most natural and beautiful sentiments of mankind were sacrificed. Political virtue was gained and the ability for it was formed at the expense of all moral sentiments. Sparta knew nothing of true conjugal love, maternal affection, filial piety, friendship—it knew only citizens and civic virtue. For a long time that Spartan mother was admired who indignantly sent back her son who had returned from battle and who then hurried to the temple to thank the gods for the other one who had died on the

battle field. It was wrong to congratulate mankind for such an unnatural strength of mind. A tender mother is a much more beautiful thing in the world than a heroic being who denies her natural sentiment in order to gratify an artificial duty."

Schiller's main objection to Sparta was that there the common sentiment of humanity was extirpated and respect for the dignity of man was irretrievably lost. In Sparta men were considered as means, not as an end—a perversion that destroyed the foundation of natural law and ethics. Lycurgus not only founded his state upon the legalized ruin of morality, but undermined the highest destiny of mankind by arresting the development of the minds of the Spartans. "All sciences were neglected in Sparta, . . . everything alien was excluded, thus all channels through which a nation receives enlightenment, were closed; the Spartan state was to revolve eternally only around itself, in a perpetual monotony, in a gloomy egotism." With this fascist-military prototype Schiller contrasted the democracy of Athens: "It was good and beautiful on the part of Solon that he had a deep respect for human nature, and that he never sacrificed the individual to the state, the end to the means, but made the state subservient to man. His laws were loose ties along which the minds of the citizens could move freely and easily in all directions and never feel that the laws directed them; the laws of Lycurgus were iron fetters, which by their oppressive weight dragged down the spirit." In his conclusion Schiller condemned Sparta in characteristic words: "Sparta konnte nur Herrscher und Krieger—keine Künstler, keine Dichter, keine Denker, keine Weltbürger erzeugen." Sparta could produce only rulers and warriors, masters and heroes, and for them there was no place in Schiller's scale of values; she could not produce artists, poets, thinkers, citizens of the world, in whom he saw the end of human development.¹⁰⁰

Among Schiller's papers an interesting fragment has been found—the first sketch of an unnamed poem, for which its first editor suggested the title "German Greatness." It was probably written in the spring of 1801, when the Empire broke down under the weight of defeat. Schiller was easily comforted for the loss of political power or greatness; he felt that the mission and greatness of

Germany consisted in spiritual universalism. The very disaster in the field of power and politics guaranteed the possibility of Germany's true greatness: the German day would dawn with the final triumph of ethics and reason. "The German's greatness lies not in winning by the sword: he finds it worth his zeal to defeat prejudices, to liberate the mind, to gain the freedom of reason."

Höbern Sieg hat der errungen,
 Der der Wahrheit Blitz geschwungen,
 Der die Geister selbst befreit,
 Freiheit der Vernunft erfechten
 Heisst für alle Völker rechten,
 Gilt für alle ew'ge Zeit.

The Germans are the universal people, who have "to fulfill in themselves universal mankind and to unite in a wreath the most beautiful flowers of all peoples." Schiller's thoughts on Germany did not occupy much of his mind: the poem never advanced beyond the first stages of a sketchy draft. When he thought of Germany at all, he thought of her as the realization of the concept of universal humanity.¹⁰¹ His and Goethe's concept of the German mission was best expressed in the famous distich on the German national character:¹⁰²

Zur Nation euch zu bilden, ihr hoffet es, Deutsche, vergebens;
 Bilder, ihr könnt es, dafür freier zu Menschen euch aus.
 (Vainly you hope, O Germans, to form yourselves a nation;
 Form yourselves free men, as well you can, instead.)

14

Like Schiller, Goethe (1749-1832) felt no regret at the impossibility of German nationhood; as a young man reviewing Sonnenfels's writings on patriotism, he prayed that the Germans might be saved from that sentiment, and he never changed in his rejection of nationalism. Yet in the sixty years between this review and his death, he witnessed the rise of German nationalism, the enthusiasm sweeping the youth of the country in the Wars of Liberation, and

the endless discussions about national spirit and the German mission which occupied the educated classes after 1806. In a conversation in 1812 with the historian Luden he discussed Bernhard von Weimar, the famous general who had first served the Swedes and then the French. Goethe rightly pointed out that "the ideas of fatherland and nationality were unknown to the age and remained unknown to later ages, as they probably were previously only very rarely effective. Therefore, nobody can be reproached for not having acted patriotically or nationalistically." But even when as a result of the Napoleonic Wars nationalism became a driving force in Germany, Goethe remained aloof. "At a time when everyone is occupied in creating new fatherlands," he wrote on March 15, 1799, "the fatherland of the man who thinks without prejudice, who can rise above his time, is nowhere and everywhere."¹⁰³ His mother, who belonged to an older generation, wrote to him at about the same time, on January 20, 1798: "Personally I am quite happy and leave alone those things which I cannot change anyway. Weimar is the only place in the whole wide world from which news could disturb my happiness. If my beloved ones there are well, then as far as I am concerned, both the right and left banks of the Rhine can belong to whom they will—that would disturb neither my sleep nor my appetite." The old lady reflected the general German temper of the time; she was only concerned with her own personal happiness. Goethe was concerned with the eternal values of civilization. "Where we educate ourselves, there is our fatherland," he proclaimed on the stage on September 25, 1802.¹⁰⁴ And the same thought was expressed even more strongly in "Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre": "One has said and repeated: where I am happy, there is my fatherland. Yet this consoling and satisfactory sentence could be still better expressed by saying: where I am of use, there is my fatherland."¹⁰⁵

Goethe, who willingly accepted Napoleon's domination over Germany, revered the Emperor, who showed greater understanding for the German arts and letters than Frederick II had done; his officials were not more oppressive and were generally much better liked than the French customs officials who had been employed by Frederick; and many prominent Germans willingly and eagerly

served the French Administration.¹⁰⁶ Goethe expressed again and again his complete indifference to the political fate of Germany; when the national sentiment began to rise, he counseled submission to French domination, and warned against the use of Greek or Roman patriotism for inciting the Germans against the French. His plea to Riemer is a strange mixture of Christian humility and of an enlightened universalism before which the differences of nations disappear: "Our life does not lead us to segregation and separation from other peoples; on the contrary, it leads us to the closest interchange. Our civic life is not that of the ancients; we are living, on the one hand, in much greater liberty and without the one-sided limitation of the ancients, and on the other hand, without such claims of the state upon us. . . . To oppose a victor, because we have been imbued with Greek and Latin, would be childish." At the same time Goethe praised the Christian virtues: "To everybody it seems more glorious and more desirable to be the hammer instead of the anvil, and yet: how much is needed to stand these endless, ever-recurring blows!"

The French Ambassador to the Court of Weimar, Count Reinhard, was a German; his wife, a daughter of the famous Hamburg family of Reimarus, reported in 1807 to her mother that Goethe had expressed the conviction that the German language would not completely disappear. "I will never believe it," he said; "the Germans are like the Jews, they can be oppressed but not annihilated. Even if they should not possess a fatherland any longer, they would not be discouraged and would remain united." "Germans," Goethe said on another occasion, "do not perish, as little as the Jews, because they are individuals." Thus he regarded lack of nationalism and individualism as an advantage to the Germans, who in his opinion were so honorable as individuals and so wretched as a nation.

Goethe remained a faithful cosmopolitan throughout his life. In his last years, in his conversations with Eckermann, he emphasized his love and respect for France, for the French Enlightenment, and for Paris—"this metropolis of the world . . . in which, during three generations, such men as Molière, Voltaire, Diderot, and the like, have kept up such a current of intellect as cannot be dupli-

cated anywhere else in the whole world." ¹⁰⁷ In 1830 he reiterated his respect for France: "How could I, to whom culture and barbarism are alone of importance, hate a nation which is among the most cultivated of the earth, and to which I owe so great a part of my own cultivation?" And from this particular case Goethe rose to a general consideration of national hatred: "You will always find it strongest and most violent where there is the lowest degree of culture. But there is a degree where it vanishes altogether, and where one stands, so to speak, above nations, and feels the weal or woe of a neighboring people, as if it had happened to one's own. This degree of culture was conformable to my nature." ¹⁰⁸ Nothing was so alien to him as the romantic revival of the German past. In a conversation about Fouqué's "Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg" he remarked: "From these old German gloomy times we can obtain as little as from the Servian songs, and similar barbaric folk poetry. We can read it and be interested in it for a while, but merely to cast it aside, and let it lie behind us. Generally speaking, a man is quite sufficiently saddened by his own passions and destiny and need not make himself more so by the darkness of the barbaric past." ¹⁰⁹

Goethe's sixty years of productive abundance covered the decisive period of the rising tide of German nationalism: from its first ripples in the early seventies under the influence of Klopstock and Herder to the full flood which, under Jahn and Arndt, the Romanticists and the historical school, threatened to break the dikes of rational universalism. Goethe as a young man was for a short time influenced by Herder; but he soon turned away, and the road which his mind traveled led him to universal heights whence his view embraced with equal love France and England, Rome and Persia. Occident and Orient,¹⁷⁰ all lands and all religions were equally God's. When Goethe wrote a memorandum for the celebration of the tercentenary of the Reformation in 1817, he wished to celebrate it not as a national festival but as a festival of the purest humanity (*ein Fest der reinsten Humanität*).¹⁷¹ No wonder the only praise National Socialist literary historians could bestow on Goethe was that of a great pagan. "For the first time after one thousand years," one writes, "a great German life has been lived in a deep

piety which cannot be called Christian any more." ¹⁷² Yet it is doubtful how far even this praise is justified.

15

There are only three German writers of the second half of the eighteenth century—Klopstock, Justus Möser, and Herder—who may be regarded, each one in a different way, as forerunners of German nationalism; yet even they were deeply rooted in the climate of the Enlightenment: humanitarians, who felt as much cosmopolitan as they felt national. Each had a profound sympathy with all liberty and a breadth of universal understanding entirely alien to the more typical representatives of nineteenth century German nationalism.

Klopstock (1724-1803), who had been praised for his discovery of the German folkdom, may be regarded as the first consciously national German poet. Like Milton, he resolved in his youth to write a magistral poem for his nation; and Milton remained his great model throughout. He compared the German literature of his time with that of other nations and suffered from its inferiority. In his valedictory address at Schulpforta on September 21, 1745, he expressed the fervent hope that Germany would rise to spiritual heights and become, through immortal works, especially through a great epic poem, the equal of the great nations of antiquity and of the contemporary world. Rapturously he greeted the coming poet who would bring to Germany eternal glory, who, formed by the teachers of all preceding centuries, and open to all the wonders of nature, would even pierce into the mystery of the future—a poet worthy of the human race, of immortality, and of God himself, whom he would praise above all. The ambition of this youth was fulfilled.

Klopstock's work was inspired by dreams of German spiritual greatness; he wished to make the wellspring of the German original genius flow. The decisive fact in the rising national consciousness of the eighteenth century was the emphasis upon national differences, upon the originality of each national genius. Classicism believed in a universal norm in art and letters, it vied for the best

expression of a common cultural heritage. The new nationalism regarded the national character, in its essential difference from all other national characters, as the true source of creative inspiration. "Each nation has a beauty that belongs to it; each nation should be satisfied with the beauty peculiar to it; none deviate from its nature nor from the temperament peculiar to it." These words of the Swedish Count Karl August Ehrensvärd were characteristic of the tendency of the century.¹⁷³ This emphasis on the original found its counterpart in the theory of genius elaborated by Hamann and the Storm and Stress, who believed that genius could not learn from other models, that it was a spontaneous inspiration, through which the individual was raised above common humanity. Freedom meant independence from all others, it meant the creative force of the ego. Hamann (1730-1788) regarded the genius of the individual as rooted in the national genius, peculiar to each people. Yet Hamann was no German nationalist. On August 20, 1784, he wrote to Scheffner: "Habe kaum Lust ein Deutscher zu sein; bin, ohne Ruhm zu melden, weder mehr noch weniger als ein Ostpreusse." (I scarcely have any desire to be a German; without any wish to glorify, I am nothing more nor less than an East Prussian.)¹⁷⁴ But he was no more a local patriot, in the deeper sense of the word, than he was a German nationalist. In 1787 he wrote to Jacobi: "I never had any special feeling for Prussia. I love my fatherland rather in the way of a duty and an obligation. The earth is the Lord's, and in this sense I am a citizen of the world."¹⁷⁵

Hamann's theory gave a new slant to Rousseauism: it heightened the revolutionary dynamism inherent in its hostility to civilization. The writers of the Storm and Stress attacked all barriers erected by tradition and custom; they felt themselves in primeval youth again, in a barbarian rebellion against the apparently obsolete and senescent world around them which seemed to oppress their exuberant surge towards all the infinite possibilities which man had possessed before he had been fettered by the rules of civilization. Soon the ancient Germans appeared as the representatives of primeval force and unspoiled nature; their Roman opponents, as the decadent and corrupt victims of civilization, dominated by a desire for money, calculating and untruthful, unable with their cold intellect to un-

derstand the depth of German unbroken feeling. Klopstock discovered the ancient Germanic and Nordic myths, and found in them a great and (to him) typically German seriousness and depth, vigor and simplicity. Under his influence these myths began to replace the Christian and Greco-Roman mythology.¹⁷⁶

Yet for Klopstock and his generation these myths were little more than a literary way of expressing the Rousseauism of the period. Only in the nineteenth century these myths became alive, vital forces shaping human imagination and will, dynamic gods of a new national religion, the terrifying consequences of which Heinrich Heine was clearly to foresee as early as 1834. Klopstock never thought of opposing the German myth to the Christian tradition or ethics. His great magistral poem to the nation was not a glorification of Germany or of the German past, but the epic poem "Messias," on which he spent twenty-seven years. Of the six plays which he wrote, three were devoted to the Old Testament ("Adam's Death," "David," and "Solomon") and three to the glorification of Arminius ("Hermann's Battle," "Hermann's Death," and "Hermann and the Princes"). Though he did not discover Arminius for German literature, he was responsible for popularizing him; and hundreds of worthless poems followed.¹⁷⁷ In his odes he liked to identify the contemporary Germans with those of ancient times:

Hermanne unsre Fürsten sind,
Cherusker unsre Heere sind,
Cherusker, kalt und kühn! ¹⁷⁸

(Our princes are Hermanns,
Our armies are Cherusci,
Cherusci, cold and bold!)

And he sang his pride of German conquests of ancient Rome and of the Germanic kingdoms created in Britain and Gaul. Germany appeared to him ever undefeated and invincible.

But with all his glorification of the old German glory, Klopstock loved neither war nor martial glory, neither the state nor conquest and power. He sang of liberty; not national liberty, but individual

liberty, human liberty, freedom from oppression by authority. He hated all political thirst for power and regarded it as opposed to morality and religion, to virtue and love of humanity, for which his heart yearned.¹⁷⁰ He welcomed the American and the French Revolutions and saw in them the fulfillment of mankind's aspirations. He proudly accepted the nomination to French citizenship, and though he, like so many other early enthusiasts for the French Revolution, violently denounced the terror, he was happy to accept the nomination as corresponding member of the Institut de France in 1802, when the left bank of the Rhine had already been occupied by the French.

He praised Joseph II for his emancipation of the peasants and especially of the Jews:

Den Priester rufst du wieder zur Jüngerschaft
Des grossen Stifters, machest zum Untertan
Den jochbeladnen Landmann; machst den
Juden zum Menschen. Wer hat geendet,
Wie du beginnest? . . .

Wen fasst des Mitleids Schauer nicht, wenn er sieht,
Wie unser Pöbel Kanaans Volk entmenscht!
Und tut der's nicht, weil unsre Fürsten
Sie in zu eiserne Fesseln schmieden?

Du lösest ihnen, Retter, die rostige,
Eng angelegte Fessel vom wunden Arm;
Sie fühlen's, glauben's kaum. So lange
Hat's um die Elenden hergeklirret!¹⁸⁰

His admiration of Joseph II contrasted with his bitter hostility to Frederick II of Prussia. His humanitarianism and pacifism and his sympathy for the weaker against all overbearing strength made Prussian power politics most repulsive to him. He never found a good word for Frederick's military successes or his enlightened despotism. Though he praised the ancient victories of the Germans over the Romans, he could never bring himself to praise Frederick's great victory over the French at Rossbach, which to so many ap-

peared as a national achievement. Even the king's death did not lessen his animosity. His patriotism was vague and antiquarian, his nationalism purely literary, an emphasis upon the national genius in arts and letters, a pride in Germany's spirituality, a feeling of personal mission in expressing Germany's genius. He never doubted its compatibility with his humanitarian striving for universal justice and profound love of all mankind.

The meeting of the Estates General in 1788 appeared to Klopstock as the dawn of a new day. He blessed his old age for having been privileged to witness that "most noble deed" of the century. The French now became his brothers, and the only reason for grief was the fact that the French, and not the Germans, had first climbed the summit of liberty and set a glorious example to all peoples. The French had even "enchained the most terrible of all monsters, war." Previously the thought that America had been the first to kindle the flame of liberty, and that Germans had participated in it, had comforted him; but now France had definitely set mankind the example. The enthusiastic old man tried to protect revolutionary France, the people who had first approached mankind's ultimate goal, and who had abolished wars of conquest, and he warned the German princes in one of his most inspired odes that a similar fire might break out in Germany, if they fought French liberty and brought "human sacrifices to idolized princes":

Und jetzt wollt ihr sogar des Volkes Blut, das der Ziele
Letztem vor allen Völkern sich naht,
Das, die belorbete Furie, Krieg der Erobrung, verbannend,
Aller Gesetze schönstes sich gab,
Wollt das gepeinigte Volk, das, Selbsterreter, der Freiheit
Gipfel erstieg, von der furchtbaren Höh,
Feuer und Schwert in der Hand, herunter stürzen, es zwingen,
Wilden von Neuem dienstbar zu seyn,
Wollt, dass der Richter der Welt—und bebt!—auch eurer, dem
Menschen
Rechte nicht gab, erweisen durch Mord!
Möchtet ihr, ehe das Schwert von der Wunde triefet, der Klugheit
Ernste, warnende Winke verstehn!

Möchtet ihr sehn! Es entglüht schon in euren Landen die Asche,
 Wird von erwachenden Funken schon roth. . . .
 Fragt, der blinken die Pflugschar lässt, die Gemeinen des Heeres,
 Deren Blut auch Wasser nicht ist:
 Und durch redliche Antwort erfahret ihr oder durch lautes
 Schweigen, was in der Asche sie sehn.
 Doch ihr verachtet sie. Spielt denn des neugestalteten Krieges
 Nie versuchtes, schreckliches Spiel,
 Allzuschreckliches! Denn in den Kriegen werden vergötzten
 Herrschern Menschenopfer gebracht.¹⁵¹

16

Klopstock's vague nationalism and his firm liberalism inspired the younger poets, who saw in him the first great and original German poet. A group of students in Göttingen, the Göttinger Dichterbund, began in the seventies to assume old Germanic names and to revive in the sentimental style of the period what they regarded as the Germanic past. Among them were Johann Heinrich Voss (1751-1826), who later became the most famous translator of Homer into German and the writer of idyllic poems on the life of the rural middle classes in northern Germany, and Friedrich Leopold, Count Stolberg, who in the ode "Mein Vaterland," dedicated to Klopstock in 1774, sang his pride in being a German, because the Germans had never thirsted for alien possessions or enslaved other peoples, but had always been the shield of the persecuted.¹⁵² More interesting was Voss's condemnation of Charlemagne in a poem "Germany" (1772) dedicated to Friedrich Leopold Stolberg. Germany, he said, looked with pride upon all the peoples to whom she had given kings and generals. But was it not a king of German blood who, under the influence of Roman monks, had put the chain of slavery on true Germans and had ordered the Saxons to worship statues and idols instead of Wotan's invisible godhead? Charlemagne had proved by his vainglorious conquests and by his servility to the Roman priests that he was not of German heart nor of Hermann's kind.¹⁵³

But these young German enthusiasts used, like Klopstock, the

most difficult classical meters; they belonged to the Republic of Letters and remained aloof from the people. Only one of them, Gottfried August Bürger, thought, as he wrote in the preface to the second edition of his "Gedichte" (1789), that though poetry was an art exercised by educated people, it was not for educated people as such, but for all the people. And in his "Herzensausguss über Volkspoesie" (Heart-felt Effusion About Popular Poetry) which he published in the *Deutsches Museum* in 1776, he exclaimed: "We are Germans! Germans who should not make Greek or Roman or cosmopolitan poems in the German language, but German poems in the German language, digestible and nutritious for the whole people!" Such a people's nationalism was entirely alien to Klopstock and the Gottinger Dichterbund. Though they indulged in sentimental reminiscences of a glorious and heroic past, eulogized and fabulous, they would have been the first to recoil from any resurrection of this past in the civilized and humanitarian time in which they lived, the progress and liberalism of which filled them with pride.

While they reached back into the dim past of which there were no longer any traces, Justus Möser (1720-1794)¹⁵¹ found the roots for his German nation in the Middle Ages when the people had been rural freeholders, armed and ready for defense, a social order of which faint traces were still discernible in northwestern Germany where he lived. The Bishopric of Osnabrück, which Möser called his fatherland, and which he served faithfully during his whole life, had preserved many traits of the past which he studied with loving care. He grew up under the influence of French letters, and as a young man even corresponded with his family in French.¹⁵² He owed much to his close contact with England, based upon the proximity of Osnabrück to Hanover.¹⁵³ In his writings there is none of that jealousy or professional competition with foreign letters, which marks so much of the work and thought of the poets of the time. He followed the example of Voltaire in an effort to enlarge history from a narrative of court events into a broad picture of all the currents of life of a period; he reformed German historiography by changing the emphasis from kings and heroes and battles to people, institutions, and the influence of law upon the daily life.

In October, 1766, he started the *Osnabrückische Intelligenzblätter* to educate his fellow citizens politically and to "impress upon the minds of the people in an urgent way useful truths which he had learned from his experience in daily life."¹²⁷ He continued the publication until 1782, and it became famous throughout Germany when his daughter Jenny, the wife of the Royal British Councilor, Justus von Voigts, collected the issues and republished them in four parts under the title "*Patriotische Phantasien*," the first appearing in 1774. His unfinished main work "*Osnabrückische Geschichte*," which covered the history only to 1366, testifies to the care with which Möser went to original sources and to his close attention to detail.

Möser had nothing in common with the Storm and Stress: for him piety was the foundation of all virtue. He was, to use Goethe's word about him, "a patriot." He was clearly influenced by Rousseau when he wrote that if we were right-thinking conversation with simple rural people, genuine and uncorrupted, would please us more than the stage on which a few actors, like accomplished marionettes, affectedly play their roles.¹²⁸ But, different from Rousseau, he turned for his model not to the ancient city-state, but to the rural society of the Middle Ages. He shared with Rousseau a conservative dislike for large towns and townspeople, for capitalism and trade, yet even to the Rousseauists civilization remained linked with city life as its source and focal point—as it had been throughout the ages, from earliest antiquity to modern times. Möser was the first to reverse this fundamental trend. for him civilization was concretely linked, in its origin and in its vital force, with rural life. The rural class was to him the true foundation of national life and strength. In his review of Moser's "*Von dem Nationalgeiste*," he wrote: "Where do we find the nation? In the courts? Nobody can think that. In the cities there are only corrupted and unsuccessful imitations; in the army only soulless robots; in the country only oppressed peasants. The time when every Frank or Saxon cultivated his own free hereditary land, independent from any feudal lord or great proprietor, and when he defended it himself, when he came from his land to the general assembly of freeholders, and when the man who did not possess such a rural property, even the rich-

est merchant (*der reichste Krämer*), belonged to the class of the poor and unhonored—that was the time when we could find a nation. But not at present.”¹⁴⁹

In German history, he complained, the triumph of the princes and feudal lords not only had destroyed the common liberty of the rural settlers; it had also destroyed the influence of the cities. If this had not happened, Germany would have followed the development of England: in Regensburg there would be meeting instead of the Diet a Parliament composed of two houses, an insignificant House of Lords, and a Lower Chamber in which the united cities and townships would decree laws of importance for the whole world. “Not Lord Clive, but a Senator from Hamburg would command on the Ganges.” Remembering the great exploits of the Hansa, Möser exclaimed: “This spirit would certainly have made itself master of the two Indies and would have raised the Emperor to a Monarch of the universe. What must a German feel when he sees the descendants of such men bring lemons from Spain or import beer from England?”¹⁵⁰ But his heart was not with the great merchants, not even with those who would build a German world empire. “Industry and commerce are fleeting goods which pass from one country to another. How much more stable is the state whose welfare is founded on agriculture! It always covers its needs and easily finds customers for its surplus. If Germany would only think of means to increase its exports and thus be induced to cultivate its unused land, it could become the most powerful nation.”¹⁵¹ He regretted the growing mobilization of economic life, he doubted the wisdom of education for children, even for boys, for whom it was more important to use the flail than the pen; and as for girls: “Oh, I would not wish to marry one who can read and write!”¹⁵² Möser has often been compared to Benjamin Franklin; the similarities were there, the insistence upon common sense, the didactic passion, the benevolent humanitarianism, but how different were the whole philosophies and ideals of the two men and the conditions in which they worked!

With all his conservative interests and his deep roots in the local traditions of his small provincial state, Möser had a good understanding of the new liberty which the seventeenth century had

brought to England, and which had grown to full fruit in eighteenth century America. He rightly appraised the citizens' army in the United States as something approaching his own ideal of an armed nation of free men, men who are farmers in time of peace and soldiers in time of war.¹⁰⁸ He admired the vitality of England and her liberal nationalism, "where always immense intellectual and social forces are in motion, and where orators, poets, and writers work not only for purposes of education and pleasure, but help the state with their enthusiasm. The lowest man there considers the commonweal as his personal concern. All satires, comedies, and moral admonitions, even many sermons, have a direct relation to the affairs of state. It is this deep interest which keeps the human forces at high pitch and makes them reach a higher goal."¹⁰⁴

But it was a far cry from the new liberties of the West to the old liberties of Westphalia. Everything traditional touched Möser's heart. He was opposed to education and to public-health measures; he was indifferent to the high mortality of infants; he did not plead for the abolition of torture or serfdom.¹⁰⁶ Honor was to him indissolubly connected with rural property; human rights meant little to him, they were too rational and too general. He loved the particular, he was afraid that general laws would bring about an egalitarian and centralizing despotism. His heart belonged to the people, not to the individuals but to the nation ordered in estates and classes, based upon ancient privileges and liberties, living in the concrete and manifold relations of a differentiated and multiform society.

Such a man could grow up only in the principality of Osnabrück, one of the many curiosities of the "monstrous" Empire, in which the contradictions of periods, classes, and religions mingled freely. He hated despotism, centralization, and bureaucracy, he loved independence and individual dignity, he had a clear understanding of the values of the period of Enlightenment in the intellectual field, but none for the political and economic changes of the epoch. He highly esteemed old things because they were old. Much of what the historical school later objected to in the French Revolution and in rational liberalism, could be already found in Möser's conserva-

tism. He inclined to deduce from the inveterateness of abuses their perpetuity and to invest every ancient usurpation with the cloak of lawfulness. This minutious observer of the daily life of the people and of the complex intricacies of his native state preached a narrow romantic traditionalism, so that a very few decades were sufficient to prove that his writings were only, as he modestly called them, "patriotische Phantasien." His intellectual roots were still in the German Baroque; in his own days the links between him and the rising German nationalism were weak. Yet his name was connected with the first important manifesto of the nascent German nationalism, the publication in 1773 of "Von deutscher Art und Kunst" (Of German Kind and Art), which Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) edited, to which the young Goethe contributed, and where Möser's introduction to his "Osnabrückische Geschichte" (1768) was reprinted.

17

Möser's vision had been largely confined to Osnabrück with its strange survival of ancient traditions: he was a jurist and a civil servant rooted in a small principality who identified the German nation with an almost extinct class of the past, the militia of rural freeholders. Herder's vision¹⁹⁹ was infinitely broader; in a great sweep it embraced the totality of human history and of German nationality. To both he applied the two fundamental concepts of his thinking, becoming and language—concepts which were not closely related in themselves, but each of which had a fundamental importance for the growth of nationalism and for a new understanding of history and civilization. Nature and history lost the static character which they had had at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Both were viewed as organic growths, as self-revelations of the divine in the innumerable manifestations of life, an endless creative process in which attention should be centered not on the general and common but on the individual and unique. The rational thought of the eighteenth century, which culminated in Kant, had emphasized law, plan, and purpose; the new conception shifted the emphasis to growth, vitality, and originality. The great

creative force which pervaded the universe—nature and history alike—manifested itself in every phenomenon; the creative heart of the writer and thinker responded to it with an immediacy and spontaneity which made him part of the great creative process. Herder's philosophy has been rightly characterized as a pantheism, a pantheism not so much of nature as of history, a dynamic pantheism of organic growth.¹⁰⁷

When Herder collected folk songs and published them in his "*Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*," he was following a growing trend which had swept all over Europe in the wake of Ossian's poems. But earlier publications and researches had been conducted in an antiquarian spirit, sometimes for patriotic motives, as with Klopstock and his circle, to provide a background of ancient glory for present ambitions that would lend them an inspiration they sorely needed. For Herder folk poetry was nothing antiquarian: it was one of the great manifestations of the creative spirit, entirely equal in that to the works of great artists and writers. It was a part of history which had its justification in itself; voices of the peoples and voices of the great artists—in both the same creative force spoke, manifold according to the individualities of peoples and men, of periods and local conditions, an immense tapestry of countless threads, each different and yet all the work of one master. Herder did not limit himself to German folk songs; his mind, and Goethe's after him, roamed through peoples and epochs and found everywhere the same organic creation. Through all of them he heard the voice of mankind.

The singer expressed not only himself but a force greater than he: the force of the national community of which he was a member. When people sang or when great writers wrote, it was in both cases the community, the *Gemeinschaft* (to use a modern German word), which spoke through them. The national community was the necessary medium between mankind and the individual; the creative forces of the universal individualized themselves primarily not in the single human beings, but in the collective personalities of national communities. This community was different from Rousseau's, which was primarily political, based upon law and built upon man's free decision. Herder's community was organic

and natural, its basis was cultural and spiritual. In both forms the community created a general will, a *sens commun*—but what a difference between “common sense” and *Genemsinn*! Rousseau’s general will found its embodiment in a constitution and its workings, Herder’s in something much more intangible, irrational, and vague, the peculiar individualization of civilization in the national community, which found its chief instrument, and even more than instrument, in the national language. Herder was the first to insist that human civilization lives not in its general and universal, but in its national and peculiar manifestations; each cultural manifestation must be original, but its originality is that of the national community and the national language. By nature and history men are above all members of their national community: only as such can they be really creative.

Herder’s discovery of nationality carried revolutionary implications: he regarded the state as something artificial and accidental, nationality as something natural and essential. Though he could not envisage a conflict between the two, because his concept of nationality was entirely nonpolitical, his emphasis on the folk community and its language soon was to give a new importance and dignity to the different ethnographic groups of Central and Eastern Europe and to create a national consciousness in them. Its dynamism was soon to break the purely cultural framework of Herder’s concept. The French Revolution carried the political concept of nationality to Central and Eastern Europe, and when the two concepts fused and kindled new aspirations, the nationalities there soon found themselves in a violent struggle with the existing states which everywhere, in Germany, in the Balkans, and in Eastern Europe, had grown and existed without benefit of nationality, a principle unknown before the end of the eighteenth century. Herder’s appeal to the cultural creative forces of folk language and folk traditions aroused a new interest and a new pride not only in Germans, but in Czechs and Letts,¹⁹⁸ Serbs and Finns. After 1848 when Herder’s teachings began to bear fruit, cultural nationalism became the foundation for political nationalism, resulting in the long struggles for a German, Czech, or Serb state, struggles which determined the history of Central and Eastern Europe

for the next seven decades. Yet nothing could have been further from Herder's mind than the nationalism of the nineteenth century with its desire for power and political assertion, especially its latest development in which the nationality is being regarded as the ultimate and highest value. This glorification of dark, elementary forces, this affirmation of sheer givenness of nature would have been as incomprehensible to Herder as it would have been repulsive. His concept of nature was not biological and scientific (or rather pseudo-scientific), but metaphysical and moral. His nationalism can only be understood within its conceptual context of enlightened humanitarianism and rational morality, a context so fundamental to the thought of Herder and to his whole epoch that its assumption, though not always expressed, is nevertheless ever present.

Though Herder was born in East Prussia, he hated Prussia with its military despotism and bureaucratic order. This dislike was shared by most of his countrymen. Under Frederick William I and Frederick II the people of East Prussia were in no way patriotic; the citizens welcomed the Russian occupation:¹⁹⁹ the local poets and writers flattered the Russians and praised them, no patriotic voice was raised, and even when the Russians had left and faithfulness to Prussia could have been proclaimed without fear, nothing of that kind was done. Prussian militarism, visible everywhere, was universally hated: public parks were drill places, the palace of the monarch was transformed into a military school. Nothing filled Herder with such disgust and horror as the thought of military service in the Prussian army. Everywhere around him he found so much oppression and serfdom that the Russian Baltic provinces, where he held his first position, appeared to him to be a land of liberty and progress. The first poem which he wrote was an "Ode to Cyrus," glorifying Peter III of Russia and the peace of 1762. Seven years later, on his sea voyage from Russia to France, he wrote of his native land in his journal, "The states of the King of Prussia will not be happy until they are divided up," and he characterized the inhabitants as "too much ignorant Germans and too much subjects."²⁰⁰ On leaving Latvia, he greeted the Russian province in a poem as "my second, better Fatherland" which had

treated him much better than his "verjochtes Vaterland," his Prussia enslaved by Frederick.²⁰¹

The sea voyage to France was of decisive importance for the development of his thought. History unfolded itself to him in all its infinite wealth throughout time and space, he felt a deep joy at all the manifold forms of human existence, each one perfect in itself and each one understandable only in its own setting. Each seemed to exist "in its own time and in its own place," justified in its own way and mirroring in this very diversity the idea and development of humanity.²⁰² This is above all true of nations: they differ according to locality, time, and their inner character; each carries in itself the yardstick of its perfection, uncomparable to any other.²⁰³ As a result "the happiness of one people cannot be forced upon any other. The roses for the wreath of each nation's liberty must be picked with its own hands, and must grow happily out of its own wants, joys, and love."²⁰⁴ Like Herodotus we have to look with an unprejudiced mind on all peoples and describe each one in its place, according to its own customs and habits. Then we shall see that, though all nations are different, they all obey one rule: only moderation makes them happy, while arrogance and haughtiness always carry their own nemesis. The spirit which lives in human history wishes each people to become happy in its own way and in its own place, but it wishes them to be ruled by a sense of reciprocity. Treat each one as you would like to be treated yourself. For "the human race is one whole; we work and suffer, sow and harvest, each for all."²⁰⁵

These few passages contain Herder's philosophy of nationalism. Each nationality was to him a living organism, a manifestation of the Divine, and therefore something sacred which should not be destroyed but cultivated. Every man, so he taught, could fulfill his human destiny only within and through his nationality. This was true of all nationalities: all were equally sacred, the seemingly advanced ones and those called "primitive," through them all, in different ways, the destiny of mankind fulfilled itself. A nationality lived above all in its civilization; its main instrument was its language, not an artificial instrument, but a gift of God, the guardian of the national community and the matrix of its civilization. Thus

language, national language, became a sacred instrument; each man could be himself only by thinking and creating in his own national language. With the respect for all other nationalities went the respect for their languages. Herder was the first for whom the rights of nationality and language took precedence before the rights of the state.

He objected to the Germanizing tendencies of Joseph II, who had tried to introduce the German language among the many non-Germanic nationalities in the Habsburg domains, not for reasons of German nationalism,²⁰⁰ but for reasons of centralizing and modernizing the administration. Herder insisted upon the rights of nationalities; he did it at a time when the Bohemians, Rumanians, Croatians, and others had hardly any consciousness themselves of their nationality. He was the first to claim that the rights of nationality were above all rights of language; he did it at a time when many languages were no more than vernaculars, spoken by illiterate peasants, and deemed to be without future or dignity. It was largely as a result of Herder's teaching that these dormant peoples began to change their own attitudes toward their nationality and towards their national language. From him they learned that "a people, and especially a noncivilized one, has nothing dearer than the language of its fathers. Its whole spiritual wealth of tradition, history, religion, and all the fullness of life, all its heart and soul, lives in it. To deprive such a people of its language or to minimize it, means to deprive it of its only immortal possession, transmitted from parents to children." To the benevolent intentions of Joseph II, Herder objected that civilization cannot be forced through an alien language. "It grows best, and I would say only, in the peculiarity of the nation, in its inherited and constantly transmitted vernacular. One wins the heart of a people only by using its language. Isn't it inspiring to plant seeds of well-being for the remotest future among so many people in their own way of thought, in the manner which is most peculiar and most cherished by them?"²⁰⁷

This was written in 1793. But already in his earliest article, an address delivered in school, which was printed in 1764, Herder maintained that "every language has its definite national character,

and therefore nature obliges us to learn only our native tongue, which is the most appropriate to our character, and which is most commensurate with our way of thought. Perhaps I shall be able to imitate (*nachlallen*) the languages of foreign nations, without, however, penetrating to the core of their character. I shall be perhaps able to learn dead languages from their monuments with much sweat, but their spirit will escape me."²⁰⁹ No wonder that Herder insisted upon the withering effect of classical education on the poor "martyrs" of Latin instruction.²⁰⁹ No school, he thought, was good in which the students could not escape Latin instruction, or in which Latin was the main subject. Naturally he opposed French instruction. "If language is the organ of our soul-forces, the medium of our innermost education, then we cannot be educated otherwise than in the language of our people and our country; a so-called French education in Germany must by necessity deform and misguide German minds. In my opinion, this sentence is as clear as the sun at noon."²¹⁰ Consistently, from his early youth to his old age, Herder was convinced that each nationality must seek and cultivate the wealth and peculiarities of its own spirit and character, and that the chief instrument for their expression is the national language. A person can never become an original writer in a foreign language because content and form do not coincide with him; he tries to express a national thought in an alien medium.²¹¹ For "no individual, no country, no people, no history of a people, no state is like any other. Therefore the true, the beautiful, and the good are not the same for them. Everything is suffocated if one's own way is not sought, and if another nation is blindly taken as a model. Civilization consists primarily in the potentialities of a nation, and in the making use of them."²¹² To Herder each nationality was an original bearer of a common humanity, living and unfolding itself in all nationalities.

Humanity remained for Herder the highest, though a somewhat vague, goal and criterion. His love for nationality embraced all nationalities and their national life. "No love for our nation shall hinder us in recognizing everywhere the good which can be effected progressively only in the great course of times and peoples."²¹³ For the nations are diversified and unique in order to

supplement one another. "Nature has distributed its gifts differently according to climate and culture. How could they be compared to one another? Rather we should rejoice, like Sultan Suleiman, that there are such varied flowers and peoples on the gay meadow of this earth, that such different blossoms can bloom on both sides of the Alps, and that such varied fruits can ripen. Let us rejoice that Time, the great mother of all things, throws now these and now other gifts from her horn of plenty and slowly builds up mankind in all its different component parts."²¹⁴

To form and educate mankind, to make it more human and humane was Herder's main concern as it had been that of Lessing and Kant. It extended all through his life. As a young man he had planned the publication of a "Jahrbuch der Schriften für die Menschheit," which he characterized as "ein Buch zur menschlichen und christlichen Bildung,"²¹⁵ a tribute to the century in which humanitarian ideas had triumphed and spread as never before. Ten years after his "Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit," he began the publication of "Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit" (1784-1791), the most mature expression of his thought. The original title had been "Briefe, die Fortschritte der Humanität betreffend," consciously calling to mind another famous title of German eighteenth century letters, but stressing humanity instead of literature, a shift most characteristic of Herder's attitude. The first of the letters represented them as originating in the discussions of a circle of friends (*ein Bund der Humanität*) who regarded themselves, in the words of the apostle, as a community where there was "neither Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor free man, neither man nor woman, but where all were one."²¹⁶ The second letter was devoted to Benjamin Franklin, whom Herder called "one of my beloved authors in this century, the most noble popular writer."²¹⁷ Like Kant, he interpreted history as a progress towards a more perfect humanity. "Without this last purpose of educating and promoting humanity in man (*Bildung und Förderung der Humanität inn Menschen*) a study of his history is of a very subordinate and even doubtful value . . . a philosophy of history cannot lead to any other purpose than a history of humanity, a purification of our moral sense, an awaken-

ing of our sense of duty, therefore, to the best of mankind." ²¹⁶ History to him was world history; as far back as 1769 he wished to write a history from the point of view of the formation of mankind (*unter dem Gesichtspunkt einer zu bildenden Menschheit*). Though he never wrote this, his philosophy of history was entirely conceived from this angle.

In "Ernst und Falk," Lessing had pleaded for the Freemasons as men above the prejudices of race or country, who knew where patriotism ceased to be a virtue, and who did not succumb to any religious prejudice nor to any respect for castes and classes. Herder fully agreed with these aims, but he did not wish to confine them to one association—especially not to a secret or closed one—but to have them shared by "the society of all thinking men in all continents," the membership in which would educate not to intercourse with this or that kind of man, but with men in general, "mit Menschen überhaupt." Man should follow one motivation in his actions: humanity. "If we would give to this concept all its strength, if we would show it in the whole circumference of its effects, and if we would impose it upon ourselves and upon others as a duty, as the inevitable, most general first duty, then all prejudices of national interests, of religion, and the silliest prejudice of all, that of rank and caste, though they would not disappear, would be restrained, weakened, and made innocuous." ²¹⁷ Herder discussed the concept of *Humanität*, with its many meanings—mankind, humanitarianism, human rights, human duties, human dignity, and love of mankind—which he wished all to be understood under the one concept: "Humanity is the character of our race; we receive it only as a potentiality, and we must develop it. We do not bring it with us ready-made into the world: it must be the goal of all our efforts, the sum of all our exercises, our guiding principle and value. . . . Humanity is a treasure and the product of all human efforts, the art of the race, and its study must be incessantly continued, or we shall relapse into animal primitivity, into brutality." ²¹⁸

Nothing seemed more ridiculous to Herder than national pride. What, he asked, would be the yardstick for comparisons among nations? Each nation resembles a great unweeded garden, where

silliness and errors flourish abundantly side by side with wisdom and virtues. "Manifestly Nature wishes that just as one man and one generation has to learn from and with others, one people should learn incessantly with and from other peoples, until all have understood the difficult lesson that no people is specially chosen by God, but that truth must be sought, and the garden of the common good cultivated, by all. All nations, each where it is, should weave their part of the great veil of Minerva, without harming one another, and without sowing discord by their pride."²²¹ Nothing was more abhorrent to Herder than conquerors. Though he did not deny that some of them had shown courage in great perils, he pointed out that highway robbers and pirates had done that too. "All those who have approved of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew or of the assassinations of Jews are today covered with infamy and disgrace," Herder wrote, "and it is to be hoped that the robbers and killers of peoples, and murderers of nations, in spite of all their heroism, will one time be covered with it too, according to the principles of a true human history."²²² In each nation the feeling of sympathy for all other nations must be cultivated so much that each one may imagine itself in the place of any other. Thus would come into existence an alliance of all civilized nations which would prevent injury done to any of its members.

But human rights were not confined to civilized peoples. In his "Adrastea" (1802), Herder praised the Moravian Brethren for their missionary enterprise because they had not tried to enslave the Eskimos, the Negroes, the Hottentots and the American savages, but had tried to reform their customs into brotherly humanity; and he was convinced that posterity would profit from this.²²³ For primitive peoples had the same rights as all others, and an "uncivilized" nation could be essentially more human and better than the conquerors, while any insufficiency in its organization could be explained by climatic conditions. "The genius of mankind rejects with contempt all writings feeding the pride of the Europeans—which already is unbearable enough—by unproven or manifestly unprovable statements, and says: they have been written by an inhuman being!"²²⁴ The genius of mankind is impartial,

it knows of no favorite nation here on earth. All men are equally dear to it. In the *sensus humanitatis*, in the *Sinn und Mitgefühl für die gesamte Menschheit*, Herder saw the meaning of all human history. In this central sentence of his philosophy of history he revealed himself as a true son of the rational cosmopolitanism of his century.²²⁵

Herder praised the Czech scholar Comenius, the great Bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, as a leader in a long tradition of his people, among whom, at a time of darkest despotism everywhere in Europe, the spark of freedom had first been lighted by Huss and other Czech reformers. Herder was the first to recognize the pioneer work of the Czechs for humanity and liberty; he praised them for having shown a new spirit in unity and courage as no other people north of the Alps except the Swiss had done, and he was convinced that if they and other Slavs had found the necessary support they would have grown into a nation from whose example the German nation could have profited greatly.²²⁶ Here in a few brief remarks he advanced that interpretation of Czech history which half a century later, and under his influence, the great awakener of the Czech nation, František Palacký, was to make the core of his "History of the Czech People," the foundation stone and the lasting monument of the Czech national renaissance.

Herder's influence on the national awakening of the Slavs can be hardly overestimated. Though he was born in one of the eastern marches of Germany where German colonizers had come to regard their Slav subjects as an inferior people, he was free from any such sentiments. In his opinion the Slavs fulfilled, much better than the Germans, the essential conditions of a good and civilized people. They had never been—so he believed—a nation of warriors and adventurers like the Germans, but a peaceful, industrious people leading a serene and musical life in their own original way. "They were generous, extremely hospitable, lovers of rural liberty, yet compliant and obedient, enemies of robbery and loot. All that did not help them against oppression; on the contrary, it encouraged it. For, as they never competed for world hegemony, as they had no war-loving hereditary princes, and preferred to pay tribute if they

could only dwell on their land in peace, several nations, especially the Germans, have greatly sinned against them." Franks and Saxons, unwilling themselves to learn the arts of peace, preferred to enslave the industrious Slavs. Though these peaceful peoples have been unhappy for centuries, they were able to preserve much of their good character through all the dark periods of oppression brought over them by the Germans from the west and the Tartars from the east. But Herder predicted for the Slavs a glorious future, when Europe would abandon its spirit of war, and establish an age of law and peace. Then these people would wake up from their long sleep, and would celebrate their old festivals of peaceful industry and commerce in all their beautiful lands from the Don to the Moldau, and from the Adriatic to the Carpathians. Before the dawn of this Slavic day, Herder ardently hoped that their quickly disappearing folk songs and folk lore would be collected and preserved, and that a history of the Slavonic nation would be written.²³⁷ No wonder that Herder's understanding and loving appeal for an awakening of the dormant Slav peoples aroused the interest of the young Slav intellectuals whom the philanthropic and educational efforts of the Enlightenment had aroused to an interest in the people amongst whom they lived, and to a desire for social reform.

Herder shared this pacifist humanitarianism with Lessing and Klopstock. He reprinted the ode "Der jetzige Krieg" in which Klopstock voiced his horror of war and praised the growth of humanity, "diese heilige Schonung," which would control and abolish wars and greed by moderation and reason.²³⁸ Herder went even farther in his hostility to the spirit of heroism and conquest; he regarded the foundation of Rome as the work of a demon hostile to the human race.²³⁹ He also reprinted Klopstock's poem "An den Kaiser," praising Joseph II as the emancipator of the serfs and of the Jews.²⁴⁰ Lessing's death in 1781 offered Herder the opportunity of expressing his deep admiration for the great teacher of humanity. "What did not," he exclaimed, "a single work like 'Nathan the Wise' mean for me and for everybody who has any understanding for perfection in the realm of the spirit?"²⁴¹ Like Lessing, Herder devoted much thought to the Jewish problem. As a theologian he

had a deep interest in the Old Testament; as a lover of folk poetry he interpreted the Hebrew literature in the light of the new understanding gained from the study of Homer and Ossian; as a nationalist, he was more clearly aware than most of his contemporaries of the roots of the idea of nationalism in the Hebrew tradition.

The foundations of the Hebrew nation, as laid down by Moses and the Covenant, seemed to him exemplary for all time. He wished that all would follow that model. "For it is what all men have desired, what all wise leaders have tried to accomplish, and what Moses alone so early had the heart to realize; namely, that law and not a lawgiver should rule, that a free nation should *freely accept and willingly obey the invisible rational and benevolent power which governs us but does not fetter and chain us*. This was Moses' idea: could there be a purer and a higher one?"²⁸² The Hebrews appeared to him as the first example of a real nation. "The Hebrew people was considered from its beginnings as a genetic individual, as One People." The Patriarchs spoke to their sons as if they represented the whole chain of coming generations. When their thousands stood at Mount Sinai, Moses spoke to them as if they had been One Person. When the prophets spoke they spoke not so much to individuals as to a national public. "Hence the high and resounding tone of patriotism in the Hebrew psalms and prophets. Wherever and in whichever language its echo resounds, it captivates the heart and a national consciousness awakens. *One finds himself in a community in which one stands for all, all for one*. The whole people shoulders the burden of the Commandments, its blessings and curses. Songs of gratitude rise from all, even for the most insignificant individual happenings, because the individual is part of the whole people. Thus in the prophetic punishments each Israelite carries the guilt of the rest; yet he also shares in the consolations of the rest; common desires and a common vision raise the heart, both in joy and in sorrow."²⁸³ The Hebrew legislation was, as Herder understood, the first historical example of a national civilization.

When Herder turned his attention from ancient Israel to the Jews living in Europe as a separate nationality among other nations,

keeping the distinctive features of their religion, regarding themselves only as temporary dwellers in the lands of the dispersion and longing for their return to Palestine, he wanted them to be regarded accordingly as a nationality different from all other nationalities. Under these conditions, as long as the Jews remained a nationality set apart by themselves, in their laws, in their loyalty and in their economic pursuits, he did not believe that they could be accepted as full citizens in the lands of their residence, and he hoped they could return to Palestine. But with all his critical attitude towards their "parasitic" economic existence, he regarded them as a "fine and intelligent people, a miracle of the times" (*feines, scharfsinniges Volk, ein Wunder der Zeiten*) and he quoted the beautiful remark of one of the Talmudic authorities, according to which Israel and Esau, the representatives of the warlike nations, tearfully embrace each other; the kiss hurts both, but they cannot separate.²⁸⁴ Looking into the future, Herder foresaw that "a time will come when people in Europe will no longer ask whether a person is a Jew or a Christian, for the Jew, too, will live according to European laws, and contribute to the welfare of the state. Only a barbaric constitution would try to prevent that or would try to pervert his abilities." ²⁸⁵

The Hebrew nationalism of the past was as near to Herder's heart as the Slavic nationalism of the future. Both seemed to him to be based not on power and worldly glory, but on an ethical civilization, representing a genuine nationalism, which seemed to be the best guarantee of peace. For there was a great difference between nationalities and states in Herder's interpretation. Princes had states, while nationalities had fatherlands. The wish to expand and to assert itself against others seemed natural to a state. This spirit of conquest has stormed through history like an evil demon. But it will be broken by a genuine nationalism, by the replacing of princes by peoples. For nationalism to Herder was an ethical and cultural force, fatherland meant a large family, implied dwelling in peace together. With the name "father" it recalls to us our playful youth, it reminds us of all those before us who have merited well of it and of all those after us who will merit well of it, and to whom we shall be fathers; it ties the whole human race into

a chain of progressing links, all mutually brothers, sisters, betrothed, friends, children, parents. "Has the world not enough space for all of us? Do not the countries exist peacefully beside one another? Cabinets swindle one another, political machines may maneuver until they destroy one another. But fatherlands do not maneuver in such a way, they exist peacefully beside one another, and like families, help one another. To speak of fatherlands opposed to fatherlands in a bloody combat is the worst kind of barbarism possible in the human language." Princes and states may think of war, politics, and domination; nations and fatherlands think of peaceful human cohabitation.²⁸⁶ In a poem "Der deutsche Nationalruhm" he called national glory a specter. True national greatness consists of innocence, "never to wash your hands in blood, and even if forced to shed blood, to do it as if it were your own blood"; of moderation, of restraint in greed for gold and goods which has caused the committing of horrible crimes against Indians and Negroes; of wisdom which expresses itself in ways of life and in law much more than in great works of art which belong to no one people but to all mankind; and finally, of altruistic deeds for the benefit of mankind. The highest degree of national greatness is a life lived in obscurity for the service of mankind,²⁸⁷ a life of the spirit and not of worldly goods. Herder's nationalism, an ethico-cultural nationalism, showed deep traces of affinity with the national idea of the Hebrew prophets and psalmists.

18

Herder's thought marked a decisive progress beyond Möser's and Klopstock's; it had a breadth and an immediate contact with reality not found in the other two. He did not look back to an ancient mythology and the sentimental revival of supposed customs of the past; he looked around him and found in the living reality vital forces of the past pointing towards the future. It was the hot breath of the new life, not the thin and only artificially heated air of a Valhalla or of Osnabrück's Middle Ages which breathed through the pages of "Von deutscher Art und Kunst," a collection of five articles of which three were reprints: Möser's introduction

to his History of Osnabrück, Goethe's "Von deutscher Baukunst," an impassioned appreciation of the Gothic Strasbourg Cathedral, and an Italian author's essay deprecating Gothic architecture. Of true importance were Herder's own two contributions, one on Ossian and old folk songs, the other on Shakespeare. Both showed his deep understanding of language.²⁸⁸ In the old folk songs of all peoples and all tongues he found a vitality and a strength, an audacity and originality which seemed to him to be great human art. Certainly, there must be still many unknown songs like that among the Germans and other peoples. "But who is the man to gather them? to care for them? to care for the songs of the people? in streets and lands and fish markets? in the singsongs of rude peasants? for songs which often rhyme poorly?"²⁸⁹ Herder's appeal did not remain unheeded; among the Germans and among many other nationalities young men began to gather folk songs and folklore. A new emphasis ensued on the folk, on the hidden sources of beauty and strength in the people, on its active participation as a national factor. Herder had praised England, declaring that there even the way of thinking was national and scholars wrote not only for other scholars, but for the whole nation, for the people, for the fatherland.²⁹⁰ This now began to be also true in many other lands, and not in the least part due to Herder's influence. In Strasbourg, Herder had told Goethe that "poetry was a gift to mankind and to all people, not the private inheritance of a few refined and educated persons"; Herder's own writings and his collections of folk songs have contributed much to the realization of this program.

Herder's nationalism was not free of some of the current clichés. Some early poems which he wrote in 1770, like "An den Genius von Deutschland" or "Eine Erscheinung," are full of them. Germanism was to him, as to so many other German nationalists, "Treue und Einfalt mit Anhänglichkeit und Mut verbunden,"²⁹¹ faithfulness and simplicity, loyalty and courage. On the other hand, the French appeared as lacking depth and originality, sacrificing these traits to taste and happy superficiality, as masters of imitation and therefore easily imitated themselves.²⁹² Certain traits of German inferiority were compensated for by the prospects of future greatness. "We came late, it is true, but we are younger." The Germans,

Herder claimed, had spent centuries in defending Europe against Rome's despotism and against the Eastern barbarians. If now they were to imitate others, if they were to adopt the best in each people, then they would soon surpass them all. The German language seemed to be the perfect instrument for that task, excelling by far the Romance and the English "mongrel" languages. "The German language, flowering in purity from its own root, and a stepsister of the most perfect language, the Greek, has an incredible suppleness to adapt itself to the expression, the idiom, the spirit, and the prosody of other nations, even of the Greeks and the Romans."²⁴³

Thus Herder used all the traditional claims of German nationalism which were to become so popular in the nineteenth century: the depth and originality of the German mind as compared with that of the Romance peoples, especially of the French (a depth claimed later by Russian and Indian nationalists for their own peoples in comparison with those of Europe); the originality of the German language as most closely related to the Greek, an opinion which later was to culminate in the proud claim that German and Greek were the two great creative Nordic forces of world civilization; the emphasis upon the youth of Germany and therefore upon its great future, the Germans representing the fulfillment of history and the crowning of civilization (a claim later to be raised with a different emphasis by the Russians, and other "young" nations whose "day" was to dawn); the German guardianship of Europe and European civilization against the barbarians of the East (a noble role also claimed by Poles and Hungarians, Rumanians and Greeks).

Herder's thought, though he followed one general line, was vague and open to many interpretations. German cosmopolitan liberalism and progressive nationalism could claim him, as could German romanticism. While he often stressed the cultural contacts between nations, their collaboration in a common inheritance, at other times he revealed a strong hostility to alien influences, as later the Slavophiles were to do in Russia and Hindu extremists in India. Charlemagne appeared to him as the main offender, who as a servant of Rome imposed on the German nation the triple yoke of the "Roman popish idolatry," of the Roman law, and of the monastic

Roman language. This alien influence poisoned the mind of the German nation. In a poem written in 1770, Herder asked of Charlemagne: "Was he your murderer or your savior, German Fatherland? Homestead and cattle and a free and noble blood, these were your possessions. He shed your free blood, took your homestead and your courage, and gave you—ha, monkey business, which neither laymen nor priests understand."

War er, Deutsches Vaterland,
Mörder dir oder Heiland?
Vieh und Heim, das war dein Gut
und ein freies, edles Blut—

Er vergoss dein freies Blut
nahm dir Heim und Gut und Muth
und gab dir—ha! Affentand,
den nicht Lai nicht Pfaff verstand!

And many years later Herder still asked:

Soll ich singen den Mann, der Deutschland würgte,
oder taufete; den der Römerbischof,
der den Bischof in Rom zum Herrn der Welt log—
Leyer, o nenne

Nicht den Franken und seines Stammes keinen;
Lass die Inful ihn preisen, der sie schmückte.²⁴⁴

Several elements entered into his condemnation of Charlemagne and especially of the alien Roman influence. Herder spoke not only as a German, but as a Protestant. In Charlemagne he hated the conqueror, the man with the sword who had subjected peaceful populations to his rule, and who seemed driven by imperial greed and lust for domination, that evil demon of history, as Herder called the Roman legacy. Yet there was another, more interesting and more fundamental element involved in his rejection of Charlemagne's introduction of Christianity into Germany: his belief in the folk as the real creative entity of history. He found humanity

threatened by the growing mechanization of life which cast its shadow over the eighteenth century, by the dryness of the vulgar and overconfident rationalism of a utilitarian epoch, and by the progressive specialization and devitalization of scholarship and science. Against these tendencies he asserted the fullness of life and the uniqueness of all individuality, which is irreducible to any general scheme. His romanticism found this individuality not only, and not even mainly, embodied in persons; he discovered it in national communities, in corporate personalities which to him were not simple aggregates of individuals, but a new, unique, and fuller manifestation of the great forces of nature and history. They were not created by human will or contract, they had an original vitality of their own, a life force, more primeval and more pregnant of the future than the sum of all the individuals. "Wunderbare, seltsame Sache überhaupt ist's um das, was genetischer Geist und Charakter eines Volks heisst. Er ist unerklärlich und unauslöschlich, so alt wie die Nation, so alt wie das Land, das sie bewohnte."²⁴⁵ National character, genetic and organic, like all phenomena of nature and history, appeared as a miraculous manifestation of the World Spirit, inexplicable and immortal—a discovery of greatest importance which has deeply influenced the thought of all the later generations, especially in Germany.

Herder never arrived at a clear conception of national characters, of Volksgeist. Sometimes he clearly envisaged the uniqueness of all historical moments. "No one in the world feels the weakness of general characterizations more than I do. If we characterize a whole people, a whole epoch, a whole continent, whom have we characterized? If we characterize successive peoples and epochs, following in permanent change like waves of the sea, whom have we characterized, whom have we really described? Who has noticed how ineffable and singular the character of one individual is, how impossible to express what it is that distinguishes him from others? How unlike and peculiar all things become when his eye sees them, his soul measures them, his heart feels them! What depth lies in the character of even one nation which, even when examined closely, nevertheless remains elusive! Are these all not like the effort to sum up the ocean of whole nations and countries in one vision, one

entiment, one word!" He was overwhelmed by his discovery of the uniqueness, the apparent irrationality, of individuality, and even more by his discovery of national individuality which determines all its members. He knew that no two moments in the world were identical and that therefore, Egyptians, Romans, and Greeks could not have been the same at all times, that there was a development in the national character,²⁴⁶ that there was a growth, that external events and conditions, climate, geographic factors, events, necessities imposed from outside, influenced and shaped it. Yet at other times national character gained definite and permanent reality for him. It became an essential substance, something ancient, interwoven with forces of nature which could only grow out of its own originality, and to which all influences from outside were harmful. In this sense folk could easily become a mystical primeval force, outside the process of change and intercourse, growing only within itself. Herder transferred Rousseau's naïve optimism—that natural man is good, that he should not be influenced from outside, but should only follow his own original instincts and so develop "organically"—from the individual to the nation: nothing is good except what lives in the "natural" instincts of the nation. Though Herder realized that external factors could change a national character, he nevertheless sometimes spoke of it as if it were eternal. He has got himself into "the vicious circle which results from deducing a peculiar national character from the peculiarities of a literature or a system of law (which are perhaps only characteristic expressions of certain social conditions or degrees of cultural development) and then, in turn, trying to explain the same literature and law from that character."²⁴⁷

This conception of the folk could easily have led to a complete irrationalism and relativism. Herder's own fundamental rationalism and his humanitarian ethics saved him from that danger, of which, as a son of the eighteenth century, he never became fully aware; he believed in the basic harmony between the individual and the nation, and between the nation and mankind.²⁴⁸ The rational virtue of moderation kept him within the limits of the human.²⁴⁹ Individual happiness, not the happiness or greatness of states or nations, was for him the goal of all history.²⁵⁰ As a Christian he knew that strong

men, following only "nature," could always find a justification in "nature" for the most "unnatural" deeds against their fellow men. Therefore a Man had come Who had raised the human being above animal nature, and Who combined the teachings of all good and wise men into "eine über allen Nationalismus erhöhte Menschen- und Völkerreligion"²⁵¹ (a religion of men and peoples above all the nationalisms). How different, Herder exclaimed, would history have been if it had been guided by pure humanity and not by "passion which has driven peoples like wild beasts against one another." He saw the greatest curse of mankind in heroes, "Würger des Menschengeschlechts," ambitious and cunning hangmen of mankind who have turned our earth into Mars or the child-devouring Saturn.²⁵² He was full of ironical contempt for men who believed themselves superior or meritorious because they happened to belong to a people which had produced great men or great works of art and science. He did not believe in the power of blood or heredity to elevate some men above others. That seemed to him to be one of the "darkest formulas in the human language."²⁵³

Herder was not only a humanitarian, he was a democrat. He considered as an evil principle that which claims that man is an animal who needs a master: on the contrary, the man who needs a master is an animal; as soon as he becomes a man he no longer needs a master. "Under the yoke of despotism even the noblest people in a short time will lose its nobility: its highest talents will be abused for falsehood and fraud, for crawling and servility and luxury; no wonder then that it finally gets accustomed to its yoke and even kisses it."²⁵⁴ His hostility to all despotism permeated all his thought. "What good does arbitrary power do the king? Power above the law is the greatest abomination under the sun, and an ignominy for its possessor, for he abandons thereby all morality and all true merit."²⁵⁵ Johann Georg Müller, the brother of the famous Swiss historian, reported a conversation with him on October 13, 1780, in which Herder deplored the despotism and the disregard for the most sacred rights of man which then were common in Europe. "He is terribly hostile to the aristocracy," Müller later noted, "because it is opposed to human equality and to all Christian principles, and because it is a monument of human stupidity."²⁵⁶

It is easily understandable that a man with his convictions welcomed the French Revolution, and remained so strong an adherent of its democratic message that by 1795 he almost completely broke with Goethe because of their divergent political views. Yet he could put only little of what he really thought and felt into his works. He complained bitterly about it; if he dared to express his opinion at all he had to invent ever new forms of disguise:

Sieh, Freund, so spricht die Deutsche Politik
Vom Fernsten immer und vom Weitesten;
Nur nicht von sich; und lohnt es wohl der Müß,
Die Musen mit dem Wuste zu entweihn?
Verbannt aus Deutschland ist die Politik;
Verbannet sei nur nicht die Menschlichkeit! ²⁸⁷

A few poems spoke of his enthusiasm and his hopes, as when he called the Fourteenth of July a "divine and sacred festival," ²⁸⁸ or when he prayed that salvation might come to mankind by the clear light of Apollo dispelling the fog of passions, so that brothers in mankind might recognize, and awakening nations might embrace, one another. ²⁸⁹ In 1802, one year before his death, he wrote: "Does Christianity teach anything else than pure humanity (*reine Humanität*)? It must found thereon its international law. Nobody should be confused by grievous mistakes and contradictions which he has experienced: reason and equity surely continue their march. It is evident that what one nation demands or desires from another it must be willing to reciprocate. Brutal outrages, perfidy, and insolent arrogance of one nation against another, arouse the indignation of all nations. This international law is engraved in the heart of every human being." ²⁹⁰

Herder was a true son of the Enlightenment, ²⁹¹ a liberal humanitarian, a rational cosmopolitan. His lasting contribution was his discovery of the folk, a new perspective given to history and society, art and civilization. But more important than this new aspect of reality, a very partial and fragmentary aspect, discovered by Herder, became the myth of the folk which its devotees raised high above a fragmentary reality into a sovereign totality. The deep

faith in harmony and moderation of the eighteenth century restrained Herder's folk concept from engulfing individuality and humanity; the spirituality of the Christian did not allow his folk concept to sink to the level of a purely natural concept; the idealism of the rationalist thinker preserved it from being regarded as sheer givenness and an ultimate value to which man could be subjected without possibility of resistance. But German thought which in the last one hundred fifty years has progressively broken loose from the ideals of harmony and moderation and from Christianity and rationalism, has given the folk—or the "race," as it was later called with the growing influence of natural science—a demonic power over all history and life.

Near the end of his life Herder wrote a curious piece, a dialogue on national religions, in which he gave what may be regarded as the brief sum of his manifold thoughts. He showed that he felt deeply for all those many primitive peoples who had lost the religion of their ancestors, and with it, "their character, their heart, and their history." He understood the implacable hatred of Gaels and Slavs, Lithuanians and Esthonians, against the foreigners who had imposed upon them an alien religion and had condemned their ancient faiths as superstitions. Against this emphasis on the right of each peculiar folk spirit, the great symbol of Christianity was raised: one shepherd and one flock—the message of a united mankind. The discussion of these two opposed points of view led Herder to attempt a synthesis of individual rights, of national peculiarities, and of a common and universal destiny of mankind. His Protestant individualism maintained that religion cannot be imposed, and that "the hearts of men demand self-felt religion, the reason of men demands self-thought truth," a religion of free conviction and individual conscience. But this religion cannot be entirely individual, for the heart speaks in a language, in its own language, in its mother tongue. The language of our love, our prayer, and our dreams, that is our religious language. It is our folk's language. No alien language can become a religious language. Christianity should not have destroyed national religions, but purified them, should have taught them the essence of Christianity—which is nothing but the pure laws of humanity—in their own languages. Thus only could

these peoples have become truly civilized, for true civilization of a people always begins with the awakening and cultivation of its language, in which the many memories of the national past continue alive. Therefore national religions for all peoples on earth become essential "for the peace of the world, for the development of each people from its own roots. Then no alien language or religion will tyrannize the language or mind of another people." Christianity should be for all nations like the pure dew from heaven, refreshing but not changing every kind of tree and fruit. In such a world of harmonious diversity, in which all manifoldness will be respected and allowed to develop in its own organic way, peace will reign. There will be no conquests nor jealousies, no ambitions nor bitterness. Each religion, suited to its environment, will aspire to perfection, without comparing itself to others. Do not nations differ in everything, in poetry and pleasure, in physiognomy and taste, in customs, habits, and language? Would not religion, which partakes of all of these, also differ nationally? and even individually, so that in the end, everybody would possess his religion as he possesses his heart, his conviction, and his language? While the friends so discussed the relations of the universal and the individual, the sun began to set: in its mild glow everything partook of its beauty and its vitalizing strength, and it left all plants in their own colors and shared its benign radiance with all the different and manifold forms of life.²⁰²

The emphasis on individual nationality and its rights and the high evaluation of popular traditions and of the vernacular—the vision of a future peaceful world, in which each nationality would dwell in liberty in its own place, each awakened to the high message of humanity, each cultivating it in its own way, all, whether small or large, equal and competing peacefully for the common good of mankind—the faith in a harmonious synthesization of the rights of the individual with his loyalty to the national community and its duties to mankind: these were the new elements owed to Herder's rich and fertile mind which deeply influenced, through many various channels, the rising Central European nationalism of the early nineteenth century. It was only later, in an age which professed to despise the rationalism of the Enlightenment, that the deep contra-

dictions and the dangerous implications of Herder's thought became manifest. Yet by then liberalism and humanitarianism had been abandoned by generations of Germans to whom aggression and domination, which Herder had hated so strongly, came to mean the glorious essence of life and history.

CHAPTER VIII

Stirrings in the Old World
Toward the Great Awakening

Les peuples souffrent, les gouvernements ne sont pas contents; tout est, de part et d'autre, dans cette agitation, cette effervescence qui précède des grandes crises en tout genre.

Linguet, *Réflexions sur l'état de l'Europe en 1779*.

After sharing in the benefits of one Revolution [the Glorious Revolution], I have been spared to be a witness to two other Revolutions, both glorious. . . . Behold, the light you have struck out, after setting America free, reflected to France, and there kindled into a blaze that warms and illuminates Europe!

Richard Price, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*, delivered in London on November 4, 1789, to the Society for Commemorating the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

Car le patriotisme véritable c'est l'orgueil de ce que nos aïeux ont fait de grand avant nous. c'est l'ardeur et la volonté de prolonger leur tâche; c'est la résolution de consacrer comme eux notre effort et de sacrifier s'il le faut notre vie, pour introduire dans l'humanité toujours plus de raison, toujours plus de bonté, toujours plus de justice: c'est la foi dans les quelques grandes idées que, depuis deux cents ans, la France a représentées en effet dans le monde: liberté, égalité des individus, fraternité des hommes, universalité du droit. Voilà le vrai patriotisme et voilà la vraie France.

Léon Blum, 13 July 1935.

I

In the eighteenth century contemporary Europe took shape: outwardly Russia and the Balkans grew into it; inwardly it became, as Voltaire wrote to a Russian in 1767, "*une république immense d'esprits cultivés*." The old order, with its traditional religious foundations which had claimed eternal validity, was slowly crumbling. New ties for the integration of society and new guides for the understanding of history were needed to release and order the economic, social, and spiritual forces of the approaching age with its rapid growth of population, its industrialization and urbanization, its rise of the masses, and its general mobilization and acceleration of life. Eighteenth century continental Europe was still a slow-moving and rural society with a strict hierarchy of classes. The new ideas transforming the outlook of the educated minority preceded the social and economic changes and facilitated the integration of the new economic and social dynamism, which in turn allowed for their deeper and wider penetration.

In search of a new basis for society, European thought crystallized around the three concepts of liberty, humanity, and patriotism. All three tended to put human relations—especially the relation between government and people—on a new basis, irrespective of traditions and classes. Government had been something "above" the people; the people, something "below"—the object of, and subject to—the government. Activity was the character of the latter; passivity, that of the former. The new concept of individual liberty which began to undermine class barriers in the name of equality, and religious barriers in the name of tolerance, activated the people, giving them a new interest and stake in their government, and giving the government a new vitality. At the moment when its traditional legitimacy as the master of the people was shaken, governmental authority gained a new and stronger legitimacy as its servant.¹

The concepts of liberty, of humanity and patriotism were closely interrelated, different aspects of one and the same transforming process. Patriotism was compatible with cosmopolitanism and liberalism—in fact they were inseparable; yet, as the century progressed, the meaning of patriotism changed, gaining in depth and emotional fervor. In the middle of the century it meant interest in public welfare and in enlightened law; a patriot was the supporter of good government, an altruistic friend of liberty and mankind; fatherland was an ideal rather than a geographic concept, belonged more to the realm of civic morality than to that of national exclusiveness. But shortly after the middle of the century a French writer² ascribed to "fatherland" a meaning far beyond good government or dutiful loyalty. "Cold definition! A country which would have only this sole connection with its inhabitants—would it merit the name of fatherland?" Ancient authors have taught the true sense of the word, a magnificent sense, when they wrote that *nothing is so worthy of our love, nothing so sacred, as the fatherland, that we owe ourselves entirely to it, that it is as little admissible to harbor feelings of vengeance against it as against one's father, that it is sweet to die for its protection, that the heavens are open only to those who have served it well. "C'est une puissance aussi ancienne que la société, fondée sur la nature et l'ordre; une puissance supérieure à toutes les puissances qu'elle établit dans son sein."* The fatherland is superior to kings and magistrates, it embraces all classes of society, all kinds of people, rich and poor, the great and famous as well as the unknown multitudes, the adherents of all sects and religions, of all parties and convictions. For it transcends all divisions: it means to think in common, it is a community of sentiments and interests surpassing all others, the center of all thought and of all action. To restore the word's true meaning, grammarians will not suffice; statesmen will be required who will revive the ideas and relationships which the word connotes and make them again a living reality throughout society.

In these words Abbé Coyer foresaw the development of a patriotism growing beyond its original meaning of enlightened public opinion.³ Towards the end of the century the word "patriot" lost its academic serenity and its aristocratic flavor; it descended to the

common people, carrying a revolutionary threat to the established order and a promise of a new deal to everybody. By 1788 the word acquired the new and graver implication,⁴ to which the American Revolution contributed, "men united for action." The "thinking in common" marked the growth of a new corporate personality, endowed with common thoughts, sentiments, and purposes. In this process the newly awakened interest in territorial history—partly antiquarian and partly political in support of ancient privileges against the centralizing tendencies of modern administration—the philosophy of the century with its emphasis upon the universal and rational rights of man, and the discovery of the ethnic community with its old popular folk ways and folklore, intermingled in the most various ways. In the clear light of eighteenth century rationalism traces of old and primeval forces began to appear like dark strains.

Out of the complex and contradictory elements national consciousness grew. So strong is the influence of ideas that, while the new nationalism in Western Europe corresponded to changing social, economic, and political realities, it spread to Central and Eastern Europe long before a corresponding social and economic transformation. The cultural contact among the educated classes of the continent changed their moral and intellectual attitude while the economic order and the ways of life of the vast majority of the peoples remained untouched. The political and social changes confined to the West accentuated the deep differences existing between the two parts of Europe. The new ideas encountered in the different countries a great diversity of institutional and social conditions, bequeathed by the past, and were shaped and modified by them. Their different interpretations produced different types of nationalism—one based upon liberal middle-class concepts and pointing to a consummation in a democratic world society, the other based upon irrational and pre-enlightened concepts and tending towards exclusiveness—which were to supply the ideological background of the great conflicts of the contemporary world. Yet in all this diversity the sense of unity of the modern world was born, first confined to educated Europe, later deepening and spreading to draw the masses into its orbit, to encompass the

globe, and to awaken distant peoples from their isolation and lethargy.

2

During this period the center of the radiation of the new ideas, and the model of their realization, was *England*. In every field of human progress and endeavor, in industrial invention and in trade expansion, in the growth of liberty and the decrease of violence, in the respect for human personality and in the administration of law, in philanthropy and in public morality, England set the pace. Her strength was not based on forceful imposition or on military establishment. In no other country did standing armies play so insignificant a role. In 1744 a threatened French invasion of ten thousand men caused a panic because England could muster no more than nine thousand and nobody knew where to concentrate them against the possible landings. One year later the few thousand Highlanders of the Young Pretender could march unchecked south to Derby. England had first, and better than any other people, integrated herself into a nation in the realization of individual liberty: this made her strength. Without pathos or ostentation, without abandoning humanitarian and liberal principles—nay, rather through them—she weathered the great crises through which the Empire passed. What Emerson wrote about the English in 1859 holds good of them in 1750 as in 1940:

“An electric touch by any of their national ideas melts them into one family and brings the hoards of power which their individuality is always hiving, into use and play for all. . . . They embrace their cause with more tenacity than their life. Though not military, yet every common subject by the poll is fit to make a soldier of. These private reserved mute family-men can adopt a public end with all their heart, and this strength of affection makes the romance of their heroes. . . . A great ability, not amassed of a few giants, but poured into the general mind, so that each of them could at a pinch stand in the shoes of the other; and they are more bound in character than differenced in ability or in rank. The laborer is a possible lord. The lord is a possible basket-maker. Every

man carries the English system in his brain, knows what is confided to him and does therein the best he can. . . . The charm in Nelson's history is the unselfish greatness, the assurance of being supported by those whom he supports to the uttermost. Whilst they are some ages ahead of the rest of the world in the art of living, whilst in some directions they do not represent the modern spirit, but constitute it—this vanguard of civility and power they coldly hold, marching in phalanx, lockstep, foot after foot, file after file of heroes, ten thousand deep.”⁶

In England the theory that *raison d'état* justifies state action in politics and international relations, never took firm hold; all representative thinkers knew government as an ethical activity and the principles of politics as those of morality enlarged. Therein Edmund Burke, who regarded the Glorious Revolution as a final settlement and a permanent model, and Jeremy Bentham, for whom it was a starting point for rapid and ever growing reforms, agreed entirely. For Burke despotism was always the enemy; he fought against arbitrariness and violence wherever he found it, “whether in a king's treatment of a colony, a governor's oppression of a conquered country, great States lording it over small, or revolutionary mobs governing by caprice.”⁶ Burke and Bentham regarded the “happiness and unhappiness of actual individuals as the final criterium of government.” Government was a trust, whether based for the conservative thinker upon Christianity—“a religion which so much hates oppression, that when the God whom we adore appeared in human form, he did not appear in a form of greatness and majesty, but in sympathy with the lowest of the people, and thereby made it a firm and ruling principle, that their welfare was the object of all government”⁷—or for the radical thinker on rational benevolence: “Why should the law refuse its protection to any sensitive being? The time will come, when humanity will extend its mantle over everything which breathes. We have begun by attending to the condition of slaves; we shall finish by softening that of all the animals which assist our labors or supply our wants. . . . The more we become enlightened, the more benevolent shall we become; because we shall see that the interests of men coincide upon more points than they oppose each other. In commerce, ig-

norant nations have treated each other as rivals, who could only rise upon the ruins of one another. The work of Adam Smith is a treatise upon universal benevolence."⁸

From his *A Fragment of Government* (1776), a critical examination of Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries, to his death in 1832 Bentham incessantly labored for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Speaking to "fellow-citizens of all times and places," he wished to be the servant of "all nations professing liberal opinions"—opinions grounded in English liberty. Liberty made England matchless in strength, liberty accompanied Englishmen wherever they went, it was carried by them to the distant corners of their far-flung empire, awakening new desires: it accounted for the success of democracy in the United States, "a region peopled with men bred up in English habits, with minds fraught with ideas, associated with all English ideas by English language,"⁹ ideas of which Joseph Priestley could claim: "England hath hitherto taken the lead in almost everything great and good, and her citizens stand foremost in the annals of fame as having shaken off the fetters which hung upon the human mind, and called it forth to the exertion of its noblest powers. And her constitution has been so far from receiving any injury from the efforts of these her free born enterprising sons, that she is, in part, indebted to them for the unrivaled reputation she now enjoys, of having the best system of policy in Europe."¹⁰

The new English concepts of liberty and trusteeship expressed themselves in all fields of philanthropy and humanitarian reform; the British Empire set the pace for tolerance and respect for human personality where they had been unknown before. In 1772 Granville Sharp (1735-1813) obtained from Lord Chief Justice Mansfield the epoch-making decision that all slaves brought to, or living in, the United Kingdom were free. In 1787 the Association for the Abolition of Negro Slavery was founded. The leading English statesman of the period, William Pitt, rose in the great debate on the abolition of the slave trade on April 2, 1792, to the vision of a new Africa: "If we listen to the voice of reason and duty and pursue this night the line of conduct which they prescribe, some of us

may live to see . . . the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupation of industry, in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which at some happy period in still later times, joining their influence to that of pure religion, may illumine and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent. Then may we hope that even Africa shall enjoy those blessings which have descended so plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world. Then also will Europe participating in her improvements and prosperity, receive an ample recompense for the tardy kindness (if kindness it can be called) of no longer hindering that continent from extricating herself out of the darkness which in other more fortunate regions has been so much more speedily dispelled."¹¹

The movement for liberty and humanity was powerfully helped by the evangelical revival. As a conservative Tory and High Churchman, John Wesley (1703-1791) preached the Christian vocation to social and political action and the Christian duty of relieving the need of the poor. His wide schemes for social betterment included the fight against slavery. In 1774 he published his "Thoughts upon Slavery"; when he was eighty-five he preached a sermon on slavery in Bristol; and the dying patriarch's last letter on February 24, 1791, blessed William Wilberforce, to go on in opposing "that execrable villainy": "O be not weary of well doing! Go on, in the name of God and in the power of His might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it."¹² Methodism promoted an active and vitalizing world-wide missionary spirit which by founding schools and hospitals in backward countries did much to raise there the general standard of welfare and to prepare the growth of a world society. The British and Foreign Bible Society, which was formed in 1804, was the most important association of this kind and published Bibles in many languages in which no printed literature had previously existed, thus contributing to the rise of a national consciousness. The Society was suggested by the Reverend Thomas Charles of Bala, who found his evangelistic work in Wales ham-

pered by the lack of Welsh Bibles. The religious revivalism of the second half of the eighteenth century in Britain fathered the rise of a Welsh nationalism.¹³

Wales had shared in many ways the fate of England in the times of Roman, Saxon, and Norman invasions. It became definitely linked with England in 1301, when Edward, son and heir of Edward I, born at Carnarvon, received the title Prince of Wales henceforth customary for the heirs to the English throne. The last Welsh revolt against the King occurred in 1400 under Owain Glyndwr, who wished to call a Welsh parliament after the English model, to separate the Welsh church from Canterbury, and to establish Welsh colleges after the model of Oxford. The revolt was dangerous because it was supported by the Percys in Northumberland and by a French landing in Wales. After its suppression Henry IV (1399-1413) took precautionary measures by decreeing that no Welshman should be armed or have castles or bear office.¹⁴ The Welsh took their revenge when in 1485 a purely Welsh house, the Tudors, ascended England's throne with the help of Welsh armed forces (Sir Rhys ap Thomas); the Welsh felt proud seeing a Welsh squire wearing the crown. The greatest Tudor monarch proclaimed in his Act of Union in 1536 the complete equality of Welsh and English.¹⁵ "Some rude and ignorant People have made Distinction and Diversity between the King's Subjects of the Realm and his subjects of the said Dominion and Principality of Wales, whereby great Discord, Variance, Debate, Division, Murmur and Sedition, hath grown between his said Subjects; His Highness therefore, of a singular Zeal, Love and Favour, that he beareth towards his Subjects of his said Dominion of Wales . . . hath ordained . . . that all and singular Person and Persons, born or to be born in the said Principality, Country or Dominion of Wales, shall have, enjoy, and inherit all and singular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Privileges, and Laws, within this, his Realm, and other the King's Dominions, as other the King's subjects, naturally born within the same, have, enjoy, and inherit." The corollary of this equality was the assimilation of the local laws and customs of Wales to the laws of the kingdom and the introduction of English

in the whole administration. Many Welshmen flocked to London and other urban centers and rose fast to new social and cultural levels. The wealthier classes in Wales became Anglicized, and the political loyalty of the Cymry, as the Welsh call themselves, remained unshaken, even in the time of the Civil War. The possible harm which Henry VIII's introduction of English, in the interest of good administration and general progress, might have caused to the Welsh language was more than undone by the translation of the New Testament into Welsh which Elizabeth carried through with the help of Richard Davies, Bishop of St. Davids (1567). The whole Welsh Bible was completed in 1588, mainly by William Morgan, Bishop of St. Asaph, and printed by the royal press of Westminster. The first Welsh dictionaries and grammar were also published at that time.

The English evangelical revival of the eighteenth century continued and accelerated the Welsh linguistic and cultural revival. Welsh life, much more than English life, is dominated by religious, poetical, and historical interests. The religious revival brought a new emphasis upon preaching and reading in the vernacular. The lack of a state-controlled educational system was helpful to the free growth of diversity of language and civilization. So ingrained was individual liberty in the texture of English nationalism, and only of English nationalism, that it distrusted the monopoly of state education and "feared the tyranny of enforced opinion, especially if that were of a nationalistic hue."¹⁶ Priestley wrote in his "Essay on the First Principles of Government" (1768), "Education is a branch of civil liberty which ought by no means to be surrendered into the hands of a civil magistrate, and the best interests of society require that the right of conducting it be inviolably preserved to individuals"; and his opinion was echoed by John Stuart Mill in "On Liberty" (1859): "A general state education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another; and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant powers in the government, . . . it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body."¹⁷

Under these conditions the teaching of Welsh could be freely undertaken by Welshmen prompted by religious motives as well as by the interests of enlightenment and antiquarian research characteristic of the century. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror (1683-1761) founded circulating charity schools where the reading of the Bible in Welsh was taught, and in 1785 Reverend Thomas Charles of Bala (1755-1814) founded Sunday schools open to all ages and both sexes. The new interest in native language and cultural tradition was strengthened by preachers like Howell Harris (1713-1773) and Daniel Rowland (1713-1790) and by great popular poets like Goronwy Owen (1722-1769) who wrote in the old classical meters, and William Williams (1717-1791) who composed in new free meters religious hymns and "Theomemphus," the national epic of evangelical Wales. In 1770 the first Welsh periodical was published—a fortnightly, *Trysorfa Gwybodeath* (Treasury of Knowledge); but the new periodicals were short-lived except for the Wesleyan magazine *Yr Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd* (the Wesleyan Gold Treasure). Hand in hand with this popular religious revival in Wales went the activity of literary societies founded by educated Welshmen in London like the Cymdeithes y Cymmrodorion (the Society of Cymry, 1751). They searched for old Welsh manuscripts, edited some, published grammars and dictionaries of Cymric, produced the legend of the "golden age of independence," and tried to reintroduce the Eisteddfod, or "Session" of bards and the celebration of St. David's Day on March 1 in memory of the sixth century Patron of Wales Sant Dewi. Thus, under a religious inspiration, the links with the past were stressed. "It was no doubt a religious revival, but the moment its inner meaning is penetrated, it becomes apparent, it was a good deal more than that. It was in fact, the new birth of a people."¹⁸ But it was a purely cultural nationalism, based upon language and antiquarian interest, akin to similar movements among the dormant nationalities of Central Europe at that time, and devoid of any political aspirations or territorial demands. In that respect it fundamentally differed from the birth of the Irish nation which the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed.

3

Like the Welsh, the Irish have a deep reverence for religion and antiquity and a profound interest in poetry and history. "No people on the face of the globe have ever been more keenly interested in the past of their native country than the Irish,"¹⁰ though in their historical writings imagination, exaggeration, and the supernatural play an unusual role. What distinguishes the Irish most from the peaceful Welsh is their fighting spirit; this, however, until very recent times was not put into the service of a national cause. Ireland became a nation in the late eighteenth century under the leadership of Englishmen and under the influence of English ideas. It had been a loose confederation of tribes, dominated by fierce clannish spirit and unceasing tribal strife, in the course of which the English were called into Ireland and throughout supported by Irish factions. The Irish did not share certain fundamental European experiences which helped the growth of nations: Their country was never conquered by the Romans, nor overrun by the Germans in the period of the great migrations. Even the church organization developed differently in Ireland and bore the impress of the tribal character of Irish society. The Irish had no towns and no municipal institutions; their principal livelihood was not agriculture but husbandry. The first towns on Irish soil were founded by Viking invaders in the ninth century (Dublin in 840); and the Scandinavians brought Ireland into commercial and cultural contact with Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The only feeling of unity which existed in Ireland, helped by its island character, was the consciousness of a common culture—sustained by the Irish love for song and lore and devotion to learning and art, and represented by the bards who "were almost the only people in later Ireland who belonged to their country rather than to their lords, or tribe or territory." But even they did nothing to arouse a national feeling of unity; on the contrary they strengthened the clan spirit with their subservience to the vanity of their lords, and "it may very well be that the bardic

race was not in the long run an advantage to Ireland, and the elaborate system of pedigrees which they preserved, and the eulogies upon their particular patrons tended to keep the clan spirit alive to the detriment of the idea of a unified nationality, and to the exclusion of new political modes of thought."²⁰

The conflict between Ireland and England was originally neither national nor religious: it was a conflict of two civilizations, in which the decaying primitive tribalism of Ireland succumbed without finding in itself the strength of adjustment to changing circumstances and higher forms of life. The differences between the feudal law of England and the tribal law of Ireland were at the bottom of most misunderstandings and ensuing conflicts. The English settlers brought to Ireland their institutions and liberties; but under Sir Edward Poynings as Lord Deputy of Ireland the parliament of Drogheda in December, 1494, subordinated the Irish legislature to the English parliament—a condition which lasted almost three hundred years. In the great international war of the Catholics and Protestants, exiled Catholic Englishmen wished to organize the Irish for war against Protestant England; finding a bond of unity in a priesthood transcending clan, they tried to found an Irish nation on faith. Nicholas Sanders (c. 1530–1581), educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, later joined the Jesuits and in 1579 went with Spaniards and others to Ireland to foment a rebellion. His efforts to create an Irish nation on spiritual foundations were of as little avail as similar efforts of the Great O'Neill in the political field. He was only partly Irish, and the greatest obstacle to his plans was the backwardness of his people. He had been educated under English and Protestant influence, had an English wife and surrounded himself with English bodyguards; his efforts for a political union of the Gaels were defeated and betrayed by the Gaels themselves.²¹ In the seventeenth century the Irish Catholics and France, supporting James II, were defeated by the Protestants in the battles of the Boyne (1690) and of Aughrim (1691) with extremely grave consequences for the Catholic cause. The soldier hero of Ireland, Patrick Sarsfield, himself of Anglo-Norman descent, led the general exodus of Catholics which deprived the country of potential leadership.

The Protestants, frightened of the Catholic dynasty and powers, introduced the penal laws (Irish statutes, 2 Anne, ch. 12 and 8 Anne, ch. 3) which forbade Catholics to bear arms or to teach school. Catholic lands were forfeited, and heavy restrictions imposed on Irish commerce. What had been a conflict of two different levels of civilization, became now part of the great conflict of religions in England and in Europe. It was still no national conflict between Irish and English.

When Irish nationhood was born in the later eighteenth century, it did not grow either from Gaelic or from Catholic foundations. There was no revival of Irish language and literature or of Irish folk traditions and memories comparable to that of Wales. The period marked the lowest point in Gaelic literature, and the Gaelic language fell more and more into disuse except in parts of western Ireland. And yet the beginning of the seventeenth century had brought historiography and "the art of writing limpid Irish to its highest perfection" in Geoffrey Keating's *History of Ireland* down to the Norman Conquest. He was himself of English descent, and said in the preface of his manuscript: "I belong, according to my own extraction, to the old Galls or the Anglo-Norman race. I have seen that the natives of Ireland are maligned by every modern Englishman. For this reason, being much grieved at the unfairness those writers have shown to Irishmen, I have felt urged to write a history of Ireland myself."²² At about the same time the four masters—of whom Michael O'Clery, a Franciscan of the convent Donegal, was the most important—finished the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, telling its story from the Flood to 1616.²³ Yet one century later historical research and the remnants of the bardic schools receded completely into the background; as far as a native folk poetry existed, it found its central theme in the Jacobin cause and in the enthusiastic hope for the return of the exiled family. In these poems, singing of an alien dynasty, Ireland is envisioned for the first time as a unity, generally personified as a beautiful and suffering woman, and loyalty to tribe or chieftain is transcended.²⁴ But no political consequences or ideas stemmed from the poetical vision: it was vague and passive, the complaint of a helplessly dying primitive civilization, not a call to action and renovation. When at

the end of the century an Irish nation was born, inspired by the ideas of the century and clamoring for its self-realization, it was unconnected with the Gaelic tradition and the Irish Catholic clans, and was a nation of Protestant Englishmen who had settled in Ireland, and who claimed, as Englishmen, full parliamentary self-determination. Their case was in many ways similar to that of the English colonists in North America. In their demands for the political and constitutional self-realization of Ireland they began to identify themselves with the happiness, the culture and economic progress of the country as a whole, they "discovered" the Gaelic Irish; and the more progressive among them soon envisaged the integration of the Catholic majority into an Irish nation.²⁶

This birth of the Irish nation on the political-constitutional basis of English law and enlightened patriotism was foreshadowed by William Molyneux (1656-1698) in his "The Case of Ireland" (1698) and by Swift, who wrote in his "Drapier Letters" (1724): "The remedy is wholly in your hands . . . by the laws of God, of nature, of nations and of your country, you are and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England."²⁷ The self-assertion of Ireland in the eighteenth century was the work of the Protestant gentry. "During the whole of this long period the Irish Catholics, under the pressure of a severe and intemperate system, have shewed no systematical designs of revolt or manifested any general act of rebellion."²⁷ When at the end of the century Theobald Wolfe Tone tried to arouse the Catholics, he "experienced the greatest difficulty to rouse them, if not to a sense of their wrongs, at least to the spirit of expressing them."²⁸ All the prominent leaders of the United Irishmen—Tone, Emmet, Russell, Lord Fitzgerald—were Protestants of English stock; of the twenty prisoners in Fort George only four were Catholics. The Irish national movement began not as the manifestation of an oppressed minority or a subject people; it was not created by the possession of a separate language, or by pride in a separate history; all that came only later. At the beginning, it was like American nationalism, a self-assertion of English liberties. "Grattan and Flood did not look back to, nor feel themselves the successors of, Irish history, they were linked to England and England kindled among them, her own

sons, the flame of Irish national feeling," at the very time when its rudiments had died away among the Catholic Celts.²⁹

The population of Ireland in the eighteenth century fell into three groups. About one-tenth, of English descent, belonged to the Established Church, members of the landowning and professional classes, who had all the political rights, and who made up the Irish parliament on the basis of a franchise similar to that of the unreformed British parliament. Two-tenths of the population were dissenters, mainly Presbyterians of Scotch descent settled in Ulster, occupied in industry and trade, and suffering not only political disabilities, as in England, but also restrictions upon their production and commerce imposed in the interest of English manufacturers. They were a vigorous and enterprising group, of whom quite a number had emigrated to North America, so that many ties existed between the two British colonies and many Ulstermen looked to Philadelphia rather than to Westminster as their home. The majority of the population, Catholics mostly of Celtic descent, were without political rights and without official educational opportunities. A small upper group evaded many of the restrictions and maintained a comfortable standard of living; by far the larger group, however, lived in wretched conditions of great squalor and degradation and without any incentive to better their situation. What embittered them was not any feeling of injured nationality but the fear of being driven from the land. "It is probable that not a sword would have been drawn in Ireland in rebellion if those who ruled it had suffered the natives to enjoy their lands and their religion in peace."³⁰

The struggle for Irish freedom arose not in opposition to the British Crown, but in a protest against the policy of British cabinets. "It has been an old Trick of Ministers, to screen themselves under the Shield of Princes, and to make every Opposition to their Measures, appear an Act of Rebellion."³¹ The opposition in the Irish parliament calling themselves patriots, as was the habit of the time, demanded release from London legislative usurpation, embodied in the "Act for the better securing of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain" (1720), and freedom from restrictions in the interest of British industry and trade. The

patriotic efforts were frustrated not only by Irish dependence upon Great Britain but even more by the inadequacies which the Irish parliament shared with the British parliament of that period, its unrepresentative character, the influence of corruption, the widespread system of patronage and abuses. In 1759 Henry Flood (1732-1791) entered the Irish parliament, and until 1775 he was leader of the opposition. In December of that year Henry Grattan (1746-1820), representing the borough of Charlemont, became a member of the parliament. The cause of Irish nationalism found in him its first modern champion.⁸²

The struggle of the British colonists in North America offered the example. The constitutional demands of the American Whigs against the arbitrariness and mismanagement of the Tory government at home galvanized the Irish patriots, especially after Lord North sent emissaries to the States promising more than originally expected. The Irish could claim an advantage over America; they were not thirteen widely separated colonies but one ancient coherent territory with a parliamentary tradition and national institutions of its own. The year 1778, in which the Americans rejected Lord North's offer because of the French alliance, presented the Irish with their great opportunity. Britain was now at war with France; she and Ireland were denuded of troops; an invasion was feared. Under these circumstances the lords and gentlemen of Ireland declared themselves ready to raise independent companies to protect Ireland. Thus the Irish Volunteer Corps originated, a national army of patriots in which, under the command of the Earl of Charlemont, Episcopalians and dissenters marched arm in arm, and to which some Catholics, though not admitted, contributed financially.⁸³

The following four years witnessed the Irish revolution, a stormy advance of Irish nationalism, and its apparently complete success. In 1779 free trade was restored, and on April 19, 1780, Grattan moved in the Irish House of Commons, "that the King's most excellent Majesty, and the lords and commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland."⁸⁴ The motion was lost by 133 to 99 votes, but the movement gained fast momentum, supported by the enthusiasm of the Volunteers and

by many meetings and resolutions all over Ireland. Grattan became the champion of the national cause, when he rose on November 13, 1781, in the debate on the Mutiny Bill: "However astonishing it may appear, I rise in the 18th century to vindicate Magna Charta. I call upon gentlemen to teach British privileges to an Irish Senate. I quote the laws of England, because they are franchises, and they are the franchises of Irishmen as well as of Englishmen. I am not come to say what is expedient; I come to demand a right. I beg gentlemen to tell me why, and for what reason, the Irish nation was deprived of the British constitution. . . . Our duties are to watch with incessant vigils the cradle of the constitution; to rear an infant state, to protect a rising trade, to foster a growing people: among all the varieties of sectaries and of religions, every thing here is unanimity; the new world has overturned the prejudices of the old; it has let in a light upon mankind, and the modern philosophy has taught men to look upon each other as brethren. We are free, we are united,—persecution is dead; the protestant religion is the child of the constitution, the presbyterian is the father, the Roman catholic is not an enemy to it: we are united in one great national community." ⁸⁵

Addresses of congratulations poured in from Volunteers and corporations throughout Ireland. In his replies Mr. Grattan stressed invariably two principles: one, the solid rock on which Irish liberty was founded, the unbreakable link with the English tradition; the other, his new message of the necessity of receiving the Roman Catholics as fellow citizens, in the interest of the nation and in the philosophy of the age. "I am happy to find you concur with me in thinking, that Liberty is a great bond which keeps Great Britain and Ireland inseparably united. We are attached, not yoked, to the British Nation: we were originally connected with England by common privileges, and by the same, will that connection be rendered indissoluble." ⁸⁶ And on the other hand: "The spirit of toleration, which in other nations is humane, is necessary and indispensable in Ireland. It is our base and bulwark. Nature has made us the same people, and it is folly that will divide us. We hold the liberty we receive, by right of the liberty we give. We confide in the Roman catholic, and he is our friend forever." ⁸⁷

The Irish revolution of 1782 started with the resolutions adopted at the meeting of the representatives of the Ulster Volunteers at Dungannon on February 15, 1782. They declared unconstitutional the claim of any body of men, other than the King, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind Ireland, the powers of the Private Councils under the law of Poynings; mutiny bills not limited in duration; refusal of the independence of judges; and any obstruction to Ireland's free trade with all countries. Equally portentous, though less effective, were the resolutions regarding religious tolerance: "We hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as ourselves"; therefore, "as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland." The resolutions regarding Ireland's independence were adopted enthusiastically by the Volunteers throughout Ireland, who pledged their lives and fortunes to support them. Grattan moved on February 22, 1782, an address to the King, "declaring the rights of Ireland." A change of government in England brought ungrudging acquiescence in Ireland's demands. The Irish House, called for April 16th, listened to Grattan addressing "a free people." "Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua!* . . . You have moulded the jarring elements of your country into a nation. . . . Let other nations imagine that subjects are made for the monarch, but we conceive that kings, and parliaments, like kings, are made for the subjects. The Houses [of Parliament] are not original but derivative. Session after session they move their periodical orbit about the source of their being, the nation; even the King's majesty must fulfill his due and tributary course around that great luminary; and created by its beam, and upheld by its attraction, must incline to that light, or go out of the system. . . . Connected by freedom as well as by allegiance, the two nations, Great Britain and Ireland, form a constitutional confederacy as well as one empire; the crown is one link, the con-

stitution another; and, in my mind, the latter link is the most powerful. You can get a king anywhere, but England is the only country with whom you can participate a free constitution.”⁸⁵

Through Grattan's efforts and in his vision, amid the enthusiasm and under the pressure of the Volunteers, Ireland was becoming a nation, one nation. In a few years the Irish parliament achieved much: freedom of trade, independence of the legislature and of the judges, restoration of the final judicature, the beginning of Catholic emancipation and restitution of rights of person, property, and religion. Catholics were enabled to acquire land under the same conditions as the Protestants; their disabilities as to education were removed; and finally the franchise was granted to them. Yet this first stage of modern Irish nationalism lasted only eighteen years. The reasons for that were threefold: the unreformed and unrepresentative character which the Irish parliament shared with the British; the incomplete emancipation of the Catholics; and finally the influence of the French Revolution. The Irish parliament itself bore a large share of the responsibility for its downfall: the demands for reform raised in many quarters remained unheeded; seats were bought, peerages created; patronage was exercised freely to preserve vested interests; and Catholic emancipation was resisted and resented. Personal feuds between Grattan, who relied on the parliament, and Flood, who associated with the Volunteers, aggravated the situation.

Grattan never ceased to press full Catholic emancipation. He pointed out that the dangers which had made the penal laws necessary—the Pretender and the Pope—either had completely disappeared or had lost much of their importance; that in the new age religious differences were receding far into the background before divisions of nationality; that patriotism demanded strong nations based upon the support and unity of the people. “I love the Protestants, I love the Presbyterians, and I love the Catholics; that is, I love the Irish. If ever my affection abates, it is when they hate one another.”⁸⁶ The parliament of Ireland rejected complete emancipation; when after its end Grattan entered the Imperial parliament for his first speech in May, 1805, he warned again “not to depend on a sect or religion, nor trust the final issue of your

fortunes to any thing less than the whole of your people." 40 In the interval, however, the French Revolution had profoundly changed the situation all over Europe: a Catholic country had proved its fitness for liberty and for a progress surpassing the British constitution; tithes had been abolished, and all religious disabilities swept away. At the same time the reasonableness of the eighteenth century gave way to a fanatic enthusiasm from the depth. The new temper spread to Ireland, especially to the democratic Protestants of Ulster, where the United Irishmen were soon to arise as champions of radical democracy and national unity. With them the ideas of Thomas Paine triumphed over those of Edmund Burke; the goal was an Irish republic established by armed rebellion with the help of foreign, especially French forces; with the greatest leader of the cause, Tone, a Protestant of English stock, hatred of England was "rather an instinct than a principle." The first stage of Irish nationalism, a nationalism of constitutional privileges and liberties based upon the English principles of the Glorious Revolution, and of enlightened patriotism, was ended. Grattan's generous hope of a united nation growing in liberty under the guidance of law and in humanity under the guidance of reason, failed. A century later a nationalism triumphed characterized by the greatest Irish nationalist poet, again a man of English Protestant descent, in words which would have been incomprehensible to Grattan:

Out of Ireland have we come.
Great hatred, little room,
Maimed us at the start.
I carry from my mother's womb
A fanatic heart.

4

The complete absence of ethnographic and folkish moments characteristic for the Irish nationalism of the eighteenth century, marks also the development of nationalism in the Low Countries. Though the land at the strategically and commercially important

mouths of the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt is inhabited by people of the same stock and tongue, and though they were united under a central authority during important periods of their past, there has not grown up any common national consciousness of "*de Nederlandsche stam*"—the *Netherlandish folk*. The Dutch in the northern Low Countries and the Flemish in the southern Low Countries speak the same language; in the Middle Ages Dutch literature and civilization found its center in Flanders and Brabant in the south, and only after 1600 the center shifted north to Holland. Yet in the eighteenth century and even in the twentieth century no common national consciousness is discernible.⁴¹ The national consciousness in the Low Countries grew, in complete disregard of folkish, racial, or linguistic elements, out of political frontiers, based partly on medieval privileges and liberties, and partly on the religious strife and the fortunes of war in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the tenth century the duchy of Lower Lorraine broke up into a number of duchies and bishoprics, of which Flanders and Brabant in the south, and later Holland in the north and Liège in the southeast were the most important. They formed a strategic meeting place between France and Germany—so much so that Flanders was composed of French fiefs (*Kroon-Vlaanderen*) and German fiefs (*Rijks-Vlaanderen*)—and an economic middle ground between the continent and England, so that close relations developed early between Flanders and England. In the time of the Crusades, Flemish and Brabantine nobles were among the outstanding leaders, while at home, partly as a result of the Crusades, the Flemish cities became the great trade and industrial centers of the period, almost self-governing republics, where a vigorous cultural and political life developed and the guilds fought for the democratization of the city government. In the Low Countries the people succeeded, as in medieval England, in wresting important rights and liberties from the princes; the most far-reaching of these were in the duchy of Brabant, where the famous *Joyeuse Entrée* of 1356 became the great charter of liberty, the immunities and privileges of which were often renewed and enlarged. The Low Countries excelled in the later Middle Ages by their unsurpassed

economic and cultural development, the growth of the spirit of liberty and the vigor of an urban middle class. On these foundations the Burgundian dynasty, which from 1384 to 1473 united the Low Countries by inheritance and acquisitions, tried to build the first modern state. In 1465 the states of all the seventeen provinces were summoned to Brussels as states general, and Charles the Bold dreamt of a Burgundian Empire that would reach from the North Sea to the Mediterranean—a dream shattered by the Swiss resistance in 1477. His daughter Mary was forced by the deputies of Flanders, Brabant, Hainaut, and Holland to sign at Ghent the Great Privilege which required the assent of the states for the imposition of taxes, the declaration of war, and marriages with foreign princes, and promised the use of the native language and of native officials. It was supplemented by the Flemish Privilege, the Great Privilege of Holland and Zeeland, the Great Privilege of Namur, and the Joyeuse Entrée of Brabant, which confirmed and enlarged the existing local liberties.

From the Burgundians the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries passed by marriage to the Habsburgs. In spite of the dynastic ties, hardly any common consciousness developed. Each province was proud of its own traditions and historical privileges. The province of Brabant assumed a leading role; its capital, Brussels, became the residence of the court and the meeting place not only of the Brabantine states but of the states general. These states in which burghers played an important role were jealous guardians of their immunities. When the Habsburg prince Philip II of Spain, who did not understand Dutch nor the traditions and people of the Low Countries, tried to introduce there the centralizing monarchy of Spain, to garrison the country with Spanish troops, and later to combat the spread of the Protestant faith with all the zeal of the Spanish Counter Reformation, he aroused the political opposition of the states and the religious opposition of the Calvinists. The constitutional opposition led by William, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau, stadholder (royal representative) of Holland, soon developed into an open revolt. In 1576 Holland and Zeeland concluded an act of Union at Delft, and the Pacification of Ghent brought all the seventeen provinces together for the

restoration of the ancient liberties, the expulsion of the foreign troops, the recognition of the king's *de jure* authority, and tolerance for both religions.

Religious differences soon destroyed the unity. The southern Catholics concluded in 1579 the League of Arras while the northern provinces in the Union of Utrecht bound themselves, "as if they were one province," to maintain their rights and liberties "with lifeblood and goods" under the leadership of William, the "Father of his Country." Thus the republic of the United Netherlands was born, and after a long struggle gained its independence from Spain in 1609 and finally in 1648, while the southern provinces remained under Spanish control. The republic was separated from the Spanish Low Countries by religion, and by a sharp economic rivalry which mercilessly ended the former flourishing trade of Flanders and Antwerp, while Holland became the leading colonial empire and maritime power of the period. Thus religious divisions and the fortunes of European wars (France and England had supported the republic in its struggle for independence) laid the foundations for the growth in the Low Countries of two different, and at times violently opposed, nationalisms—one centered around Holland and the Calvinist faith, the other around Catholicism and the traditions of Brabant and later of the Roman province of Belgium. Both these nationalisms—creations of political boundaries and revolutionary wills, based on enlightened principles of liberty and good government, not on language, race, or folk—emerged only at the end of the eighteenth century from a long struggle against loyalties to local traditions and provincial privileges.

In the northern republic the seven united provinces emphasized much more their sovereignty than national unity. Each province had a different, and often very complex, constitution, and the traditional privileges were jealously guarded. One of the provinces—*de Edele Greet Mogende Heeren Staaten van Holland en Westfriesland*, as the official title of Holland read—was governed by *states of nineteen members of whom one represented the nobility, the ridderschap*, which looked after the interests of the rural population, and eighteen the leading cities and their burgher aristocracy. Only in time of great external danger the federalists, favoring the

House of Orange, gained the upper hand—as in 1747, when William IV was elected hereditary stadholder of all seven provinces. But the particularists reasserted themselves and the provincial sovereignty, under the leadership of Holland most of the time. The position of the stadholder was as anomalous and illogical as most of the constitutional provisions. He was appointed by the states of the provinces, and thus their servant; but at the same time he had far-reaching executive powers never clearly defined. Strong personalities could have perhaps developed a centralized semi-monarchical state after the model of eighteenth century enlightenment; but the later princes of the House of Orange were weak and lacked the qualities of leadership. Thus the constitution of the republic grew outdated and petrified, in no way able to provide the necessary frame for the growth of the nation.

The republic which, under the impetus of its fight for freedom in the beginning of the seventeenth century, had been a leading power in literature and science, in trade and wealth, soon entered a long period of material and intellectual decline. Love of comfort and peace killed the fighting spirit and paralyzed the national energies. Accumulated wealth covered up for some time the fading out of enterprising courage; but by 1748 the republic offered, in the words of its foremost historian, “a miserable spectacle to its friends, and object of ridicule to its foes.”⁴² The political life was dominated by violent partisanship, selfishness, and narrow provincialism. The absence of raw materials revealed the much too narrow basis on which the Dutch world empire had been built, and this deficiency was in no way made up by public spirit or farsighted patriotism. Political and social life was almost at a standstill, the official Reformed Church was rigid and narrowminded and torn by a bitter dogmatic struggle, the numerous dissenters were only tolerated, the Catholics without complete liberty of worship and without share in the government. Class divisions were very strict, and the lower classes took no part in national life. “Badly educated, scarcely knowing how to read and write, in their work adhering to old fashions, without desire for improvement or development, they grew up in ignorance, despised and rejected by the well-to-do, at most treated and viewed with a

certain compassion, but not admitted to community in the higher things of life. Showing interest only in ecclesiastical matters, the lowest class of the people was still separated from the rich by a cleft that was becoming wider rather than smaller in the eighteenth century."⁴³ The government in the cities was in the hands of a complacent burgher aristocracy, the regents, who, looking back to the glories of old time, hardly realized how the republic was outstripped by the progressive rationalization of government in other countries. Even Dutch literature had sunk to a provincial level, and French influence had become all-powerful in social and cultural life.

Dutch had become a modern literary language in the period of the Reformation, with the Catholic poems of Anna Bijns (1494-1575) of Antwerp and the Calvinist writings of Filips van Marnix (1538-1598), author of the "Wilhelmuslied" (1568), the national anthem of the Dutch. The authorized version of the Bible, the Statenbybel, which was translated in Dordrecht 1626-1637, made the dialect of Holland accepted throughout the northern republic. The greatest Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679)—whose drama "Gysbreght van Aemstel" dealing with a theme of national history, with the murder of Floris V, Count of Holland, founder of the greatness of Amsterdam and friend of the people, by a disaffected noble (1296), opened the first large theater in Amsterdam (1638)—could write in 1650: "Onze spraak is sedert weinige jaren herwaart von bastaard-woorden en onduitsch allengs geschuimt" (in the period of great Dutch vigor the language had been "within a few years gradually skimmed of bastard words and non-Dutch elements"). In the following century the vitality of the Dutch language and literature faded, until by 1770 a fresh wind began to blow from England and France. The spirit of the age aroused new visions and hopes; a general desire for reform and renovation filled the hearts of the patriots.

Under patriotic inspiration Dutch language and history were newly studied. Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773), a clerk of the city of Amsterdam, wrote his "Vaderlandsche Historie vervattende de geschiedenissen der nu Vereenigde Nederlanden inzonderheid die van Holland," in twenty-one volumes; Pieter Burman (1713-1778),

a scholar in classical literature at the University of Amsterdam, became the center of a circle for the improvement of Dutch literature which published the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1761). Public welfare and popular education were stressed by the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* (the Society for Public Welfare), founded by the Mennonite preacher Maarten Nieuwenhuyzen in 1784, which wished to bring enlightenment to the common people. The same purpose was served by J. H. Swildens' "*Vaderlandsch A. B. boek*" (1781) and his "*Almanaek en politiek zakboekje*," to diffuse useful knowledge. Under French influence Jakobus Bellamy (1757-1786) wrote "*Vaderlandsche Gezangen*" (1782). All these influences emanating from the Encyclopedists and Rousseau, from Locke and Price, received a powerful stimulus from the American Revolution. It not only involved the republic in a disastrous war with England which revealed the whole weakness of the worn-out political and economic structure of the once powerful United Provinces, but emboldened the patriots to attack the aristocratic form of government and to demand democratic reforms. Political periodicals took up the struggle formerly only waged in pamphlets, among them *Le Politique hollandais*, edited by Antoine Marie Cérurier,⁴⁴ the *Post van den Neder-Rhijn*, published in Utrecht (1781-1787), which soon had twenty-four thousand subscribers, and the *Politieke Kraker* (1782-1787). The years from 1781 to 1787 are known in Dutch history as the *Patriottentijd*, the Patriotic Period. There was much heat and oratory, there was also some rather harmless fighting; but the evils were too deeply rooted, the reform movement was defeated, and the problems of the republic remained unsolved.

Three parties opposed one another: the federalists, who supported the prince; the burgher aristocracy, the regents, who wished to maintain the ancient privileges and liberties which fortified their august position against the prince; and the democratic patriots, who demanded not ancient liberties but rational human liberty. At the beginning, the second and third groups cooperated to undermine the stadholder; but soon the democratic demands of the patriots frightened the regents and drove them into the arms of the prince. For a short time, under the danger of the war with Eng-

land (1781-1784), the party strife calmed down, and all three parties—even the Orange party—claimed the title of patriot; but when the disasters of the war and of the peace revealed the whole weakness of the existing order the democratic patriots insisted upon the urgency of reforms, and the states of Holland proceeded to assert its sovereignty against the prince.

One of the leaders of the patriots was Joan Derk van der Capellen (1741-1784), a member of the nobility of the province Overijssel.⁴⁵ On September 25, 1781, his anonymous pamphlet "Aan het volk van Nederland" was widely distributed throughout the republic with the help of his friend Francis Adriaan van der Kemp (1752-1829), a Baptist minister. In it Dutch history was presented in a violent anti-Orange sense, and the liberty of the Dutch from "princely oppression" was demanded in the name of the legendary freedom of the old Batavians, depicted in the Rousseauan style of the period. The pamphlet closed with the appeal for the election of good patriots to lead the provinces "in the name and on the authority of this nation," and for the general arming of the people to make the good cause triumph with the help of "Jehovah, the God of freedom." The pamphlet created an immense stir. John Adams, who then represented the United States at the Hague, wrote about the pamphlet, somewhat exaggerating its importance and that of the American Revolution: "I consider this libel as a demonstration that there is a party here and a very numerous one too, who are proselytes to democratical principles. Who and what has given rise to the assuming pride of the people, as it is called in Europe, in every part of which they have been so thoroughly abased? The American Revolution. The precepts, the reasonings and example of the United States of America, disseminated by the press through every part of the world, have convinced the understanding and touched the heart."⁴⁶ But Capellen was not only a democrat, he was a nationalist. Though most of his activity centered in his native province, he nevertheless regarded everything from the point of view of the whole nation—a very rare case then—and accordingly was himself regarded by the Dutch people not as a provincial patriot but as a national hero.⁴⁷

Capellen's appeal was heeded. *Vrijcorps* (free corps) of armed

citizens—similar to the Irish volunteers—were formed who chose their own officers and drilled under patriotic and liberty-loving slogans like “Pro patria et libertate.” They were organized in city after city, and they insisted upon the election of patriotic boards of deputies from their own ranks. They became the first national organization, accepting and uniting men of all faiths, not only according to their provinces but in 1784 all over the country, into one body feeling “like one people with one interest.” Their center was Utrecht, where a young theology student, Peter Philip Juriaan Quint Ondaatje,⁴⁸ became their leader. The “patriotic regents” of Holland and Utrecht acted in 1786 officially against the stadholder. The only prominent defender of the Orange party, Rijklof Michael Goens, a writer of erudition and intelligence, had to leave the country. A political journal which he had published in 1781, the *Ouderwetsche Nederlandsche Patriot* (the Old-Fashioned Dutch Patriot), had to discontinue after a short time, never having surpassed seven hundred subscribers. The “true republican form of government” seemed assured. But the triumph was short-lived. The masses of the people remained apathetic and largely favored the prince. In September, 1787, the King of Prussia, uncle of the stadholder’s wife, sent his army in support of his niece. Within a few weeks it liquidated the patriotic movement, the old order was restored, the republic fell back into its centenary sleep of provincialism. The course of events was in many ways similar to that in Switzerland. In both cases the reaction seemed to triumph over the new patriotism, traditional provincialism over the new feeling of national unity. And in both cases, a very few years later, the French Revolution with its message of rational liberty and patriotic unity was to sweep away with astonishing ease the institutions which, though out of date and tottering, had resisted the assaults of the early patriots.

5

The southern Low Countries passed under Spanish rule through a period of economic wretchedness and cultural backwardness; but the Austrian rule in the eighteenth century brought them a

new prosperity and, under the brilliant governor general Charles of Lorraine (1744-1780), a rapid cultural advancement. "The people collaborated gladly with the government whose very real benefactions it felt. In a few years astonishing progress was realized. The reign of Maria Theresa put an end to the long period of decay." ⁴⁰ The constitutions and privileges of the different provinces, especially of Brabant, were respected. Yet the needs of modern government, of administrative and economic progress, demanded a greater unification and centralization than the medieval provincial constitutions allowed. The benefit which the enlightened monarchy of Maria Theresa and Joseph II brought to the Austrian Low Countries strengthened the need for the growth of a national frame of life. But when Joseph II, the purest embodiment of benevolent enlightened absolutism, forced the issues, he ran into the opposition of the estates who wished to maintain their medieval privileges and their provincial particularism, and of the democratic patriots who shared Joseph's aims but rejected, in the name of the new sovereignty of the people, their imposition from distant and authoritarian Vienna. In this struggle against Joseph II—in the Brabant revolution, as it was called—a new nationalism, a new nation delineated itself for the first time.

This new nation was born out of an act of revolutionary will; it is true that it was united by the Catholic faith, but it was divided racially and linguistically without these factors entering at all into its national formation. The linguistic frontier in the southern Low Countries has remained practically unchanged for a thousand years: during the whole period language played no political role. Flanders and Brabant had been bilingual from the beginning; the administration of the Burgundian, Spanish, and Austrian dynasties used the local language of the subjects. Not by any official measures but by its own weight, French became more and more the language of the educated classes, even among the Flemish. Without any political implications, in the complete absence of any linguistic nationalism, French became as predominant in the Low Countries as throughout Europe. The centralizing efforts of the Habsburgs favored the development of French in Belgium, as they favored the development of German in Bohemia and Hungary, not for any reasons

of nationalism, but because French in the one case and German in the other appeared to be the most appropriate vehicle of cultural progress and enlightened commonweal. But nothing was done officially to replace the Flemish language; it continued to be used in the local administration and found a large place in the educational program promoted by Maria Theresa.⁸⁰ Against the inferior place reserved to Flemish in practical use, a single lonely voice was raised. A lawyer of Brussels, Verloy, protested in 1788 against the neglect of the mother tongue in the Low Countries in general, and especially in the Austrian part. Like Herder he believed that students can express themselves fully only in the native language, that only in the common mother tongue can all classes of society unite, and that the alien spirit brought in by the alien tongue had caused the decay of the Netherlands. But his attack was a "cry in the wilderness, it had no apparent effect."⁸¹

The general acceptance of the French language did not imply a similar penetration of the "French ideas." On the contrary the Austrian Low Countries remained profoundly influenced by the all-pervading influence of the Catholic Church. Intellectual apathy and ignorance were general in all classes of the population. The enlightened government tried to combat them, and the expulsion of the powerful order of Jesuits enabled the government to introduce lay education on modern principles in 1777 by founding thirteen secondary schools. These, however, in 1785 counted only 852 students, compared with 3,017 students in the forty-three secondary schools of the Church. In 1769 a Literary Society was founded by the government in Brussels—renamed in 1772, Academy of Brussels. Yet its efforts to spread enlightenment only alienated the Church. When Joseph II published his famous decree of religious tolerance, the Church became the center of the agitation which supported later the estates in their clamor for the maintenance of the medieval liberties.

Different was the development in the ancient bishopric of Liège, which as a member of the Empire was independent of the Low Countries. Its social progress was based upon its wealth in coal, which turned it into one of the earliest great industrial centers of the continent; its almost republican constitution preserved the vi-

talities of the states, in which the third estate exercised a preponderant influence. Progressive ideas penetrated there much faster than in the neighboring Low Countries, and with the election of Francis-Charles de Velbruck in 1772 as bishop the enlightenment was strongly favored by the government and enthusiastically supported by the educated class. The Bishop, who founded in 1779 the Société d'Émulation, was praised as Maecenas of letters and father of human rights and popular happiness. In many ways this prosperous and active little land was more like England and America than like the countries of the European continent.⁵² The industrial development was neither promoted nor hampered by mercantilist regulation, but left to free private initiative. The general freedom encouraged the growth of literary and philosophical discussions, of newspapers and periodicals, and printing of books here escaped the strict censorship of other countries. In 1784, when Velbruck died, the question of the introduction of free and general secular education was seriously discussed.

Under these circumstances the French Revolution evoked an immediate echo among the patriots of *la nation liégeoise*. On August 18, 1789, the ancient constitution was abolished by the cooperation of the industrial middle class, filled with the spirit of the time, and the industrial proletariat, among whom were distributed pamphlets like the "Commandements de notre mère la Patrie à chaque fidèle citoyen," asking them to remedy their sufferings by active participation in political life. The democratic revolution succeeded but was short-lived: Austrian armies ended it simultaneously with the revolution in the Austrian Low Countries. Fundamentally different from that in Liège,⁵³ this was due to the discontent with the precipitate reforms of Joseph II, who in June of the fateful year 1789 abolished the Joyeuse Entrée and prohibited all meetings of the estates.

In the ensuing revolution which centered in Brabant, the Belgian nation was born: a premature birth that endured a fleeting moment only, for the revolutionary movement had no unity of purpose. Two different currents mingled, both under the name of patriots, but with directly opposed implications. The democrats, under the leadership of Jean François Vonck, were inspired by the ideals of

the American and French revolutions, in agreement with the enlightened secularism of Joseph II, but stressing the sovereignty of the people—a concept entirely alien to the benevolent absolutism of the Emperor. They wished to create a modern nation, in which all the differences of provinces and classes would disappear in a rational order of progress and tolerance. The other group, under the leadership of Henri van der Noot and Pierre van Eupen, denied and rejected the new rights of man and respected only the vested privileges of the provincial constitutions and estates. They hated the modernism and secularism of Joseph II and, in complete accord with the Church, feared the new spirit of democracy. At the moment both groups united in the defense of “liberty” against absolutism, and this insistence upon liberty and self-government fused the citizens of the different provinces, reactionaries and democrats, conservative Catholics and freethinkers, Flemish and Walloons, into one enthusiastic nation. The old names—Flanders, Brabant, Hainaut—disappeared before the new name, Belgium. In view of the similarity of the constitutional privileges of the different provinces, they appeared more and more as fundamentally the same, as one common guarantee in the struggle against the prince.⁵⁴ The states of Brabant proposed to the other provinces to form a coalition; they appealed to the powers to protect their liberties; a national army was constituted under Jean André van der Mersch. Upon the invitation of the states of Brabant the states general of all the provinces met in Brussels in Congress in 1790. But it was no national assembly, elected by the people: it was an assembly of the deputies of the provincial states, meeting under their traditional constitutions and talking behind closed doors. The constitution of the “United States of Belgium” bore only an outward resemblance to that of the United States of America. There was no Bill of Rights, no general election; it was nothing but a return to the Great Privilege of 1477. It was the victory of provincialism over the new nation, of medieval privileges over political liberty, of the nobility, the clergy, and the reactionary masses over the enlightened and progressive middle classes.⁵⁵ The democrats, whose enthusiasm had made the revolution possible, saw themselves robbed of the fruit of their efforts, and they turned towards France. But

the new state created by the constitution of January 11, 1790, did not last long. On December 2 the Austrians reentered Brussels. Leopold II abandoned the reforms of Joseph II; the quiet old times seemed to be restored. Two years later the armies of the French Revolution overran the Austrian Low Countries and the bishopric of Liège, carrying with them the foundations of modern Europe, and laid the groundwork for a Belgian nation.

6

The Catholic tradition was even more firmly rooted in Spain than in the former Spanish Netherlands, where the Austrian Habsburgs showed more willingness and ability to modernize the structure of the country than the Spanish Bourbons did. Though Spain was closely allied with France by ties of dynasty, reaffirmed in the pact of 1761, and of foreign policy (Spain dreamt of the reconquest of Jamaica and Gibraltar from the English and of the incorporation of Portugal, Britain's ally), French enlightenment penetrated more slowly into Spain than into other European countries. The few men at the court of Charles III (1759-1788), Spain's enlightened monarch, who were sincerely devoted to the progressive ideas of the century, "had no influence on the people. The suppression of the Jesuits (1766) was most unpopular; deprived of these guides who on the whole had exercised a moderating influence upon them, the Spaniards abandoned themselves to the monks and became even more fanatical. There was no serious opposition in Spain except against the reforms."⁶⁶ The reforms of Philip V (1700-1746) and Charles III had helped somewhat to revive the strength and trade of the country, sunk in an apathy and poverty without parallel among the civilized nations of the period. But the Spaniards did not welcome the innovations: fanatically loyal to the Church and to the dynasty, they did not mind despotism or superstitious medievalism so long as the traditional foundations of their life remained intact.

No Western nation showed itself more impervious to the penetration of new ideas than the Spaniards, who hated everything alien and were filled with an immense pride in their own past. The fact

that their own backwardness caused them to be despised and ridiculed by the Europeans only increased their hatred of all foreigners. The death of Charles III was welcomed because it brought hope for the abandonment of the reforms. This hope was fulfilled. Charles IV (1788-1808) lacked intelligence and ability; he was governed by his wife Maria Louise, who was dominated by her lover Emanuel Godoy. Under this corrupt regime⁸⁷ Spain had to weather the troubled age of the French Revolution. Yet their very attachment to the Church and the dynasty and their exalted national pride turned the Spaniards into the first people to resist successfully the Rights of Man, the Napoleonic king and French domination. Their war of independence (1808-1814) was not inspired by any desire for renovation or reform, it did not lay the foundations of modern nationalism in Spain: out of its crucible the Spanish people emerged almost unchanged in their ways of life and in their devotion to the past.

Yet even in Spain in the eighteenth century the stagnant intellectual life was moved somewhat, partly by closer touch with the new literary thought of Europe and partly out of the desire to defend Spanish culture against the contempt of foreign critics. Most of the leading writers were under French influence, *reformadores* or *afrancesados*, and Ignacio de Luzán tried to introduce in his "Poética" (1737) the rules of the European school. This French influence was combated by the *españolistas*. The fight for the purity of the Spanish language was helped by the Real Academia de la Lengua, founded in 1714 by Philip V, which published the "Diccionario de autoridades" (6 vols., 1726-1739) and the "Gramática de la lengua castellana" (1771). Against the imitation of foreign models and the love of French literature⁸⁸ the nationalists evoked the greatness of the Golden Century, especially of Calderón and Lope de Vega. Francisco Mariano Nipho published in 1764 in Madrid a pamphlet "La Nación española defendida de los insultos del *Pensador* y sus secuaces" to prove from French sources that Spanish plays were not only original but the best in Europe.⁸⁹ The Jesuit Francisco Xavier Llampillas wrote six volumes in Italian, "Saggio storico-apologetico della letteratura spagnuola contro le pregiudicate opinioni di alcuni moderni scrittori italiani" (Genoa,

1778-1781), claiming that Spanish literature not only was unsurpassed but had enriched all other literatures. And in 1786 the Italian historian Carlo Denina spoke before the Academy of Berlin on "Réponse à la question: Que doit-on à l'Espagne?" and maintained that France owed more to Spain than all other countries owed to France in literature.⁶⁰ This not unjustified pride in the great national past heightened the traditional isolationism of Spanish intellectual life.

Whatever Spain's past glories, the present was indescribably sordid. At a time when throughout Europe the interest in science occupied not only scholars but the curiosity of the middle classes, Spain had no chair for anatomy, botany, or experimental physics. The first chair for chemistry was established only in 1787. Hygiene and medicine had declined since the later Middle Ages. In this situation a Benedictine monk from Galicia, Benito Feijóo (1676-1764), in his quiet cell devoted a long life to proving that science and progress were compatible with religion and to arguing with teachers who passionately defended ignorance because they were incapable of learning or understanding. Science, above all, in Protestant countries had made these countries strong and prosperous; Spain had seen therein an added reason to isolate itself in its own past. A tragic error, Feijóo pointed out, for to isolate and impoverish one's fatherland means to betray it.⁶¹ Good princes must found schools, build roads and ships, fill the treasury, and promote arts and sciences. Spain's poverty can be overcome only by an intelligent cultivation of the land, by full occupation of the many idle hands among a not too numerous population, by a strenuous fight against laziness, and against the too frequent holidays which religion does not demand and prosperity abhors. Out of patriotic zeal Feijóo published many writings in which he denounced absurdities current in Spain and described new scientific discoveries and better and more progressive methods in industry, in administration, in daily life, pointing out that they would enable the Spaniards to use better the natural wealth of their land and the national fecundity of their mind. To that end the gates must be opened wide to intellectual commerce with other countries, especially France; yet there were still many Spaniards who wished

"que los Pyreneos llegassen al Cielo; y el Mar, que baña las Costas de Francia, estuviesse sembrado de escollos, porque nada pudiesse passar de aquella Nacion a la nuestra." Feijóo pleaded also for the equality of women, whom he regarded as not inferior to men in mental capacity but only limited in their opportunities for study.⁹³ Spain's glorious past should not induce her people to rest on their laurels and to sink back into indolence, but should rouse them from their torpor to emulate the great deeds of their ancestors.⁹⁴ The king should found an academy of sciences and useful arts as the king of Prussia had done; he should turn away from wars of conquest and from dreams of territorial aggrandizement to the encouragement of learning and the advancement of the sciences.⁹⁵ Feijóo saw Spain's salvation on the road of progress, peace, and reform, not in harking back to the past of imperial pride. His appeal for a regeneration of Spain was revived a century later by the Spanish liberals; like Feijóo, they found their efforts frustrated by the ever reemerging quest for the Catholic Hispanidad of the sixteenth century and its bitter hostility to all the newer forms of thought which spread from seventeenth century England and eighteenth century France.

This hostility was not lessened by the fact that these influences undermined the hold of Spain on her American empire.⁹⁶ As England impressed her traditions of liberty and enlightenment upon North America, so Spain impressed her despotism and backwardness upon South and Central America. All communications between Spanish America and Europe passed through Spain; education, as far as it existed, was in the hands of the clergy; modern science and its viewpoint remained unknown; institutions of self-government were unthinkable. All leading positions were in the hands of Spaniards, while the bulk of the Creoles (Americans of Spanish descent) and of the mestizos were excluded from all privileges. The Indians lived in apathy and misery. The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 destroyed even the little learning that existed.

The enlightened despotism of Charles III brought some improvement. The code of 1778 favored commercial activity and increased the contact of the colonies with other countries. The strict censorship of books and the prohibition of their importation from

abroad could not completely isolate the empire; a few courageous individuals read secretly the French philosophers, a very few private libraries were collected and became centers from which discussion and agitation spread among young Creoles whose imagination was caught by the successful American Revolution—which, as they knew, the king of Spain had supported. At the end of the century the first newspapers were founded, among them the *Mercurio peruano* in Lima in 1791, which in the same year greeted a new periodical in Bogotá as proof that “the spirit of the century is propitious for instruction, humanity, and philosophy. Different parts of America have, for a long time, found themselves in possession of common ideas, and have unconsciously united in adopting the most opportune means for transmitting them, namely periodicals. Perhaps before 1800 Buenos Aires and Chile will respectively issue a *Diario*, a *Mercurio*, or a *Gazeta*.” A few isolated groups began to adopt the title of patriots, like the Society of the Amantes del País. But all these beginnings were much too slender to form the foundation of a rising Spanish-American nationalism; the differences of caste and race were too deep.

There was little consciousness of community among the Spanish colonies in America. Climatic and geographic conditions were too variegated, the administrative divisions vast and without any direct contact; each province showed another mixture of races—even the Indian tribes differed in character and traditions without consciousness of a common destiny. The Spaniards born in Spain were separated by a steep social barrier from the Spaniards born in America. There was almost no literature to provide a common background of past glories and struggles, except for the long epic poem “la Araucana” by Alonso Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533–1594) which glorified the heroic resistance of the Araucanian Indians in Chile against the Spanish conquerors and awakened the admiration for native chiefs like Lautaro and Caupolicán.⁶⁶ But these heroic days seemed gone. Of the sporadic Indian revolts against frightful oppression, only that led in 1780 by Tupac-Amaru II (1742–1781), a lineal descendant of the Incas in Peru, had any importance. It ended with his cruel execution and the systematic obliteration of all vestiges of the Inca family.⁶⁷ He seems to have lacked a definite goal; he at-

tacked the ruthless misgovernment of Spanish officials, which he claimed was at variance with the expressed will of the crown to which he stressed his loyalty. In his proclamation he assured that "all measures have been taken for the preservation and protection of the Spanish and the Creoles, the Zambos and Indios, and for their tranquillity because they are our countrymen and compatriots, born in our land and of the same origin as the natives, and have suffered equally the tyranny of the Europeans." His revolt was the "first formal and reasonable protest against Spanish misgovernment in Peru." "From their victory the Spaniards derived little profit and less honor. The Indians remained hostile and in a mood to join any enemy of their hated masters that might arise. Outraged by the barbarity of the Spaniards they espoused the cause of the Creoles in the struggle for independence."⁶⁸

Soon the claim for liberty and justice received its first articulate spokesmen under the influence of the American and French revolutions. Francisco de Miranda (1750-1815), the son of a Creole merchant in Caracas, fought as a Spanish officer in the American War of Independence. In the contact with Anglo-American life he became imbued with the ideal of liberating Spanish America. He traveled in 1784 in the United States, read the Encyclopedists and Rousseau, and settled for several years in London, from which he submitted to the European governments various plans for the creation of an independent Spanish American nation under a hereditary emperor with the title of Inca, and a parliament after the English model, the members of the Upper House to be called Caciques and be appointed for life.⁶⁹ Of as little avail, but of even greater interest, was a pamphlet published in Rome as a "Letter to the American Spaniards from one of their compatriots" in which the exiled Jesuit Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán wrote: "The pretension of Spain to blind obedience to her arbitrary laws is based mainly upon the ignorance which she has permitted and encouraged, especially in regard to the inalienable rights of man and the *imprescriptible duties of every government*. . . . Nature has separated us from Spain by immense seas. A son who found himself at such a distance from his father would be a fool, if, in the management of his own affairs, he constantly awaited the decisions of

his father. . . . We ought to terminate our dependence upon Spain because of gratitude towards our ancestors who did not waste their sweat and blood in order that the theatre of their labors and glory should become the scene of our miserable servitude. . . . The valor with which the English colonies in America fought for the liberty that they gloriously enjoy shames our indolence."⁷⁰ But the influence of the American and French revolutions reached only a few isolated individuals in Spanish America. It needed the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars to advance the dreams of new nations growing from the Spanish and Indian past on American soil.

Portugal's growth to modern nationhood differed from the development of the Spanish-speaking world, thanks to its close connection with England and to the strong personality of the enlightened statesman Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, Marquês de Pombal (1699-1782). The end of the thirteenth century consolidated Portugal as a nation by fusing Galicians of the north, Moors of the south, Jews and foreign crusaders, and by strengthening the monarchy—which founded the University of Coimbra in 1290 and concluded the first treaty with England in 1294—at the expense of Church and aristocracy. One hundred years later the alliance of Windsor (1386) between England and Portugal guaranteed Portugal's independence; a century of crusades against Islam which started in 1415 by the capture of Ceuta and ended in 1499 with Vasco da Gama's sea voyage to India, left Portugal a world empire. Manoel I (1495-1521) called himself "Lord of the conquest, navigation and commerce of India, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Persia," and soon he could add spheres in the New World to the control of the sea routes of Africa and Asia. But as in the case of Spain and of Holland the natural resources of the motherland and the national energy of its people were too slender to carry the empire. The sixteenth century witnessed the decadence of the monarchy, the decay of the country's finances, the growing influence of the Church with its Inquisition, strict censorship and complete control of education, and a paucity of population which was not helped by the expulsion of the Jews nor by the importation of African slaves, in spite of easy and frequent intermarriage. Decadent Portugal found its embodiment in the boy-

king Sebastian who came to the throne at the age of three (1557), and in whose reign Portugal's greatest poet Luís de Camões (1524-1580) wrote his national epos "Os Lusíadas" (1571). An ascetic and weak prince, entirely under Jesuit influence, he burned to resume the crusades against the heathens, went to Morocco in 1578, and was killed in a battle, lost by incompetence. The Portuguese masses saw in him a martyr-hero of the national faith and romance and as *rei encuberto*, the hidden king, he became the center of the national legend. The firm belief that he lived on and would return as the savior of his country survived as a political force until the middle of the nineteenth century, keeping intact the burning faith of the masses in Church and monarchy and becoming thus "an impermeable obstacle to the political education of the people. For in view of this imminent millennium nothing mattered other than preserving a most faithful absolutism. Reformers of every shade were all alike traitors to the true faith."¹¹

When the ruling house of Aviz died out in 1580, Philip II of Spain, a grandson of Manoel I through his mother Isabel, succeeded with the help of the Church. For sixty years the Spaniards tried to incorporate Portugal more and more into the government and the destiny of Spain. In 1640 Portugal revolted against this Spanishization, but the long-drawn struggle brought no political awakening of the masses nor any quickening of the intellectual and social life of the leading classes.¹² Under John V (1706-1750) the influence of the Church grew; the Academy of Portugal, founded in 1714, worked for the perfection and clarification of the language, the Royal Academy of Portuguese History, founded in 1720, published "Documentos e memorias" (1721-1756) and Dio Barbosa Machado edited his "Biblioteca Lusitana" (four volumes, 1741-1759).

In the middle of the century the Society of Poets, founded by Antonio Diniz da Cruz e Silva (1731-1799) under the name Arcadia Ulysiponense (1756), replaced under the influence of French enlightenment Spanish influence by French models, but it checked also the use of Gallicisms and drew its inspirations from classical antiquity and from the poets of Portugal's Golden Age, the

quinbentistas.⁷⁸ "In the eighteenth century, those of the educated who were not either sunk in mental indolence or in ignorance, and they were very few indeed, turned to France, and gradually worked round by way of French encyclopedist culture."⁷⁹ The modernization of Portugal's social and intellectual life was promoted by Pombal, for twenty-seven years (1750-1777) secretary of state for foreign affairs and war, an enlightened statesman of unusual vigor whose vitalizing influence made itself felt throughout the inert body of Portuguese society and even survived his fall, though diminishing fast.⁸⁰ He ended the influence of the Church, expelled the Jesuits, reformed education, tried to put the economic and administrative life of the country on a new basis. His reforms extended to Brazil, where he unified and improved the administration, made Rio de Janeiro the capital, employed native Brazilians, and worked for racial equality. His abolition of slavery in Portugal (1773) and of the civil disabilities of the "new Christians" showed his enlightened liberalism and at the same time attacked the privileged position of the aristocracy.⁸¹ Yet Pombal failed to change Portugal profoundly; as a representative of enlightened despotism, he had no understanding of popular forces or of the activation of the masses in national life, though he was eager not only to make rational reforms, but also to strengthen the health of the state and the dignity of the nation. Fully understanding the importance of the alliance with England on which Portugal's independence was based, he wished to maintain this independence even against English pretensions and to loosen the economic dependence of Portugal on England. When England once disregarded Portuguese rights, he demanded full satisfaction, and his dispatch emphasized the ancient glories of his country: "Vous comptiez pour peu en Europe, lorsque nous comptions pour beaucoup. Votre île ne formait qu'un point sur la carte géographique, tandis que le Portugal la remplissait de son nom. Nous dominions en Asie, en Afrique et en Amérique, tandis que vous ne dominiez pas que dans une petite île de l'Europe. . . . Par une stupidité qui n'a point d'exemple dans l'histoire universelle du monde économique, nous vous permettons de nous habiller et

de nous fournir tous les objets de notre luxe, qui n'est pas peu considérable. . . . Sans être Cromwell je me sens en état de suivre son exemple en qualité de ministre protecteur du Portugal." ⁷⁷

In 1775 when an equestrian statue of the king was unveiled, Pombal proudly noted the great progress of the country under his administration: "First, that those nations which, with arrogance, vainglory, and imaginary superiority, have hitherto regarded the Portuguese people as ignorant, rude, inert, and destitute of all the elements and principles of the mechanical and liberal arts, and of a real knowledge of the higher sciences, will now be convinced that with respect to the first we are completely on a par with them; and with the second we surpass most of them, as the French and Italians have often been obliged to confess, respecting and imitating, as they have, the laws and decrees of His Majesty; seeking for, and envying the statutes of Coimbra University, and desiring their correspondents in Lisbon to forward all the writings which are published in this glorious reign, called even by foreigners themselves, *felicissimo*. Secondly, that the contempt which those nations formerly expressed for our domestic and foreign trade has also ceased, which even has become an object of emulation and envy. And they have seen, hitherto without example, a public and magnificent commercial seminary, from whence three hundred pupils, accomplished in every branch of mercantile knowledge, are produced triennially, and fill the city with the benefits of their acquirements." ⁷⁸

He fully understood the value of the national language. Its improvement "is one of the most important means for the refinement of civilized nations, since on that depends the perspicuity, the energy, and the majesty with which the laws are written, the truths of religion manifested, and writings rendered both useful and agreeable. On the contrary, nothing more clearly demonstrates the ignorance of a people, than the barbarism of their language. It is certain that there are no better means for polishing and giving perfection to a language, than for youth to be instructed in the grammar of their own tongue, in order that they may be enabled to speak and write it with purity and elegance, avoiding those errors which so greatly disfigure the nobility of their ideas." ⁷⁹ The

foundation of the Academia Real das Sciencias (1780) and the publication of the "Diccionario da lingua portugueza" followed Pombal's directions.

The rising national spirit, born in Portugal through contact with the French Revolution, found its expression in Francisco Manoel de Nascimento (1734-1819) who had to flee the Inquisition to France in 1778 and settled in Paris for the rest of his life. Interested in Portugal's folk songs and folklore, he had collected the old popular legends and fairy tales sold in broadsheets (*folhas volantes*); discovering for literature the vast and unknown world of the Portuguese folk traditions, he had infused a new wealth into the poetical language. His national sentiment grew in exile and found its expression in a number of odes which tried to resurrect the glories of the national past and to guide the nation to rational liberty and active progress. In one of the odes Neptune addressed the Portuguese and scolded them for their decadence: "You have lost the well gained empire of Mina, that gold-bearing land! You abandoned without resistance Dabul and Cochin to foreign merchants and all those regions formerly covered with Portugal's triumphs! You allow that northern barbarians rule over the oceans which formerly were reddened with the blood of your enemies! . . . Feigning virtue and preaching a false zeal, ignorance rules the Portuguese Empire. An ill advised fanaticism has covered Asia and Europe with autos-da-fé, and the pitiless flames have singed the wings of free genius and have blighted, without hope of return, Portugal's glory."⁶⁰ Such a revival of Portugal's ancient glory was beyond the strength of the nation and could only become a will-o'-the-wisp luring it on dangerous paths, away from the national regeneration, for which Pombal and Nascimento had longed and which in the nineteenth century Portugal's liberal intelligentsia pursued on a broader and more popular basis than Pombal could conceive.

7

Italy was unique by its political structure and its cultural situation. It was much less united than Germany, which had a visible

head in the emperor and a written bond in the constitution. Germany was in an ambiguous but noway unfavorable position, combining a loose national unity, supported by venerable symbols and living traditions, with strong dynastic authorities, rooted in the loyalty of their subjects—two of them great powers making their weight fully felt on the European stage. Italy in modern times had never known political unity nor common symbols or traditions; in the eighteenth century none of the Italian states played an important role; the governments were weak and, with the exception of Sardinia, lacked close ties with their people. The masses lived in apathy, especially in the south, where social conditions and governmental anarchy resembled much more conditions in Spain and Africa than those in Western Europe as a whole; but under the influence of classical antiquity and French letters Italian intellectual life revived in the eighteenth century into a potent factor. It resembled the intellectual life of France in its spiritual freedom, its secularism and anticlericalism, and its desire for reform. It was, of course, confined to a small class.

The people had neither political nor intellectual aspirations; they accepted the political structure of the different Italian states, and, if they demanded anything, it was a mild government, not a specifically Italian government. Such national sentiment as existed among the intellectuals, was based on the unity of culture; in the eighteenth century the long neglected names of Dante and Petrarch gained new luster. An Italian nation was at best the melancholy memory of past glory and the vague hope of future fame—it was neither an actual force moving the hearts of men nor a political aspiration guiding their actions. None of the Italian states offered the slightest encouragement to Italian ambitions. Most of them were sunk in stagnant provincialism or, like the republics of Venice and Genoa, had become ghosts of their own past. In 1759, when Charles IV of Naples and Sicily was called to the throne of Spain as Charles III, his relatively enlightened rule ended, and Naples fell into the hands of a royal couple different in character but equal in unworthiness and mediocrity: the weak and vulgar Ferdinand IV and the ambitious and capricious Maria Carolina, a sister of Marie Antoinette. The papal government of Rome under Pius VI

(1775-1799) had decayed far beyond the stage which Joseph II described in 1768: "La cour de Rome est parvenue à se rendre presque méprisable. Dans son interne, le peuple est dans la plus grande misère." Absorbed as an unenlightened arbitrary despot in the government of his Italian state, the Pope infused the creeping paralysis of the backward administration of his principality into the spiritual domain of the Church.⁶¹ The best governed states were the Austrian Lombardy,⁶² and Tuscany, where Leopold (1765-1790) showed himself the wisest and most enlightened prince of Europe. But he was a stranger without roots in the land, which he left in 1790 to succeed his brother Joseph on the imperial throne. Only in Piedmont was the dynasty rooted in the country; and this was the only Italian state which pursued a conscious and ambitious policy of expansion and tried, as far as its forces allowed, to play the game of power on the international scene. In many ways Piedmont resembled Prussia.

All the interests and all the forces of the House of Savoy were bent towards acquisition of territory. Less methodically and less powerfully than Prussia, Piedmont concentrated upon building up her army and modernizing her administration. The relative weakness of Piedmont caused her rulers to rely much more on unscrupulous diplomacy and less on the army than the rulers of Prussia; but the spirit was the same, and there were many astonishing parallels between the two countries which were to play similar roles in the political unification of their nations. The expansionist tendencies of Piedmont had as little to do with nationality as those of Prussia: power for its own sake, not service of a national cause, motivated the two countries.⁶³ A few years after Frederick of Brandenburg crowned himself king in Prussia, Victor Amadeus II (1675-1730) of Piedmont assumed the title king of Sicily (1713), relinquishing it in 1720 for that of King of Sardinia. Sardinia and Prussia were the most outlying and culturally most backward parts of the nations which they were to unify. Charles Emanuel III (1730-1773) was a careful administrator of the armed forces and of finances; but he was a petty tyrant with no interest in enlightened reforms and humanity, in art and letters. "Freedom of thought was strictly forbidden in Piedmont"; the leading intel-

lectuals, among them Alfieri, left the land, to seek abroad the light and air of liberty.⁸⁴ Victor Amadeus III was even worse than his father, he adored Frederick II of Prussia, but he followed him only in the glorification of the army—otherwise he was a most unenlightened ruler, and subjected his land completely to the supervision of the Church and the Inquisition. Prussia and Sardinia had not only ideals and ambitions in common but also the enemy against whom alone their dreams of greatness and power could be realized, the Habsburgs in Germany and Italy.

Italy's intellectual and moral revival in the eighteenth century was neither inspired nor helped by Italian governments or political factors; the new concepts of liberty, of humanity, and of public morality which came from England and from France (strengthened in the French case by the example of French language and literature) aroused and transformed the Italian mind. As everywhere in Europe, men of taste and culture turned to France, learned her language, imitated her authors, envied her literature as they envied England's wealth, her liberty of expression, and her intellectual flowering. By imitating and emulating these models, they grew in mental stature and maturity. Under the discipline and guidance of French ideas, ideas of universal humanity and rationality, the Italian intellectuals found the way back to their own traditions, to the *Italianità*. Foreigners praised Italy, her monuments, her climate, her beauty; French classical thought acknowledged its deep indebtedness to ancient Rome. No wonder that the heirs of Italy's past and dwellers of her historical cities felt, in their re-awakened vitality, the mission to become more than a hostelry and a museum and to revive the glories connected with the *genius loci*. Did these not surpass anything the French or English had achieved? Were they not the source from which the other peoples had learned? Was not the new civilization but a return to Italy from the seeds which she had sown for so many centuries, and lately, during the Renaissance, among the other nations? Was not the Italian language the real heir of Latin, infinitely more sonorous than French with its monotonous accents, infinitely richer in the wealth of expression, grave and majestic? Should not the Italians reject the Gallic invasion and turn to the sources of their own

past? The greatest Italian author of the century, Alfieri, wrote his private diary in French until 1775. In that year he decided to devote his life to creating an Italian drama, equal to that of the French.⁸⁹

But Alfieri was a lonely forerunner of a future Italian nationalism. The Italian revival of the eighteenth century was consciously part of the new moral and esthetic climate, which was cosmopolitan and humanitarian. Its patriotism was love of civic virtue and of good taste. The Accademia dell' Arcadia—founded in Rome in 1690 by men of the circle of Christine of Sweden like Giovan Maria Grescimboni (1663–1728), who wrote the first “Istoria della volgar poesia” (1698) and the dialogues on “La Bellezza della volgar poesia” (1700), and Gian Vincenzo Gravina (1664–1718), poet, jurist, and historian and author of “Ragion poetica” (1708)—was only in so far a national institution as it united men from all over Italy. Its “Rime degli Arcadi,” of which thirteen volumes were published, dominated Italian taste until the middle of the century, very much as Gellert and his school did German taste. By 1760 Italian literature and thought entered a new and more mature stage: while Italian poetry did not equal the German literary development, Italian political and social thought was in a state of ferment, that made it an event of European importance. Eighteenth century Italy entered fully the European republic of letters; the long peace which reigned in Italy from 1748 to 1796, the benevolent and enlightened administration of the Habsburg territories, the growth of a wealthy middle class, the attention which neoclassicism paid to the home of ancient civilization, all contributed to quicken the pace of the penetration of the modern ideas into Italy.

The first half of the century showed some leading intellectual figures, preparing the coming Renaissance. Pietro Giannone (1676–1748), whose outspoken anticlericalism and antipapalism were in the tradition of Machiavelli and characteristic of the dominant thought of later national Italy, published in 1723 his “Storia civile del Regno di Napoli.” In the same year Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), the editor of Italian medieval chronicles, began the publication of his “Rerum italicarum scriptores ab anno Chr.

500-1500" (twenty-five volumes, 1723-1751); and later he wrote under the influence of Jean Mabillon his "*Annali d'Italia del principio dell' era volgare sino all' anno 1749.*" In his political views Muratori stressed peace and individual happiness as the highest good; when he spoke of liberty, he did not mean national independence, but the absence of an oppressive government. Of Odoacer, Muratori observed: "The Latins and the Greeks called everybody a barbarian who was not of their nation; but there have been barbarians better, wiser, and nobler than the Latins and Greeks." And of Theodoric he noted: "It is not the land, but the heart, which makes heroes." For his mind no limits of race, no national privileges existed: mankind was one, and nations and individuals were judged according to human standards.⁸⁰ All his thought was imbued with a deep morality and directed towards social utilitarianism. He rejected the Roman Empire for its rapacity, cruelty, and expansion which brought ruin to so many peoples and finally to itself; and truthfully he noted that Roman dominion never had extended over the whole earth, as its admirers boasted.

More original, yet almost unnoticed in his century, was Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), professor of eloquence in Naples. In his first book, "*De antiquissima Italorum sapientia ex lingua latina eruenda libri tres*" (1710), he suggested Etruria as the home of Pythagorean philosophy and Italy therefore as the center and birthplace of Mediterranean and Greek civilization. More important was his "*Scienza nuova intorno alla commune natura delle nazioni*,"⁸¹ a source of inspiration for Hamann and Herder and one of the most suggestive attempts in the philosophy and morphology of history. He viewed the history of mankind as a unity following its providential course, subject to the same universal laws; the historical development represented itself in collective individualities, nations, each one repeating the same development through three stages. In the dark or prehistorical stage men were almost animallike, subject to passions and instincts; the mythical or heroic stage was dominated by the great conflicts of nations and of classes; the most advanced stage was the human period, characterized by reasonableness, mildness, and reason, in which enlightened monarchs established a reign of justice and equality. Vico found

these three stages in the development of the ancient world, but he believed them valid for all peoples. The third stage ends always with a catastrophe, a sudden relapse into barbarism; but as the ideal of humanity remains the eternal goal the course of history restarts, a *ricorso*, parallel to the first *corso*, running again through the barbaric and heroic stages and reaching the human stage in the enlightened eighteenth century of reason. But in this *ricorso* the second dark or barbarian stage is much worse than the first one, because it implies a decivilization, degradation, and destruction; at the same time it represents a process of purification out of which a new civilization may arise.

Vico sowed many seeds which grew later into the relativism and historicism of romantic nationalism. Like Hegel, he understood the necessity of the different periods as transitions to the final goal; like the romanticists, he had an insight into the tragic and demoniac sides of history; like later nationalists, he saw sometimes nations as living their own life in autonomous strength. But all that was embedded with him into the enlightened philosophy of his age; his attitude was definitely antiheroic, antiaristocratic, and cosmopolitan; he glorified reason, moderation, and the humanitarianism of the century, in which he saw the peak of human development.

Only in the sixties did the Italians begin to turn from the harmless arcadian rhymes to a deeper reality and to assume their place on the European scene: in 1758 Gaspare Gozzi (1713-1786) published his "*Difesa di Dante*"; ten years later Carlo Denina (1731-1813) raised national historiography to a new level in his "*Delle Rivoluzioni d'Italia libri XXV*" (1768-1772); meanwhile Pietro Verri (1728-1797) and Cesare Bonesana, Marquis di Beccaria (1738-1794), had founded with some friends, among them Gian Rinaldo Carli (1720-1795), the Società dei Pugni which published from June, 1764, to May, 1766, the famous *Caffè*. This "*primo giornale Italiano agitatore di idee, un foglio d'avanguardia*,"⁸⁸ was completely dominated by the ideas of Locke and the Encyclopedists, eager for a reformation of Italy in the spirit of the English and French rational enlightenment. An immense confidence in the possibilities of the century and its philosophy inspired an absolute

faith in "lo spirito universale del secolo" in the writers of this circle, who rejected sharply all Machiavellism, all bellicism, and all fanaticism. "Il governo inglese sempre mi pare quello, que si accosta alla perfezione," wrote Pietro Verri, the author of the "Meditazioni sulla felicità" (1763)—followed the next year by Beccaria's famous "Dei delitti e delle pene." Both the economist and the criminologist fought for "i lumi e le scienze" against "la cabala e l'intrigo"; they disregarded the weight of traditions, of the wisdom of past centuries and nations as against rational truth and "la massima felicità divisa nel maggior numero" (the greatest happiness of the greatest number). They denied explicitly and firmly all *raison d'état*, all national interest, as superior to or different from individual interests. Opposed to Rousseau's idea of community, they stressed the limits of society in face of the rights of the individual. "Nessun uomo ha fatto il dono gratuito di parte della propria libertà in vista del ben pubblico; questa chimera non esiste che nei romanzi" ⁸⁰ (No man has ever given up part of his personal liberty for the common good; this chimera exists only in novels).

In this atmosphere of cosmopolitanism an article by Carli, "La Patria degli Italiani," sounded an entirely new and different note. It objected to Italian aping of foreign nations. "Deprived of all natural ties among us, crushed under the yoke of certain maxims of universal humanity which are only rarely applicable in the concrete cases, we have the courage neither to think for ourselves, nor to support ourselves. That is the reason why the Italians go so far as to eat and to dress as the Frenchmen or Englishmen wish it." This solitary voice was rebuked by Verri, who insisted on the compatibility of patriotism and cosmopolitanism. The noble souls, he wrote in his "History of Milan," regard the earth as the fatherland of the human race, and men as one family divided only in good and bad individuals. Speaking of Gregory's plans to unite Italy under Rome, he remarked: "The goal was great. But is it just to venture the rest and security of the living generation, which has an actual right to live well, for the uncertain hope to procure tranquillity to unborn generations? Is such a sacrifice reasonable and just, even if the good which we procure to our successors, be

certain? The men who have gained the renown of 'great' in history have never well examined these questions."⁶⁰ But even the most far-reaching aspirations of the few isolated Italians who thought of an Italian nation never went so far as a united Italy or a political role for her. They regarded the Italian states as a group of planets, each of which had its individual life, but all of which underwent, in the field of science and letters, the common attractions of cultural patriotism, the sun uniting the planetary system. But the overwhelming majority of the Italians did not know anything, nor did they wish to know anything, even of such a vague unity. In the eighteenth century they were citizens of Milan, of Venice, of Tuscany or Naples: Italians beyond the city walls or, at the most, beyond the frontiers of the state were foreigners if not enemies.⁶¹ In Italy as in Germany, the people were unconcerned with political or cultural nationalism; among intellectuals the *Weltbürgertum* entirely overshadowed the *Nationalidee*, and there was even no vague dream of a *Nationalstaat* in 1789. The French émigrés in Italy did not find any trace of national feeling. "The indifference of the Italian people dissuaded on the whole the emigration to foresee any national awakening in the peninsula."⁶²

Only one lonely forerunner, more a declamatory poet than a thinker in contact with reality, more a ferocious individualist than a political nationalist, Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803),⁶³ protested against the rational optimism of the *secol felice*; and even he did it in the very abstractions of the century. By birth an aristocrat from Piedmont, an Italian frontier province in language and civilization more French than Italian, he was brought up to speak and write French and to despise Italian, whose great authors remained unknown to him during his youth. A fierce individualist, abhorring all dependency and all authority, he hated military life, that "most famous basis of arbitrary authority," he regarded Frederick II and Catherine II as "wicked and perfidious tyrants" and his native Piedmont was as unbearable to him as Prussia to young Herder. He was deeply influenced by Plutarch; his two ideals were the Roman Republic and the England of his time. He loved the Roman Republic, not the Empire; Brutus, not Caesar; and he censored Virgil for having glorified Augustus instead of Cato. England

appeared to him to be the only modern country in which liberty and civic virtue existed. He wished to be buried in England, and wrote in 1799 his epitaph:

Securo alfin l'italo Alfier qui giace,
Cui sol dier gli Angli e libertade e pace.⁶⁴

And in his famous autobiography he spoke of "beata e veramente sola libera Inghilterra."⁶⁵

In 1775 he underwent a conversion; he turned from a life of purposeless idleness to the task of moral education; he decided to become a great Italian author, to study the language and literature, to Italianize himself, and to endow Italy with a national theater. His first sonnet began, "Ho vinto alfin, sì, non, m'inganno, ho vinto," and ended, "È la virtù tra tanti sogni, la sola i cui pensier sian cari!" He had found his purpose of life: to arouse the Italians to *virtù* and victorious will. "I firmly believe that men must learn in a theater to be free, brave, generous, enamored of virtue and intolerant of every form of violence, to love their country, to be aware of their rights. . . . To have a theater presupposes the existence of a true nation, not ten divided peoples who, though united, would be found to have nothing in common; it presupposes education, culture, armies, commerce, navies, war enthusiasm, fine arts."⁶⁶ To him as to Schiller the stage was an instrument of moral education. He hoped that his tragedies would become an inspiration to a reborn Italy. But these tragedies did not deal with patriotic themes; they dealt with heroic liberty in the abstract style of the great classical tragedy; they were an elaboration of his famous essay "Della tirannide" (1777)—a passionate diatribe for the overthrow of tyranny and arbitrariness, a violent affirmation of the natural rights of man. He was opposed to all authority, royal or ecclesiastical. He thought the Catholic religion incompatible with freedom, and paganism more favorable to patriotism. Kings and priests were to him symbols of oppression, papal Rome "d'ogni vizio il seggio."⁶⁷ These were the elements which entered into the mentality of this aristocratic revolté; antiauthoritarianism and secularism, call to manliness and heroism, a passionate will, il forte sentire, the divine fury which made him akin to the German Storm

and Stress and which found its expression in his famous "*volli, e volli sempre e fortissimamente volli.*"⁹⁸ Like them, he was no clear thinker and had no definite political concepts; his was an outburst against shackles humiliating his ego, a protest against all the unmanliness and half-heartedness around him. He felt the vocation of poetry as inspiration to great deeds, of poets as tribunes leading their people to liberty and renovation. The role reserved for the prince by Machiavelli (whom he admired), Alfieri attributed to the great writer, using the word as a magic blade to liberate the Italians, who would then create the first new literature of freedom.⁹⁹ Word, freedom, and spirit merged into one in Alfieri's vocation. For him there was no fatherland without liberty, and a native tyrant could be a worse oppressor than an external enemy.¹⁰⁰ The ideal fatherland was for him the land of liberty under law:

That land is a republic, where divine
Laws are the basis and shield for human laws;
Where none can with impunity cruelly
Behave to another man, and each man has his limit;
Where none threatens me or kneels before me;
Where I can fully open my heart and my mind;
Where I am not divested of my wealth;
Where the good of all is everybody's goal.¹⁰¹

This land of liberty Alfieri could not find in Piedmont nor in Italy. He found the Italians "agreeing fully only upon doing nothing. Immersed in idleness and tedious pleasures, Italy lies neglected and feels not her baseness; above her head she is submerged in Lethe."¹⁰² And yet from this debased Italian people, neither free nor a people, he expected the greatest things, the revolution of true liberty by heroic action. With an utter contempt for any concrete details and gradual measures, he glorified action for its own sake, the sudden uplift out of dejection and weakness to ecstasy and fury; it was for this very reason that he looked to the politically immature Italians for leadership, for nowhere in the world did he find the energetic and violent individual, "gli enormi

c sublimi delitti," the human plant growing as robust as on Italian soil.¹⁰³

Understandable therefore was his disappointment, soon turning into fury, when he saw the French in their revolution assume that leadership towards freedom for which he thought them in no way equipped. "Revolution is virtue, but the French are not a virtuous people, therefore they cannot make a true revolution." While Verri believed that the Revolution would make France the wealthiest, strongest, and happiest nation of Europe spreading everywhere the sentiment of freedom, and while he saw in the French armies the defenders of the oppressed and of reason, Alfieri wrote "*Il Misogallo*," a furious invective against the French. Dedicated to Italy, it praised the creative force of national hatred;¹⁰⁴ the writer's bitter jealousy grew by the aristocratic individualist's fright before the Parisian mobs. How did the French dare to lead other peoples in civilization and liberty, against tyranny and unreason, while the palm of leadership was given by nature to the Italians, whose language was so much superior to all other European languages?¹⁰⁵

Di Libertà maestri i Galli? E a cui?
A noi fervide ardite Itale menti,
D'ogni alta cosa insegnanti altrui?—¹⁰⁶

Born in the night of Italy's inertia, he burned with the hope to bring about Italy's dawn, to stir the hearts of Italians to valor, and to have his songs spur them on when their Day would break:

Giorno verrà, tornerà il giorno, in cui
Redivivi omai gl'Itali, staranno
In campo audaci, e non col ferro altrui
In vil difesa, ma dei Galli a danno.¹⁰⁷

Then Alfieri will be recognized as Italy's great seer, *vate nostro*, who, born in the century of depravity, has by his word created the sublime age of Italian greatness.

Yet Alfieri had been wrong: nowhere outside France was the influence of the French Revolution so deep and beneficial as in Italy. It revolutionized the whole outmoded structure of Italian

political life, swept away the old foundations, and created the conditions which could give rise to an Italian nation. Because the Italian mind had been prepared by a century of French ideas, the French Revolution could give form to the vague aspirations of the Italian intellectuals for reform and liberty, for a renovated Italy. Through the French Revolution they followed the road from a rational cosmopolitanism to a liberal nationalism: the risorgimento fused the longing for human happiness and for the resurrection of ancient greatness into a modern nationalism.

8

As strong as in Italy was the influence of Western enlightenment in Scandinavia; but here it was exercised upon ancient and progressive kingdoms, of which Denmark was originally the most fertile, populated, and easily accessible. Denmark early assumed leadership and united the three kingdoms in the Union of Kalmar (1397). From this Sweden, a fertile country with a vigorous middle class, soon withdrew; but it lasted more than four centuries for Norway, a poor and remote country whose nobility was completely Danized, and which became a nation of peasants and fishermen. Politically and culturally it became a part of Denmark, against which Sweden fought several bitter wars from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Denmark—where the monarchy was nominally elective, the influence of the nobility in the Rigsraad too great, and the peasantry powerless—lost leadership at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In Sweden the Vasas created a strong centralized monarchy with the help of free peasants, and after 1617 the Riksdag met regularly, its four estates (nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants) deliberating separately, their rights guaranteed in the royal charters, the Konungaförsäkram. For two hundred years Sweden was the leading imperial power in northern Europe, but with the death of Charles XII (1718) she retired within the limits imposed by her slender natural resources.

In the eighteenth century, under French influence, both kingdoms experienced a period of enlightened reform. In Sweden after 1720 all power passed into the hands of the Riksdag, which led to

party strife and conflict between the four estates, until Gustavus III (1771-1792) reestablished a strong monarchy by his coup d'état of 1772 and inaugurated a reign of progressive reforms and patriotic zeal. In Denmark the hereditary monarchy, introduced in 1660, was confirmed in its absolutist character by the Kongelov (royal constitution) of 1665 with its subsequent equalization of Norwegian administration with Danish and the rise of the middle classes to official position and influence. Frederick V (1746-1766) and especially Frederick VI as crown prince and later as king (1784-1812) gave Denmark model reigns of progressive reforms: serfdom and the slave trade were abolished; the Jews received their civil rights; the corn trade was freed from all restrictions; faster and cheaper judicial procedure was provided for, and censorship was largely abolished, so that in Denmark as in Sweden a vigorous public opinion could develop. The two northern kingdoms entered fully into the spirit of the Western world, in their political reforms and in their intellectual revival.

The beginning of the eighteenth century found French the common language of society in Denmark, and German the language of the army; Danish was spoken only by the lower classes. Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), who was born in Bergen, Norway, passed his mature years in Copenhagen, where he was professor at the university and became the father not only of modern Danish literature, but of a new intellectual life, fertilizing all fields of thought and art with the new taste and morality of the age of rationalism, and writing in a new Danish prose, full of vigor and flexibility. Under his leadership the first Danish theater was opened in 1722, for which he wrote in six years twenty-eight plays, which have made his name in literature. His influence was as great in Norway as in Denmark. Since the Reformation¹⁰⁸ a common literary language had developed for the two countries, and the fact that the great reformer of Danish literature was a Norwegian filled the Norwegians with pride and stirred them from their lethargy. The new ideas penetrated simultaneously in both countries and aroused a strong and active interest in natural science and historical research.

Lutheranism had not produced an intellectual revival in Scandinavia. Introduced for reasons of state against the religious con-

victions of the people, it remained a state church closely connected with the court. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a small band of pietist ministers brought the first religious revival to Norway, distributing Bibles and hymnbooks to the common people and urging popular education. Soon, however, a new spirit, equally aloof from rigid orthodoxy and from pietism, was to dominate the intellectual vanguard of Norway. The interest in experimental science coming from England, the new middle-class morality and curiosity represented by Locke, the rationalism of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, the concern for welfare and agriculture of the physiocrats, patriotic utilitarianism and patriotic interest in local history, mingled in Norway with the Rousseauian taste for wild and grandiose nature and for an independent and valiant peasantry as the backbone of national life.

In 1751 Gerhard Schøning (1722-1780), a Norwegian, and his Danish friend Peter Frederik Suhm (1728-1798) came to Trondheim; and in 1760, together with Johan Ernst Gunnerus, they founded the Trondhejmske Videnskabs-Selskab (Society for Science in Trondheim), which in 1767 became the Kongelige Norske Videnskabs-Selskab (Royal Norwegian Society for Science). Science was understood, in the utilitarian patriotic spirit of the century, to embrace the promotion of agriculture and trade, experiments in and popularization of physics and astronomy, research in history and antiquity, and the spread of useful knowledge of all kinds. After 1750 in all Nordic countries the interest in Nordic antiquity became widespread. Suhm and Schøning left Trondheim in 1765 for Denmark, there Suhm wrote a "Historie af Danmark" in eight volumes, dealing with the period before 1400, and Schøning his "Norges Riges Historie" in three volumes, covering the story down to 955. Copenhagen became the natural center of Nordic antiquity, especially after Arni Magnusson (1663-1730), an Iclander, had founded there his famous collection of Icelandic manuscripts. There Paul Henri Mallet (1730-1807) prepared his "Introduction à l'histoire du Danemarck" (1755), and there, subsequently, many old Norse records were published. In this period of the Ossian cult, the origins of the Norse civilizations were eagerly studied. While it was then generally agreed that the Scan-

dinavians, related to the Trojans, had migrated from Asia Minor, Schøning maintained—contrary to German theories that the Scandinavians were a mere branch from the German stock—that they had come to Scandinavia from the north around the Gulf of Bothnia and thus were distinct from the Germans. The new interest in folklore spread even to Finland—then a part of Sweden—where Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804), writing in Swedish his pioneer studies of the extensive, orally transmitted Finnish folk poetry, aroused the interest which became after 1809 the foundation of the Finnish awakening.

The small group of Norwegian and Danish scholars in Trondheim also first raised demands for a Norwegian university and for a Norwegian bank to encourage the growth of Norwegian trade. The lack of higher educational institutions in Norway made the youth gravitate to Copenhagen: with the unity of the Danish-Norwegian language and culture, which had been confirmed by Holberg's life work, they participated freely in the common life of the two peoples who formed one nation politically but were marked by differences in character due to their varying physical environments, and by differences in their early history, which just then began to be studied.

Denmark, where Klopstock lived for twenty years and taught the common origin of the German and Scandinavian peoples and literatures, was under German cultural influence. Klopstock's most prominent pupil, Johannes Ewald (1743–1781), wrote in 1778 a melodrama idealizing the life of fishermen in the Rousseauan style, and containing the Danish national anthem "Kong Christian stod ved højen Mast." But official German influence ended abruptly with the downfall of Johann Frederick Struensee (1731–1772), the son of a pietist in Halle, turned atheist and radical reformer, who was for eight months the all-powerful ruler of Denmark. He was a typical eighteenth century enlightened despot without any regard for the support of the people, whose language he never learned, and whom he despised. It was as much his complete disregard and contempt for Danish traditions and susceptibilities as his overbearing and immoral conduct which revolted the Danes. His overthrow was regarded as a national victory. Suhm wrote to the king:

"Let us again hear our own dear language in your commands. You are a Dane, and I know that you can speak Danish. Let the foreign language be a sign of the vile traitor who was too indolent to learn our language." In 1772 German was abolished as the language of command in the army, and Danish was made the official language of the realm. After 1776 only native-born citizens, and foreign-born who were assimilated to citizenship, could be appointed to office. The Danish cultural consciousness began to assert itself. The foundations had been laid by Holberg; Hans Gram (1685-1748), who published critical editions of the old Danish chronicles, founded the Danish Royal Academy of Sciences; and Jakob Langebek (1710-1775) founded the Society for the Improvement of the Danish language and began the collection of the "*Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii aevi*," which were published in nine volumes beginning in 1772. The stage, dominated by French comedies, was again opened to Danish national plays, thanks to Herman Wessel (1742-1785). But the spirit of enlightened reform was in no way dead after Struensee's downfall. Under A. P. Bernstorff's able leadership Denmark had become one of the most progressive countries of Europe at the eve of the French Revolution. The new spirit of liberty expressed itself in intellectual fermentation and social and economic activity, awakening the people from their lethargy. Even in distant Iceland industrial and trade reforms lifted the people out of hopeless apathy, the result of a hostile nature and of centuries of oppression. A new printing press began in 1773 the publication of secular literature, Jón Torláksson (1744-1819), a rural clergyman in northern Iceland, translated Pope's "*Essay on Man*," Milton's "*Paradise Lost*," and Klopstock's "*Messias*" into Eddic verses. Eggert Ólafson (1726-1768) praised native country life in "*Búnadarbálkur*" and, in "*Reise igiennen Island*," gave the first comprehensive description of the nature and people of the island. To him who represented the more national side of enlightened patriotism, the mother tongue was especially dear, while Magnús Stephenson (1762-1833), the outstanding Icelander of his time, stressed the cosmopolitan tendencies of rational enlightenment and influenced public opinion toward progressive and human reforms.

Meanwhile differences in cultural outlook between Danes and Norwegians began to manifest themselves. "Holberg's cosmopolitan interests and broad scope of vision made him look upon Danish-Norwegian literature as a possession common to both peoples, in which a slight difference in national spirit could be left out of account." After 1750 German influence prevailed among the young Danish writers who organized the Danske Literatur-Selskab, while the Norwegians in Copenhagen, strongly swayed under English and French influences, formed in 1772 their own literary club, the Nøiske Selskab. Following Thomson's "Seasons," Christian Braunnmann Tullin (1728-1765) wrote his long descriptive poem "Maidagen," and Johan Nordahl Brun (1745-1816) his patriotic song "For Norge, kjæmpers fødeland" praising Norway as the home of giants living amid natural grandeurs. But with all rhetorical poetry "the Norwegians prided themselves no less on their loyalty to the king than on their love for their fatherland, whose ancient glory they just began to discover. They remained linked to Denmark with every tie of loyalty." Before the nineteenth century there was no movement for Norwegian independence or nationhood. Fatherland meant the whole state ruled by the king—Denmark, Norway, the German Duchies, and Iceland and the Western islands. Even as late as 1812, the most outspoken Norwegian patriot, Nicolai Wergeland, firmly denied that he restricted the concept of fatherland to Norway alone and maintained that the state of Norway and Denmark was "my fatherland."¹⁰⁰ Yet under the influence of Rousseau and the early romanticism another element entered into the formation of the future Norwegian nationalism, the admiration for the *bønder*, the Norwegian peasant freeholders and yeomen, so different from the Danish peasants who received their freedom only in 1788. The Norwegians seemed to be endowed with greater courage and a more irrepressible love of liberty than the Danes. Peasant uprisings in Norway, like that under C. J. Lofthus, though in no way the expression of any rising national spirit, strengthened the belief. A leading Danish thinker, Thyge Rothe, who had done much to purify the Danish language of foreign influences, praised the proud "sons of Norway. Who wonders that the *bønder* are so, when he knows that among

their number are those who descended from kings, and that through succeeding generations they have lived on their farms which they own by right of odal, that they have been true warriors and defenders of their country? Is it a wonder that every Norwegian of all classes understands what national honor is, he who lives in the pure mountain atmosphere, with his traditions of the past, with the thought that his country has been a land of freedom, not of aristocracy or serfdom." Some Norwegian poets began to write in the strain of peasant folk songs and in the local dialects. When Norwegian nationalism arose in the nineteenth century, it represented the fusion of the constitutional principles of 1789 with the Rousseauian glorification of the free peasants as the true backbone of nationality.¹¹⁰ It thus carried from its beginning, in spite of romantic influences, a strong Western and democratic character.

In a different way liberal nationalism grew up in Sweden in the eighteenth century. The end of her great-power position was accepted by the Swedes with good grace: deprived of most of their outlying territories, they wisely abandoned forever expansive dreams, therein differing from the Poles; and the pendulum swung with them from the disciplined warrior monarchy to a forcible reassertion of the liberties of the Riksdag. The liberties soon became excessive; the rivalries and the party spirit threatened to undermine Sweden's national existence, like Poland's; but Sweden was not an aristocratic oligarchy—burghers and free peasants played a great role in her political life—so that the year 1772 which marked the beginning of the end of Poland, saw the resumption of Sweden's strength by an enlightened monarchy supported by the nation. The years of the Riksdag's preeminence were not lost years: the extensive participation in public life made secure the foundations of parliamentary government. And the period of Sweden's renunciation of all external greatness was one of a remarkable flowering of letters and sciences. Sweden turned away from the domination of the Baltic, and opened herself to Western influences which streamed in from England and France.¹¹¹ The fantastic patriotism of Olof Rudbeck (1630–1702), anatomist and botanist in Uppsala, who in the four volumes of his "Atland" tried to prove

that the *campus elysii*, Plato's Atlantis, was none other than Sweden, was a thing of the past. The "age of freedom"—as the period from 1720 to 1772 is called—rooted the principles of liberty and rational progress deep in the consciousness of the Swedish people. Under English influence political thought, economics, and natural sciences were emphasized from the utilitarian point of view, and the new morality of reason and equity transformed human relations, while the influence of France prevailed in literature and taste. Olof von Dalin (1708-1763), the leading literary man of the period and the foremost representative of rationalism in Sweden, wrote Swedish history in the spirit of the time and popularized it as none had done before.¹¹² He published also, after English models, a periodical *The Swedish Argus* (1733) in which he tried to turn contemporary thought from the past to the future, from feeling to reason. The greatest literary figure of the latter half of the century, Johan Henrik Kellgren (1751-1795), a disciple of Voltaire, carried on Dalin's work with greater brilliancy. He too founded a newspaper, *Stockholmsposten* (1778), in which his satire fought prejudice and ignorance. Swedish patriotism of the period resulted in a new interest in the native language. Johan Ihre (1707-1780) urged its use throughout the educational system and its purification of foreign words.

Kellgren was a close collaborator of Gustavus III, a nephew and admirer of Frederick II of Prussia, who wished to become a model enlightened monarch, a restorer of Sweden's strength and a generous patron of Sweden's cultural life. On June 21, 1771, he opened his first parliament, making the first address to the Riksdag in Swedish in more than a century: "Born and bred among you, I have learned, from my tenderest youth, to love my country, and hold it the highest privilege to be born a Swede, the greatest honor to be the first citizen of a free people. To rule over a happy people is my dearest desire; to govern a free people, the highest aim of my ambition." And he went on in words recalling Bolingbroke's patriot king: "I found that neither the pomp and magnificence of monarchy, nor the most frugal economy, nor the most overflowing exchequer can insure content or prosperity, where unity is wanting. It rests with you, to become the happiest nation in the world

. . . by the sacrifice of all party animosities, of all interested motives, to the commonweal. So far as in me lies, I will contribute to reunite your diverging opinions, to reconcile your estranged affections." Sweeping civic and military reforms strengthened Sweden in one of the most difficult periods of her international relations. The king's reforms extended to every field of public or intellectual activity. Though he was a devoted disciple of French taste and spirit, he wished to transplant them to Sweden in Swedish form and in the Swedish language.¹¹⁴ The Swedish theater had been entirely French. The king dismissed the French troupe, founded a Swedish theater, and himself wrote a number of plays for it, some of them praising in the naïve way of the time the simple country life of the Swedish peasantry, others glorifying in the style of Racine the heroic deeds of Gustavus Adolphus with much patriotic rhetoric.

He attracted artists and scientists to his court; he gave a vigorous impulse to the still embryonic journalism; he founded a musical academy and an academy of fine arts, and finally in 1786 the Swedish Academy of eighteen immortals, which he inaugurated with a characteristic speech: "To promote everything which may redound to the welfare of the realm is always my highest object; to contribute to the honor of the Swedish name, my dearest desire. The fame which followed the Swedish arms through the length and breadth of Europe has too often been won at the cost of our individual happiness. It remains for us to achieve another and a greater triumph, the triumph which waits only upon polite literature and bookish arts, the triumph which defies time, and is indifferent to the precarious glory which vanished with hardly won and lightly lost material conquests."¹¹⁵

In all his measures to restore the patriotic unity of the realm by a strengthened monarchy, Gustavus III respected the rights of the Riksdag. In his speech to it on February 27, 1792, he insisted on the undisturbed continuance of parliamentary life in times of unprecedented world crisis, and on the patriotic cooperation which he had received from all four estates, especially from the "good yeomen of the honorable estate of peasants, ye who hastened, with one effort, to the defense of the realm, leaving your plows, to man

and steer into battle the very vessels which your own hands had equipped. To express my gratitude I can find no other words than these: You have shown yourselves Swedes, worthy descendants of those of whom Gustavus Vasa said that his trust was in God and the peasantry of Sweden." ¹¹⁰

This spirit of patriotic enlightenment under Western influence dominated Sweden's life at the end of the century: The Swedes looked forward to rational progress, not backward to the past. Few writers like Thomas Thorild (1759-1808), a disciple of the German Storm and Stress, pointed to the close connection between the Swedes and the Germans and suggested following rather the passionate depth of the Teutons than the rational superficiality of the French. Swedish art should root itself in the Nordic past. This admiration of the legendary national past grew under the influence of German romanticism; the Gothic Union (1811) celebrated the Swedes as the descendants of the Goths, the conquerors of Rome and founders of great empires. In a movement corresponding to the Teutschthümelei in the Germany of that day, old Nordic names and customs revived. When this Nordic romanticism protested against Western influences, and charged that the admixture of so much alien thought in Swedish life was unwholesome, Esaias Tegnér (1782-1846) replied that in that case barbarism would be most patriotic because it alone is entirely original, uninfluenced by alien civilization. Gothicism did not prevail or last long in Sweden; the modern Swedish nation built its life on the basis of the enlightened and progressive patriotism of its age of freedom in the eighteenth century.

9

The political wisdom of the Swedes expressed itself in the willing abandonment of aspirations which were far beyond their resources, and in the moderation which kept national dreams and factional strife within bounds. The Poles showed neither the wisdom nor the moderation; politically backward, morally corrupt, they disintegrated at a time when all other nations gathered their strength. Only at the end of the century did the invigorating spirit of the

West arouse the desire for reform and regeneration; though it came too late to save the nation, it laid the foundations for its later revival. Yet the only nation to disappear in the eighteenth century had been one of the great powers of Europe in size and population, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, an enormous and amorphous land mass in the borderless plains of Eastern Europe. Like Sweden and Turkey, it declined at the end of the seventeenth century under Moscow's pressure westwards to join Europe through the Baltic and Black seas. The Ukraine, inhabited by a Slavonic people akin to the Muscovites and Poles, the cradle of the Russian nation and Russian civilization, was the battleground of Russian and Polish expansion from the seventeenth century on.¹¹⁷ Poland's inner weakness and decay resulted from overexpansion and from the conceit and ambitions of its upper class, for which neither the moral character of the nation nor the economic structure of the country offered any foundation.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Poland,¹¹⁸ more even than Spain, was a subject of general contempt and derision.¹¹⁹ It was an aristocratic republic with an elective and powerless king, its government based on three curious and rather unique features, the *pacta conventa*, which the king signed at his election, a legalization of impotence in a country without a trained army or sufficient taxation; the famous *liberum veto*, the privilege of every member of the nobility to veto any legislation, and the formal legalization of anarchy; and finally the confederation which represented a legalization of civil war, often the only means of carrying on government at all. The Poles had a parliament, the Sejm, but Burke's definition that "parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile countries" but "a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole," was unknown in Poland. Polish liberty expressed itself not in patriotic integration, but in chaotic egotism. *Wolno w Polsce, jak kto chce*.¹²⁰

The only class represented in the Sejm was the nobility—sharply divided into a small group of very rich and influential magnates and a mass of mostly uneducated, very poor and half-savage noblemen, the *szlachta*—to which all productive work and commercial enterprise were strictly forbidden, and which was obsessed by a furious

class conceit, surpassing even that of the Spanish nobility, on account of the "liberties" which it as the true sovereign of Poland enjoyed. These unique privileges, culminating in the *nie pozwalam*, the *liberum veto*, had been acquired at the expense of the cities and the middle class, which had degenerated to an unbelievable degree of poverty and squalor, and of the peasantry, who had sunk to a depth of savagery and enslavement unsurpassed in Europe. Yet the nobility, responsible for the anarchy and decay of Poland at a time when even Russia by its reforms quickly took a higher rank in statesmanship and civilization, showed neither desire for reform nor repentance. They praised the "golden liberties" acquired by their "virtuous ancestors," and this superiority complex, based on abysmal ignorance and vain arrogance, was supported by the Catholic Church. The mass of the nobility was fanatically religious and superstitious. While in other Catholic countries of the eighteenth century, in Spain and in Naples, in Portugal and in the Empire under the deeply religious Maria Theresa, the power of the Church was strictly curtailed, it remained untouched in Poland by the spirit of the time. "Under the influence of the clergy, the Poles came to regard themselves as under the special protection of Providence, as chosen people and confirmation for this belief was found in the many signs and wonders of the seventeenth century, especially in the miraculous deliverance of the country from the Swedes in the time of John Kasimir."¹²¹ But no signs and wonders helped in the eighteenth century: there was nothing but shame and decay, destroying the nation and inviting greedy neighbors to partition it.

Poland had enjoyed regular parliaments since 1413; but only the nobility sat in them, representing itself alone, completely self-contained as a caste, paying no taxes and reserving to itself all offices, including soon all higher Church offices, and the military service. The cities were poor and small—none reached 50,000 inhabitants, and only seven counted more than 10,000 inhabitants; and their citizens were barred from all possession of land and all public functions. The country was sparsely settled and poorly cultivated among endless dense forests which seemed impervious even to primitive civilization. The state of education was most

miserable; by the middle of the century "thoughtless and brutish material enjoyment prevailed among the debased gentry, unmitigated by any flickering of civic spirit, and rarely sublimated by intellectual refinement. Literature, reaching its lowest depths both in style and in matter, faithfully reflected the rottenness of society."¹²² In this chaos, tumult, and stagnation Poland had existed for so long that the conviction spread that Poland lived by disorder. But at this very moment, rational enlightenment began to move some of the more open minds among the nobility and clergy toward a moral reformation of the nation and a Europeanization of its government and life.

In 1733 Augustus III of Saxony was elected to the Polish throne over Stanisław Leszczyński (father-in-law of Louis XV and after 1735 Duke of Lorraine), from whose court beneficial influence radiated to Poland. His "Głos Wolny wolność ubezpieczający" (A Free Voice to Secure Freedom, 1749) had, however, as little immediate influence as the pamphlet by Stanisław Poniatowski, the father of the later king, who called in 1744 for a stronger central authority, for a better economic and financial order, for a standing army, and for social justice. Institutions could not be mended, as long as the mind remained completely uninformed. Stanisław Konarski (1700-1773), the *praeceptor Poloniae*, a Piarist who had studied abroad for ten years, returned home resolved to change Polish education as a basis for national regeneration. After the French model he opened in 1753 the Collegium Nobilium, to educate the sons of the nobility as "honorable men and good citizens." His activities were many-sided: he wrote plays to help found a Polish theater; he contributed to the *Monitor*—the first modern Polish periodical after the model of the *Spectator*—which began its publication in 1765; he wrote on political reform and the evils of the Polish government, and he pleaded in his "De emendandis eloquentiae vitiis" for the clarity and simplicity of the Polish language, though he himself used only Latin in his public addresses (Polish becoming the language of instruction and of intellectual life only after 1770). In Konarski's school curriculum, Polish was used in the three lowest classes; but for the first time modern history was taught, and that amounted to a rediscovery of the Polish past

by the students. He stated the purpose of education as educating youth "to have often in mind their country, for which they were born; learning from earliest days to love her, and not disappointing the hopes she entertains of them. They should school themselves in good habits and a life worthy of great sons of their nation."¹²³

Konarski saw Poland's evils clearly. He emphasized disinterested patriotism in his drama "The Tragedy of Epaminondas" (1756):

More pain to me than death or any fate
Are feuds and quarrels within the state.

"Let us govern ourselves like sensible people. Have done with pretensions that we are better than others! For the God of nature did not search for a different clay when he made Poles from what he used for Englishmen." Konarski's influence grew under the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski, the successor of the Saxon king and a former favorite of Catherine II. He introduced the enlightened ideas of the century; but he was hindered by his dependence upon Russia, for Catherine, so eager for the absolute monarchy in her own realm, made herself the protector of the "liberties" of Poland. No real progress could be made in the political field against the vested interests and the deep-rooted spirit of family and clan; but in the cultural field the court became the center of French influence, and under the inspiration of the West a new Polish literature was born. Yet what first aroused the Poles to action was not the enlightened patriotism which slowly gained hold of a few circles in the capital and among the great magnates, while the large majority of the nobility and of the country remained under the spell of Sarmatian ignorance and backwardness, but a movement of religious fanaticism, directed against Catherine's desire to put the Greek Orthodox citizens of Poland on the same footing as the Catholics. "The faith is in danger" became the rallying cry; and the papal nuncio, the head of the movement. In 1768 the Confederation of Bar started an armed insurrection to defend religion to the last. For the first time all classes were united, to oppose equal rights for the non-Catholics. In the Brotherhood of the Knights of the Holy Cross country gentlemen, peasants, artisans, and priests fought to-

gether. Yet the chaotic and disorderly movement was easily subdued by Russia and led to the first partition of Poland (1772). Russia became the guarantor of the Polish constitution of 1775.

As Rousseau had clearly seen, the loss of the territory strengthened Poland. The following years were a period of growing prosperity and lessening anarchy. In deference to Russia's wish for a more stable government, beneficial reforms were introduced. Men of noble birth were allowed to engage in trade without forfeiting their rank. For the first time in centuries the middle classes raised their heads: Jan Dekert, the mayor of Warsaw, organized a movement for the recognition of the civic and political rights of the burghers, and he was aided by social reformers like Stanisław Staszic (1755-1826) and Hugo Kołłątaj (1750-1812). Both belonged to the group of enlightened Catholic priests who under French influence became the foremost reformers, eager for liberty, for scientific progress and modern education.

The dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773 gave the opportunity for taking over its schools and income. "After two centuries in which Poland had dwelt apart in intellectual isolation and almost in intellectual stagnation, nourishing herself on the dry bones of scholasticism and an outworn humanism, modern science and the philosophy of enlightenment made their triumphal entry into the country."¹²⁴ A commission of education was formed, on which the reformers sat; the whole school system was reorganized, natural science, anatomy, medicine, and engineering were introduced. By 1783 thirty-eight high schools with almost 10,000 pupils were in existence. In the same year Polish was introduced as the language of instruction in the universities, and the University of Cracow was aroused from its lethargy by Kołłątaj. Voltaire, Rousseau, and Locke became popular; obscurantism lost its unbroken power before the new critical spirit; demands for reform, voiced in 1760 only by a few individuals, grew general. The whole trend of the age, the constant danger of new divisions, the unconcealed contempt of Europe, all that increased the discontent with existing conditions. New interests and new tastes were awakened; a permanent Polish theater was established whose chief author was the Jesuit Bohomolec (1720-1784), Bishop Ignacy Krasicki translated Ossian

and other old ballads and became with his satires the Polish Voltaire, Bishop Adam Naruszewicz (1733-1796) wrote a history of Poland ("Historya narodu polskiego," completed in six volumes in 1786) which played in Poland a role similar to Karamzin's history in Russia. His history like his patriotic poetry had one purpose, to point out the blemishes of the existing system, to attack the general corruption and indolence and to paint models of true citizenship. More and more foreign books were translated into Polish, and at the same time older Polish texts were edited.

Yet while the new spirit gained rapidly, a large part of the nobility preserved its old blind pride and its horror of innovation. When the crisis came, Poland was split into a leading small group looking to the West for regeneration and into the great mass still clinging to its traditions. Under the pressure of the patriotic revival, the Sejm met on October 6, 1788, and remained in session for four years. Russia's involvement in war with Turkey seemed to offer the opportunity for liberating the country. But only the younger patriots who formed a minority realized that serious reforms were needed in the internal life of the nation. The majority were full of self-confidence, and the Sejm procrastinated for a long time. Much enthusiasm was not balanced by self-discipline or experience. The factional spirit persisted: many magnates were pro-Russian, others leaned against Russia upon the empty and insincere promises of Prussia. The preamble of the new constitution, finally adopted on May 3, 1791, spoke the patriotic language of the period: "Declaring that the fate of us all depends solely on the establishment and perfection of the national constitution, having by long experience recognized the deep-rooted defects of our government, and . . . holding dearer than life and personal happiness the political existence, external independence, and internal freedom of the nation, whose fate has been entrusted to us; anxious to earn the blessing and gratitude of present and future generations: we have resolved . . . upon the present constitution for the general good and to insure the freedom of our motherland and to defend her and her frontiers." Yet the constitution represented only a moderate compromise. Poland became a hereditary limited monarchy with ministerial responsibility and a biennial parliament. The *liberum*

veto was abolished, and every deputy was to be regarded as a representative of the nation. But the ancient privileges and rights of the nobility were approved and confirmed, the Sejm was to consist of 204 deputies elected by the nobility and 24 elected by the cities, which could vote only upon municipal and commercial questions. The burghers received the right to own land and to hold office, but serfdom was not abolished.

The constitution did not save Poland. The Sejm had offended Russia by bombastic oratory, while completely omitting all serious military preparations, and putting all hope in an alliance with Prussia, which was only too ready, in spite of all its solemn promises, to unite with Russia against Poland.¹²⁰ When Catherine sent her army into Poland in support of the Confederation of Targowica (1792), Polish resistance quickly ended. There was much enthusiasm and talk about a *levée en masse*. Józef Poniatowski wrote to the king: "If your Majesty had mounted a horse together with the gentry, armed the townsmen, proclaimed the peasants free—we then should have either perished with honour, or Poland would be now a Power."¹²¹ But the Polish gentry had never been disciplined in patriotism, the townsmen had not been trained in arms, the peasants had not been freed; the easy collapse of the Polish army and the continuing lethargy of the nation showed that the reform movement had not touched the people deeply. It was not the constitution of 1791, it was rather the second partition of Poland in 1793 which aroused such a feeling of patriotic indignation that in 1794 Tadeusz Kościuszko, who from 1776 to 1784 had witnessed in America the power of democracy and of patriotic struggle, could return to Poland as commander-in-chief of a national uprising, calling from Cracow to the Poles: "We, consecrating to our country our lives as the only possession which tyranny has not yet torn from us, are about to take those last and violent measures which patriotic despair dictates to us. Having therefore the unbroken determination to die or to deliver our native land from a shameful yoke, we declare in the sight of God, of the whole human race, and especially of you, O nations, by whom liberty is more highly prized than all other possessions in the world, that we all, in one national, civic, and brotherly spirit, unite our strength in

one; and, persuaded that the happy result of our great undertaking depends chiefly on the strictest union between us all, we renounce all prejudices and opinions which hitherto have divided or might divide the inhabitants of one land and the sons of one country, and we all promise each other to be sparing of no sacrifices which *only the holy love of liberty can provide to men rising in despair in her defense.*"¹²⁷

The commander-in-chief tried to continue the reforms. He liberated the serfs, he was determined on freedom for all classes and all religions in Poland, he sought the cooperation of the Greek Orthodox and of the Jews, he equipped a Jewish legion as part of the Polish army, he invited to the National Council in Warsaw the banker Andrzej Kapostas and the shoemaker Jan Kiliński. Artisans and serfs began to assemble around Kościuszko's banner; but many of the gentry hesitated, few men were trained, little material was prepared, and the leader spent precious time on the moral mobilization of the nation which gave the Prussians and Russians time to act. Dissension in his camp between reformers and conservatives increased his difficulties. In the decisive battle on October 10, 1794, the Russian army under Suvorov captured Kościuszko, who was kept in Russian prison until 1796, one year after Poland's third partition. Nothing remained of the nation but the memory of the constitution and of Kościuszko's uprising which the émigrés carried with them into exile. Under General Henryk Dąbrowski Polish legions fought in Napoleon's army in Italy. There Josef Wybicki wrote the text of the Polish song, "Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła," which became the national anthem, "As long as we live Poland has not yet perished." The patriotic revival of the last years of Poland's existence could not save the nation: it was neither far reaching nor deep enough for that purpose. It did not reform Poland nor mold it into a nation filled with a new morality and unity. The preponderance and arrogance of the nobility, the dream of vast dominion, the insufficiency of the spiritual and economic resources, the lack of wise moderation and self-criticism remained to constitute a fundamental weakness of Polish national revival, but at the same time the legacy of Staszic, Kołłątaj, and Kościuszko worked as a leaven towards a new morality and patriotic unity.

IO

Hungary's political structure was similar to that of Poland: in both countries the nobility exercised power to the detriment of the monarchy, of the middle classes, and of the peasants, extending its rule over populations ethnographically different. But Hungary was more fortunate: it had excellent natural frontiers in the Carpathian Mountains, and its existence was endangered not by the growing power of Russia but by the declining Turkish Empire; above all, Habsburg rule gave it stability, which made modernizing reforms and a national revival in Hungary easier than in neighboring Poland, Hungary's close ally on many occasions. Like the Poles, the Magyars, the only confederation of Asiatic horsemen who succeeded in creating a stable government in Europe, formed a borderland between the Roman and the Byzantine world: both Hungary and Poland accepted Christianity in the Catholic form at about the same time. St. Gerard of Venice, known to the Hungarians as Szént Gellért, helped St. Stephen (997-1038)—who placed the royal crown sent by the Pope on his own head on Christmas Day, 1000—to organize the kingdom. This crown, and not Magyar nationality, became the symbol of the Hungarian nation. The great codification of Hungarian law by István Werboczi (1460-1541), the "*Tripartitum opus juris consuetudinarii inclyti regni Ungariae*," called the Holy Crown of St. Stephen the source of all law and power, and the nobility (composed of men of all nationalities, using Latin as the official language) its representatives, *membra sacrae coronae*. In his codification Werboczi quoted Stephen's instruction to his son St. Emeric to follow the example of the Roman Empire and to treat men of all races well. "*Nam unius linguae uniusque moris regnum imbecille et fragile est. Propterea jubeo te, fili mi, ut bona voluntate illos nutrias et honeste teneas.*"¹²⁸ Only nineteenth century nationalism stressed the Magyar character of the multiracial kingdom, made Magyar the official language, and started the struggle of nationalities to which the almost millenary kingdom succumbed.

In 1526 most of Hungary came under Turkish domination,

which lasted until 1699, when the Habsburgs drove the Turks out. During these two centuries Hungary, partly devastated and depopulated, was divided into three parts, with the Turkish province in the center. While in western Hungary, which remained under the Habsburgs, the Counter Reformation, mainly thanks to Peter Pázmány,¹²⁰ succeeded, in the east Transylvania became a practically independent principality, preponderantly Calvinist, with Gyulafehérvár as capital. The Diet of Transylvania recognized four religions in 1571: Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian. Being in many respects a distant borderland of Protestantism, Transylvania held an important position in the European religious wars, and entered into relations with the West. Ambitious princes like George Rákóczi II (1648-1660), overstrained its resources, and the weakened country fell completely under Turkish influence. After the expulsion of the Turks it was reunited with Hungary but preserved a high degree of autonomy.

During the wars against the Turks, Nicholas Zrinyi (1618-1664) wrote a patriotic epos, "Obsidio Szigetiana," in which he glorified the defense of Szigetvár by his great-grandfather, who led the whole garrison to a suicidal attack against the Turkish invader, castigated his fellow countrymen for their conceit, their self-admiration, their quick enthusiasm without perseverance, and their vain dreams without realism. But few Hungarians shared his patriotism and his desire for unity. Their minds were so dominated by religious conflict and party strife that the Protestants joined the Turks against the Catholic monarch. A revolt of peasants, called *kurucok* or crusaders, found a capable leader in Nicholas Zrinyi's nephew Francis Rákóczi II, who in his manifesto "Recrudescent vulnera" addressed himself to the people under the slogan "Pro patria et libertate." The rising, religious and social at the same time, demanded toleration for the Protestants and betterment for the peasants. It failed; but the emperor granted generous terms in 1711, and for more than a century peace reigned in Hungary. Rákóczi emigrated, and died in Turkey in 1735. The peasants abandoned all hope in the Hungarian nobility and looked for improvements to the enlightened Habsburg monarchs, who mitigated their yoke. The progressive Catholicization weakened the position

of the Protestants around Rákóczi: the alliance with the Turks was contrasted with the emperor's liberation of Hungary from Turkish rule. Catholicism seemed to cement Hungary's unity and to tie it with its own past. Education was in the hands of the Jesuits, who proclaimed the dedication of the country to the Holy Virgin, a *regnum Marianum*.

The eighteenth century was to Hungary, as to Belgium and Lombardy, a period of progress and reconstruction under Habsburg rule. The population increased with large-scale settlements of immigrants, who strengthened it economically. Transylvania had been settled progressively with Rumanians, who formed the majority of the population but had no political rights. These were reserved to the three recognized "nations": the Magyars; the Székélys, a people related to the Magyars; and the Saxons, German colonists settled in the industrial and mining towns. But national conflicts were not conscious then;¹⁸⁰ the Hungarian Protestant princes published religious literature in Rumanian to convert the Orthodox peasantry and tried to introduce the native Wallachian tongue instead of the old Church Slavonic. A printing press was established in Brassó in 1559 to publish the first books ever printed in Rumanian—among them the translation of the four Gospels in 1561 and of the whole Bible twenty years later. George Rákóczi I instructed the Rumanian bishop of Bihar in 1641 "to preach to the poor Rumanian people in their native tongue" so that they might "be led from the darkness of superstition to enlightenment."

The Magyar-speaking population soon formed only a minority in the Hungarian kingdom. To the Slovaks in the northwest, the Ruthenians in the north, the Rumanians in the east, and the Croats in the southwest were added new German settlers: Catholic peasants from southern Germany, called Swabians, who populated many districts in the fertile plains; and Serbs migrating under their patriarch Arsenije III Cornopević to the Banat and the Bačka after their liberation from the Turks. In 1741 the Serb Patriarch of Ipek, Arsenije IV Jovanović, transferred his residence to Karlowitz and became the spiritual and political leader of the Orthodox Serbs in Hungary. All these migrations and settlements were part of the enlightened population policy and had nothing to do with

nationalism or Germanization. The same policy was followed by the kings of Prussia and by the Russian czars. Only at the end of the eighteenth century did the national consciousness begin to crystallize: first among the Rumanians and Serbs under Habsburg domination, and later among those living in Turkey. Transylvanian Rumanians led in the Rumanian national awakening. Rumanian students from Transylvania were sent to the Greek Catholic colleges in Rome. There, impressed by Trajan's column and other monuments of the ancient city, Bishop Samuil Klein, who Rumanized his name to Micu, reflected upon the Latin character of Wallachian and concluded that the Rumanians were the descendants of Romans settled by Trajan in Dacia, and were the heirs of Roman civilization in Eastern Europe. He and George Sincai propagated the use of the name "Rumanian" in place of "Wallachian," tried to purify (that is, to Latinize) the language, changed the alphabet used by the Rumanians from the Cyrillic to the Latin, and published in Buda in 1780 the first grammar of the Rumanian language, "*Elementa linguae Daco-Romanæ sive Wallachæ*." The Rumanian peasants in Transylvania, whose condition had been much alleviated by the reforms of Joseph II after the bloody revolt of 1784, first organized and expressed themselves politically in 1791. In the "*Supplex Libellus Valachorum*" they asked to be recognized as the fourth nation in Transylvania, where they formed the majority of the population.¹²¹

With prosperity growing in Hungary after 1750, culture began to spread. The Hungarian magnates at the court of Maria Theresa came into contact with Western civilization and adopted French manners. The towns, with a population mainly German, played an insignificant role in Hungary's social and intellectual life. It was among the wealthier country-nobility, who had no palaces in Vienna, that the Hungarian traditions lived on, and that resistance to innovations became most vocal. They cherished their *aurea libertas*—their established privileges. Joseph's attempts to modernize the administration were opposed by the estates, jealous of their "ancestral liberties." As often in continental Europe then, the monarchs represented progress in the interest of the people, while the estates with their ancient constitutions impeded it. "Les assemblées

. . . sont étrangères et comme impénétrables à l'esprit nouveau du temps. Aussi le coeur du peuple leur échappe et tend vers les princes."¹⁸² Yet the aristocratic estates, bent upon preserving their privileges, spoke in the name of the nation and of their traditional liberties. At the end of the century, the awakening national consciousness of the educated class came to their help. This class, consisting of teachers, writers, and lawyers, was most vitally concerned about the national language. When Joseph II in 1784 ordered Latin to be replaced by German as the official language, he aroused bitter opposition; yet he wished only to unify his lands and open the door to the modern spirit—he had no preference for German. "Si le royaume de Hongrie était la plus importante de mes possessions," he wrote, "je n'hésiterais pas à imposer sa langue aux autres pays."¹⁸³ But at the very time when Joseph II was trying to realize the ideals of the enlightenment, these ideals brought to young Hungarians a new interest in their native language that caused them to seek its renovation according to Western models.

George Bessenyei (1747–1811), an officer at the court in Vienna, became acquainted with the literature of the time. He and his friends, the "generation of 1765," resolved to serve their country and humanity by applying the new philosophy to Hungary and raising her to the level of the West. Books were translated from French and English into Hungarian; Francis Kazinczy (1759–1831) enriched the language, freed it from obsolete conventions, and simplified it; the demand grew for the substitution of Magyar for Latin as the official language of administration and the courts. Debreczin, the most populous city in Hungary with a large Calvinist population, became the center of the awakened national life. The university of Nagyszombat or Trnava was transferred to Buda in 1777 and to Pest in 1784. The dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773 hastened the reform of education, which had been largely in Jesuit hands. Yet the very small minority accepting Western ways of thought became alienated from the mass of the nobility and from the realities of Hungarian society, which remained unchanged. The generation of 1765 had no real reform program and did not even see the need of one.

At the same time a misunderstood Rousseauianism stressed the goodness of the old order. The *laudatores temporis passati* protested against the imitation of foreign models, against the life at the court, against innovations and luxury. They praised ancestral liberty and simplicity. The backward country squire clinging to all ancient prejudices and empty conceit appeared as the real Hungary. A popular saying glorified the apparently easy life of inertia and rut: "Extra Hungariam non est vita," Paul Ányos¹³⁴ wrote in 1782:

Morality favors not perfumed handkerchiefs,
Dainty dresses and neckerchiefs;
Veils, large silver buttons and leopard skins
Are more in accord with Hungarian wishes.

The first Hungarian newspaper, the *Magyar Hirmondó*, recommended the wearing of national costumes as distinctive national tokens. Stress was laid upon the ancient greatness of the Hungarians, who had victoriously resisted Tartars and Turks and had conquered Europe under Attila and carved out a permanent home for themselves under Árpád. John Ribinyi, a teacher at the Lutheran school at Sopron, confessed in 1751: "Italian is pleasant, French beautiful, German earnest; but all these qualities are so united in Magyar that it is difficult to say wherein its superiority consists." And he went on with an exhortation to cultivate the national tongue. "If we do not rival one another in this work, we sin against the fatherland, against the Magyar name, against ourselves, and against our ancestors. Our fathers for all their high-mindedness could not perform this task, occupied as they always were with wars and other sorrows; we whose life is more peaceful, and who have more opportunity to cultivate letters, must use all our strength to enrich and to refine our language. In parliament and in county assemblies we must speak Magyar; and it is shameful that we cannot clothe fine thoughts in fine language."¹³⁵ Yet this appeal for the use of Hungarian was written in Latin, and the conviction was widespread that the Hungarian language would die out. It was only the enlightened and in many ways cos-

mopolitan generation of 1765 which made Magyar a modern language. The newly aroused interest in the national past brought also the first history of Hungary, written as a work of serious research by Stephen Katona (1732-1811): the "*Historia critica primorum Hungariae ducum*" (1778) and the "*Historia critica regum Hungariae*" in forty-two volumes (1779-1817).

The Magyar language was promoted more by hostility to Joseph's reforms than by love for the native tongue, though some of the county assemblies stressed in 1784 the new interest in the Hungarian vernacular ("*hoc praesertim seculo peculiari zelo eruditi excolere et polire adlaborant*") when they opposed the substitution of German for Latin. The Diet which met in Pressburg after Joseph's death—Buda and Pest were still insignificant towns—made Magyar an optional subject in Hungarian schools in 1791 and a regular subject in 1792. In 1805 its use was allowed in the Diet alongside Latin; but it was much later that Magyar became the official language of the Hungarian kingdom, which so long preserved the non-national character of its medieval tradition.

In Hungary as in other backward countries of Eastern Europe the age of enlightenment produced no real changes and failed to spur a true national revival. The slogans of popular sovereignty, of national liberty, and of the social contract were used—if at all—for counterrevolutionary purposes, to strengthen the privileged classes, who thought of themselves as the nation. A small group of sincere reformers, called Jacobins—the "generation of 1795"—under the leadership of Jozef Hajnóczy wished to end feudalism; but their uprising received no support from middle class or masses and was quickly suppressed. It was actively opposed by the nobility, who after 1792 rallied around the monarchy for the preservation of the old order. The Napoleonic Wars barely touched Hungary, which remained economically and culturally backward. The new spirit of the West only began to penetrate after Count Stephen Széchenyi visited England in 1815 and called attention, in his first book in 1830, to the backwardness of the people and the responsibility of the privileged classes. He pleaded for a true reconstruction of the social order and a regeneration of the mind, a new mentality and a new economy, and he concluded with these

words: "The past has slipped out of our grasp, but we may yet own the future. Why should we bother then with useless reminiscences? Instead, let us work for a glorious dawn for our homeland through determined patriotism and faithful unity. Many think that Hungary is a thing of the past; I like to believe its greatest achievements lie in the future." Soon the generation of 1848 was to go beyond Széchenyi. Only then did the political philosophy of the French Revolution begin to come into its own; but the resistance of old illusions and traditions continued in Hungary as in Poland.¹⁸⁶

II

As in the Occident Romance and German influences, competing heirs of the Western Empire, met in an intermediate zone (the legacy of Lorraine and Burgundy) from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, so in the East German and Russian influences met in a similar zone that stretched from the Baltic to the Aegean Sea and separated the Western from the Eastern Empire. This zone was infinitely less consolidated than the Western zone; ethnographic and racial differences had not integrated politically and ideally. Only Poles and Hungarians preserved, with the medieval aristocratic structure, their conscious nationhood. The many other peoples, Lithuanians and Ukrainians, Czechs and Croats, Serbs and Bulgarians, some of whom had played important parts on the stage of history were no longer active factors. Among these "dormant" or "a-historical" peoples only the age of nationalism brought a reassertion of their historical consciousness.

The Greeks, at the crossroads of Mediterranean commerce, occupied a unique position—of growing importance at a time when the decline of the Ottoman Empire reopened the Eastern question; and as the heirs of ancient Greece they profited from the deep interest of neoclassicists in Greek civilization. Few scholars in the West then had more than a dim knowledge of Czechs or Bulgars, Ukrainians or Croats; but every educated man knew of the glories of Greece, from which Europe drew an ever deeper inspiration. The Greeks received from the West not only the gen-

eral revitalization of enlightenment, but the rediscovery of their own forgotten and neglected past. As French scholars in Egypt and English in India rediscovered the ancient history and thought of those lands and thus helped, in their Europeanization, to create for the first time a national consciousness based upon a belief in historical continuity, so the study of Greek antiquity by Western scholars aroused the interest and pride of the Greeks in their past and led them to identify themselves as "children of Solon and Lycurgus."

The position of the Greeks was unique in other respects too. They regarded the Greek Orthodox Church as their national heritage and soul. This had been the established church of the Byzantine Empire, an empire Greek in language, with a Greek as patriarch at Constantinople its highest religious dignitary. The patriarch remained the head of all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire, which, organized on a religious basis, gave to the heads of the religious communities authority also in judicial and financial matters. Thus Serbs and Bulgars, Rumanians and Albanians of the Orthodox faith came under the jurisdiction of the Constantinople patriarchate—and supported it by their taxes—with its Greek clergy, Greek language, and Hellenizing tendencies. Some Greek patriots dreamt of Greek leadership throughout the Orthodox world—or, at least in the Balkans, a reconstituted Byzantine Empire, while the non-Greek Orthodox peoples had to assert their rising nationality as much against the Greek Church as against the Turkish overlord.

While no living tie linked the Greeks with their classical past they always remained conscious of their unity with the Eastern Empire, which from the beginning had been Christian, based upon the Orthodox Church, and which had later shed its Roman structure in a complete Hellenization. Political and religious differences, the struggle against the Crusaders and against Venice, had strengthened the bitter antagonism of the Greeks against the Western world. In the Ottoman Empire the Greeks, on the whole well treated as all minorities, continued to play an important part, not only as merchants, but also as sailors, statesmen, and diplomatic middlemen. They represented, even under Turkish domination,

the continuity of the Byzantine Empire, and their nationalism turned soon to the dream of its resurrection. According to a widespread legend the last emperor, Constantine XI, had not died, but escaped through a secret opening in the wall of St. Sophia, to return whenever a Greek King again sat on the imperial throne. The first king born in modern Greece received the name of Constantine. The Turks appeared not only as infidels, but also as usurpers of an imperial dignity which by right belonged to the Greeks.

In that claim the Greeks found themselves face to face with a similar claim by Russia, supported by the infinitely superior might of that Orthodox but Slavonic power. Catherine II named her first two grandsons Alexander and Constantine, thus affirming Russia's claim to the Eastern Empire. Greece and Russia were united by faith; Russia acted as the protector of the Orthodox Church and of the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire; Greek ships sailed frequently under the Russian flag; Greeks served as Russian consuls. With Constantinople as the goal of Greek and of Russian national aspirations, Greece had to look for other titles than the religious one for her claim to Byzantium.

She found it in her language and classical inheritance, revived at the end of the eighteenth century. While religion connected Greece with the East, her classical civilization connected her with Western scholarship and the modern Western mind. From the West came also the first tendencies of secularization; and that meant with the Greeks the rediscovery of their pre-Christian past. At the turn of the century Greek ships began to bear the names of heroes of pagan antiquity instead of saints of the Church. The close connection with the West was promoted by the growth of trade and navigation. Greek merchants settled all over the Mediterranean and in southern Russia; soon the trade of the region was concentrated in their hands. Ties of family and group solidarity under foreign domination strengthened the Greek merchant communities as much as did their interest in education.¹⁸⁷ Wealthy merchants founded and endowed schools and sent their sons abroad to study. The Greek diaspora which spread from Odessa to Leghorn, from Alexandria to Manchester, from Vienna to Marseilles, opened a broad road over which Western influence invaded the

eastern Mediterranean, where Greek commerce replaced the former Venetian preponderance.

Thus the French Revolution found the Greeks better prepared for its message than any other people in Eastern Europe. They were making great progress not only in commerce and education, but also in the consciousness of their power. The French Revolutionary wars stimulated Greek trade and shipping. Greek vessels, armed against pirates, ran both the blockade established by England against the Continent and that by Napoleon against Britain. Six years after Napoleon's downfall, which seemed to spell the end of nationalism and liberalism and the lasting establishment of the Holy Alliance, the Greeks were the first successfully to raise the banner of nationalism and liberalism. With their "war of independence" the age of nationalism in Eastern Europe was established. They were the first, not because they suffered too heavily under Turkish oppression,¹⁸⁸ but because the ideas of the French Revolution had found among them a well prepared field, sown by the efforts of merchant-philantropists, by the foundation of schools like those at Iannina in the Epirus and Aivali in Asia Minor, by enlightened Greek priests like Eugenios Bulgares (1715-1806) and Nikephoros Theotokes (died in 1800), by the combined efforts of many obscure men who prepared the intellectual and moral regeneration of Greece which found a mouthpiece and a leadership in Rhigas (1757-1798) and in Adamantios Coray (1748-1833).

Rhigas was born in Velestino, a small town in Thessaly, known in ancient times as Pheraios, a town inhabited by Greeks, Albanians, and Wallachians, all three of whom claimed Rhigas as one of them. His knowledge of the Rumanian language secured him a position in Bucharest as secretary of the Phanariot Prince Alexander Ypsilanti and later as interpreter at the French Consulate. While the prince leaned towards Russia, Rhigas' sympathies went toward France and the French Revolution.¹⁸⁹ In Bucharest he translated a popular tract on physics into Greek because, as he wrote, "every patriot must be filled with sorrow when he sees that the unhappy descendants of Aristotle and Plato lack all philosophical knowledge. As a lover of Greece I have not been satisfied to weep over the state of my nation, but I wished to help it accord-

ing to my means. Let us all work, each one according to his forces, and thus alone will the Greek nation be reborn." This principle guided Rhigas in all his literary work, of which probably the most important was his "Map of Greece" to accompany a translation of Barthélemy's "Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce," which revealed to the Greeks the greatness of their ancient fatherland, a conception which guided the expansion of Greece for the century after 1822 as "the great idea": "This vast space, these mountains, these rivers, these capes, these gulfs, these islands, these cities with sonorous names—all these are Greece. These are the places, where the Greeks, your ancestors, lived, where they fought and which they immortalized by their genius and their arms."

This vision of Great Hellas, of the revived Byzantine Empire, led Rhigas to draw a revolutionary constitution for all inhabitants of the Balkans, of Asia Minor and of the Mediterranean islands who were living under Turkish despotism, and whom he wished to unite in a fatherland of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Thus Hellenic-Balkan realm, a forerunner of the modern plans of Balkan federation, was modeled after the French constitution of 1793, guaranteeing to all inhabitants, irrespective of race, religion, or language, all the rights of man and citizen under the cultural leadership of the Greeks. Article 7 read: "The sovereign people is the totality of the inhabitants of this state without distinction of religion and language, Greeks, Albanians, Wallachians, Armenians, Turks, and men of all other races." Universal education and universal military service were to guarantee the universal democracy. "All Greeks are soldiers; all must be trained in arms and in marksmanship; all must learn military tactics; even the Greek women who must know how to handle lances if they are not good with the rifle" (art. 109). The Greek people would be the friend and natural ally of all free peoples and would receive with open hospitality all aliens unjustly treated in their fatherland or exiled in the cause of liberty (arts. 118, 120). This constitution remained a dream, born in the fever heat of the French Revolution, but Rhigas tried to do his share to transform the dream into reality. In August, 1796, he moved to Vienna, where at the end of 1790 the first Greek journal *Ephimeras* was published. Though the

writers wrote a poor Greek—in search of Greek words they used many German words in Greek letters—they were fervent patriots; they helped Rhigas to organize a conspiracy for the overthrow of the Turkish regime. In December, 1797, Rhigas left Vienna; but he was arrested in Trieste, extradited by the Austrian authorities and executed in Belgrade in June, 1798.

To the revolution which swept Greece twenty-four years later, Rhigas bequeathed not only the memory of his martyr death, but also a collection of national songs, among them the most popular war song, the *thourios*. Rhigas was one of the very few early patriots who used the language of the people in his writings. Like so many nations from Norway to China, Greece was faced in her national awakening with the problem whether to use a traditional literary language remote from the spoken vernacular, or to raise the people's speech to the rank of a literary language. In most cases the popular language carried the day over the classical language, but in Greece a slightly modernized version of ancient Greek, very different from the spoken idiom, became the literary language. Today popular education has made this "pure" language generally understood, but at the time of the Greek rebirth it was familiar only to antiquarian scholars. They insisted upon it, because to them the rebirth of Hellas meant the rebirth of classical Hellas with its classical language, the language of republican freedom and of mankind's leading thought. Thus the language served to legitimize Greece's claim to liberty and rank. The University of Athens, founded in 1837, became the center of linguistic purism, and only in the later nineteenth century was the modern vulgar tongue—contemptuously called "corrupt"—raised to literary rank in poetry and novel. Rhigas, himself a son of the masses and more interested in contemporary democracy than in classical antiquity, used the popular idiom, which he called the simple language, and in article 53 of his constitution he made it the official language, because "it was easily learned."

In this language question Coray¹⁴⁰ favored a compromise. Rhigas was above all an agitator who dreamt of becoming a revolutionary leader and was filled with militant patriotism. Coray, though no less under the spell of enlightenment and the French Revolution,

was above all an educator who worked to create a synthesis of ancient Greece and contemporary civilization. He was born in Smyrna, the scion of a relatively educated and wealthy family from Chios, and came in youth under the influence of a Dutch pastor who acquainted him with the enlightenment. In 1772 he was sent to Amsterdam; he returned to Smyrna in 1778 for four years, but left in 1782 to study medicine in Montpellier and never set foot again on Greek soil. For over half a century he lived in France, after 1788 in Paris, where he died at the age of eighty-five, having written his own epitaph: "Sous la terre étrangère de Paris que j'aimai à l'égal de la Grèce ma patrie je repose ici." The French Revolution decided him definitely not to leave the land of liberty. As he wrote in his autobiography, French liberty increased his desire to contribute as much as he could to the education of his compatriots, and awaken in them the love of liberty, to which the French had been educated. "The only means which I found was the publication of the Greek authors with long introductions in vulgar Greek, which could be read not only by those who study the ancient language, but also by the people. But for such an enterprise a much greater knowledge of the Greek language was necessary; therefore, I devoted myself entirely to acquiring it and abandoned the profession of medicine and any other occupation."¹¹ Like Alfieri, though with an entirely different temperament, Coray set out to form a nation with his pen. From Paris he wrote to his friend Dimitrios Lotos in Smyrna of his admiration for the great city and its civilization—an admiration tinged with melancholy for a Greek who remembered that two thousand years ago Athens had reached even a higher degree of learning. And yet where formerly reigned the wise laws of Solon, so much admired by the learned men of the West, there now ruled malice and wickedness and an ignorant clergy, even worse than the Turk. Paris was the center of light, from where new life spread, not only by educational means but soon also by political action. When the French troops occupied the Ionian Islands which had formed part of the domains of Venice, Coray dedicated in 1797 his edition and translation of Theophrast's "Characters" to "the free Greeks of the Ionian Sea." His Gallo-Greek cultural nationalism found therein

its expression: "A great nation, led by the Enlightenment and marching in the footsteps of our ancestors, offers you with the freedom all the means to become her equals, perhaps even to rival the ancient Greeks. One of these means is to familiarize yourself with the language of the old Greeks and with that of your liberators. The one, which one can justly call the language of the gods, enlightened a large part of the ancient world: the other, called the language of reason and philosophy, will soon instruct the whole of mankind. I wish to recall to you what you were in the beautiful days of our common fatherland, and what you can become for your own happiness and for that of our brothers who still suffer under the scepter of iron." ¹¹²

But political liberation was only an ulterior goal; moral regeneration had to come first and could be achieved only by education. Coray considered as true heirs of ancient Greece only those who promoted education, he saw in the teachers the country's greatest benefactors while he regarded those who were lethargic or obstinate as "nothing less than Turks." His editions of the great classical authors contained introductions in modern Greek full of patriotic reflections,¹⁴⁸ to link ancient Greece which seemed dead with the new Greece which was to be reborn, and to wipe out the "years of shame and depravity," in which the continuity had been broken. Language and patriotic zeal would re-create the true Greece, a language which struck a balance between the pure classical and the vulgar tongue of the time, the koine, would rekindle the consciousness of a common nationhood, a nation Greek in its roots, Western and enlightened in its life.

This conception of Greek nationalism was violently opposed by the conservative forces, especially in the Church. They saw in it a revolutionary attempt to undermine the faith and order. In 1798 the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem Anthimos published his "Paternal Instructions," warning the Greeks against the blandishments of the French Revolution, and preferring to the anti-Christian Franks the Turkish government, instituted by God to ensure religious liberty and to protect the Greeks from Western heresy. Coray answered in his "Brotherly Instructions," ¹⁴⁴ calling upon the Greeks to follow French enlightenment as the only true

road to regeneration. He was supported by the Greek merchants, especially those in the diaspora. When the Greek struggle for independence began, this diaspora with its liberal ideas to which Coray had contributed so much supplied the inspiration for the revolution. What the French philosophers had done for the French Revolution, Coray did for the Greek Revolution.

When the revolution broke out, Coray sent to his distant fatherland his "Political Admonitions."¹⁴⁵ in which he combined (without always making a clear distinction) Aristotle's political discussions and precepts and his own, so establishing again the continuity of Greece. Greater deeds had been accomplished by the Greeks in 1821—he wrote—than at Marathon or Salamis, where only barbarians from outside had been repulsed while the modern Greeks expelled barbarians long established in the land. But now an even greater effort was required: to preserve liberty; it was not sufficient to defeat the tyrant, each one must fight without ceasing the far more tyrannical passions in his heart—which requires wisdom and justice, the queen of all virtues.¹⁴⁶ Again and again Coray stressed the primary need of justice and patriotic unity. "The virtue of the citizen and that of the Christian are one and the same, for the virtuous citizen is the man who directs all his activities more toward the commonweal, than toward his private good, who shares joy and sorrow equally with his fellow citizens as brothers. A man without the civic virtue of patriotic unity cannot but be a bad citizen and a bad Christian."¹⁴⁷ A true conception of freedom fosters unity and respect for law, not discord and anarchy. Ancient Greece perished from the abuse of liberty and the lack of unity.

Coray, who had lived through the wars of the French Revolution, praised the young men who fought for the liberty of their fatherland with the celebrated verses from Aeschylus' "Persians":¹⁴⁸

O sons of Hellas, go!
Liberate the fatherland, liberate
Children, women, the sanctuaries of ancestral Gods,
And the tombs of the fathers; everything is now at
stake in the war.

But his heart was not in the fight, it was in the moral ideas. Orelli called him the "philologische Bildner seiner Nation" and compared him to Fichte.¹¹⁹ Coray was not a radical, filled with the élan of the Revolution; he was a humanitarian, realistic and moderate, who translated Beccaria into Greek and combated slavery,¹²⁰ an enlightened philanthropist steeped deeply in middle-class liberalism.¹²¹ He did not look toward Byzantium or Russia, he looked to France and the West. Greek nationalism did not follow the quiet wisdom of its awakener: in its historical course it looked as much eastward as westward, a fate which it shared with the smaller Slav nationalities whose nationalism was inspired by Western enlightenment, but found itself often entangled in Russian and Pan Slavic romanticism and in the imperial aspirations of the East.

12

Of all the branches of the Slavic race, the Southern Slavs were the last to awaken to national consciousness; in the eighteenth century they remained, to themselves and to the outside world, ill defined even in their name and relationship. They were more divided than any other Slavs, in religion and tradition, between the East and the West; their western fringes came under the influence of Venice and the Habsburgs, their eastern expanse was entirely submerged in the Turkish world. Religion—Orthodox, Mohammedan, or Catholic—dominated all their life; secularization, with its new literary language and modes, its educated laity, its scientific outlook and economic activities, barely touched them. Therein they were at least three centuries behind the West; the trading middle classes with their international connections and the artisans in the towns, which showed initiative elsewhere, were hardly represented in the Balkans; in the east the people were almost exclusively peasants, lethargic and unprepared for reform. But even in this most backward corner of Europe, among the Bulgarians, easternmost branch of the southern Slavs, a lonely forerunner appeared in the eighteenth century—Father Paisii (1722–1798), a monk in the Khilendar monastery on Mount Athos. In "Istoria Slavyanobolgarskaya" (1762), which circulated for more

than eighty years only in manuscript, he tried to awaken the consciousness of historical continuity in a people obliterated politically by the Turks and culturally by the Greeks, reminding it of its forgotten past of great czars, patriarchs, and saints. Written in a clumsy and heavy Church Slavonic, the short book had a lengthy and repetitious introduction which sought to impress readers with the urgency of its new message: "Listen, O readers and hearers of Bulgarian kin who are eager for your own way and wish to understand your Bulgarian fatherland . . . It is useful to know about your fathers and forefathers and kings and patriarchs and saints. . . . So the other peoples and tongues know their own kin and have historians, and every writer of books knows and tells of them. For everybody praises his kind and language. . . . Thus I have written for you in your language and way. Read and learn lest you succumb to a foreign language and way. . . . I have written for you that you may love your kin and your Bulgarian fatherland. Copy this history, and pay everybody who knows to write and copies it and keep it. . . . Be not deceived, Bulgarians; know your kind and language; learn that Bulgarian simplicity and sincerity are in it. Bulgarians are straightforward; they receive everybody into their homes and entertain him and give charity to whoever asks. But the prudent and political Greeks do not act like that. . . . Be not ashamed before the prudent and the trader. . . . For God loves better the plain and guileless tillers and shepherds. . . . But you are ashamed and praise foreign kind and language and imitate their customs. . . . That is why I have written this book."

This lonely voice of an old-fashioned cleric, in whose heart mysteriously the new interests of Europe stirred, aroused only the faintest response. The first to copy the manuscript was Stoiko Vladislavov (1739-c. 1815), better known as Sofronii, Bishop of Vratsa, who later went into exile in Wallachia and printed there his "Kiriakodromion" or "Sunday Book" (Rimnik, 1806), the first printed Bulgarian book, still entirely religious in its contents and heavily Church Slavonic in its language. His posthumously published autobiography "Žitie i stradaniya grešnago Sofroniya" (Life and Sufferings of the Sinful Sofronii) can be regarded as the

first original Bulgarian work of modern times. But steps for the cultural awakening of the almost forgotten Balkan people were not taken before 1825, and then characteristically abroad; under the influence of romanticism and the Prague school of Slav philology, Venelin, a Ruthenian Pan-Slav, studied Bulgarian folk songs and traditions and wrote on their history and religion. His work interested the wealthy Hellenized Bulgar merchant Aprilov in Odessa, who devoted himself, with Russian help, to promoting a cultural life and a national consciousness among the Bulgarians.¹²² One century after Paisii's lonely labor of love his people began to awaken out of their lethargy.

The European movements which never reached the Bulgarians touched the Croats and Slovenes, whose Roman Catholic faith and geographic position turned them toward Vienna and Venice. Italian humanism spread to the small republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), an important trade emporium in Dalmatia with a Croat population. The native humanists regarded their people as Illyrians and wished to introduce Latin, which had remained the written language till late in the eighteenth century, in place of Croat which they called "Scythacus Sermo." But many poets cherished the vernacular and refined it under Western influence into a literary instrument which later writers in search of a Serbo-Croatian language adopted. A Franciscan, Andreja Kačić-Miošić, served as an intermediary by his publication of the "Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga" (The Popular Talk of the Slavonic People—Venice, 1756) in which he narrated heroic events from the past of the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Bulgars in songs written in the spoken tongue. His work influenced modern Serb literature through Karadžić and through him served as foundation of the modern literary language of the Serbs and the Croats.

What the Renaissance did for the Croats of Ragusa, the Reformation did for the Slovenes. Primož Trubar translated the Bible into Slovene, and his friend Adam Bohorič wrote the first Slovene grammar; but, pressed by the Germans from the northwest and by the Turks from the southeast, Slovene political and cultural life stagnated for a long period until the Austrian enlightenment and especially the Napoleonic administration in the Illyrian

departments brought new ideas and life. The first modern schools and newspapers were founded, economic reforms facilitated the rise of a middle class, the Slovene poet Valentin Vodnik (1758-1819) became director of public instruction in Illyria. But even then Anton Linhart, who wrote the first history of the Slovenes in the newly awakened patriotic spirit, "*Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und der übrigen südlichen Slaven Oesterreichs*" (Essay of a History of Carniola and of the other Southern Slavs of Austria—Laibach, 1788), knew of no collective name for them. The southern Slavs, divided according to historical regions rather than ethnographic principles, without a uniform language and spelling, were no more than ethnographic raw material out of which nationalities could grow. The ideas prevailing then about Slavs and Illyrians, their origins and relations, were in a state of complete confusion and widely disputed. Only in the middle of the nineteenth century the different regional, dialectal, and religious groups began to organize into the three nationalities of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Yet here as elsewhere some lonely forerunners anticipated later developments, often men of unusual lives who, driven by intellectual curiosity and dim but burning visions of the future, uprooted themselves from their station and tradition and wandered to foreign lands and intellectual adventure in quest of new ways and new certitudes.

One of the earliest and most interesting among these wanderers through space and time was the Catholic Croat priest Yuri Križanić (1618-1683),¹⁰⁹ in whose writings can be found many of the recurrent motives and problems of later Slav thought. He was a Pan-Slav, a Slavophile, and an earnest Westernizer and radical reformer at the same time: nothing had yet definitely crystallized in his thought, but there were few avenues of later development which he did not explore. He believed in the unity of all the Slavs; he looked long before the Petrinian reforms to Russia as the mother of Slavdom, and in 1659 traveled to Moscow to the "Czar of my race" to propagate not only Pan-Slavism but the union of the Greek and Roman churches. Like Herder he understood the importance of the language and like the later romantic Slovak Pan-Slavists he dreamt of a common Slav language which would

serve as the bond of all the Slav peoples whom he regarded as members of one nation. He not only wrote grammars and dictionaries of this Slav language, but had a clear grasp of the need of a general reform of Slav life and thought. An early Pan-Slav patriot, he was strangely divided between what would have been characterized two hundred years later as xenophobe Slavophilism and a clear-headed, enlightened Westernism, stressing the shameful Oriental backwardness of Slav and especially Russian life and the necessity of its thorough Europeanization.

In his political writings he deplored the domination of Slav life and mind by German and Greek influences. He accused the Slavs of *čužebiesie*, a mad passion for things alien, which led to *čuževladstvo*, a domination by the aliens. "No people under the sun has ever been so shamed and wronged by the foreigner as have we Slavs by the Germans. We are stifled beneath the multitude of aliens; they fool us and lead us by the nose, while thinking themselves equal to God, and ourselves but simpletons. . . . At everything strange we marvel, while despising everything in our life." But this Croat Catholic who knew the West, and who had come to Russia with such great expectations, could not but measure critically the Oriental conditions he found by the standards of the Occident. He saw in Russia, then hardly different in its ways from Turkey, India, or China, the appalling backwardness and lack of refinement, the general slowness and inertia, the stupidity of mind, the lack of skill in every field, above all the absence of personal and national dignity, the complete subservience to the ruler. He drew up a program of reforms for Russia, anticipating not only the reforms of Peter but the program of the later Westernizers. He demanded above all moderation in authority and condemned the excesses and extremes to which Russian life went. He wanted to give economic freedom and self-governing institutions to merchants, tradesmen, and peasants, to spread general learning and technical education, and to invite artisans and manufacturers from abroad to teach the Russians the exploitation of the natural wealth of their empire. Like innumerable Russians and Slavs after him, Križanić pondered the relations of Russia and the Slavs to Europe and the historical role they were destined to play between

the cultured West and the barbarian East, an eternal intermediary between two worlds. One hundred years before Herder he was haunted by the vision of the future greatness of the Slavs.

But even after Herder the horizon of the southern Slavs was much too limited by local boundaries, by dialectal difficulties, by religious cleavage. Among them the Serbs assumed the initiative at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their culture was less advanced than the Croats', but they had preserved a greater historical consciousness and fighting vitality than the other southern Slavs. With them the folk songs, *pesme*, recited in oral tradition to the accompaniment of the one-stringed fiddle, the *gusla*, kept alive the memories of famous forebears and of the struggle against the Turks, of the legendary hero Prince Marko and the many common men, the Haiduks who, half romantic robber and half savage guerrilla, took to the mountains and went on fighting the Turks. This folk poetry kept the memory of the past alive in a unique historical consciousness and appealed to the manliness and heroism of the people.¹⁵¹ Nowhere was the spirit of savage independence so fierce as in the inaccessible fastnesses of the Black Mountains, the Crna Gora, or Montenegro. There stern and wild tribes lived in a primitive theocracy under elected prince-bishops (*vladika*) until Danilo I Petrović-Njegoš (1697-1737) gained the right to name his successors within his family and founded a dynasty which lasted more than two centuries. After the famous wholesale massacre of all Turks in the country on Christmas, 1702, the Montenegrins kept their land free; while they had formerly relied on Catholic Venice, they received a solemn message from Peter the Great in 1711, citing the ties of religion, race, and language and promising Russia's help. Danilo's successor Savo studied and was consecrated bishop in Russia; he and Petar I (1782-1830) in the Orthodox mountain outpost above the Adria maintained contact with the court of St. Petersburg.

Though folk-song memories, Haiduk exploits, and Montenegrin valor kept the traditions of independence alive among the Turkish Serbs, the first signs of national revival came from the Voivodina in southern Hungary, where Serbs had settled under Habsburg rule.¹⁵² In Turkish Serbia life remained entirely medieval through-

out the eighteenth century; the whole literature was strictly religious, written in the Church Slavonic language; outside the priesthood there were hardly any literate persons, and the people were unalterably hostile to new ideas. But by the end of the century many village notables (*knez*) began to come into contact as hog exporters with foreign lands, especially with the supply services of the Austrian armies. Among this class the leaders of the Serbian uprising of 1804 were found, an uprising not for independence from Turkish rule, but against the hard oppression by the Janissaries, who disobeyed the Sultan's orders. Yet it started the movement for Serbian independence and beyond that for Southern Slav unification; not only because it created the first Serbian autonomous state—which lasted for nine years under George Petrović, nicknamed Kara-George, or Black George (1766–1817)—but because it was fertilized by the new ideas which had germinated under the influence of enlightenment among the Serbs settled in Austria. As the center of Rumanian cultural life remained for a long time in Transylvania, so the center of Serb cultural life was to be found in Hungary and Vienna. There the first Serbian book was printed, and the first Serbian newspaper, a fortnightly, *Srpske Novine*, published in 1791 (as there were almost no readers, it had to close down in the following year). The attempt was renewed in 1815 in the then autonomous principality of Serbia, yet the success was hardly greater. The number of literate Serbs was much too small. In southern Hungary the influence of the Church was predominant, and most of its books and teachers came from Russia. Yet the Serbs there not only had contact with the West, but enjoyed far-reaching liberties. The *regulamentum illyricum* defined their religious and educational autonomy; Leopold II allowed the convocation of a national Illyrian or Serbian congress in Temesvár in 1790 and appointed the Serbian bishops to the Hungarian Diet. The religious seclusion possible in Turkey could not be maintained north of the Danube. A few individuals emancipated themselves from the past, learned from the West, traveled widely, and transmitted the new ideas of the enlightenment to their fellow Serbs. Matija Antun Reljković, a captain in the Austrian army, was captured by the Prussians during the Seven

Years' War, became acquainted with German literature, and, after the model of Moscherosch, published his *Satira* in the popular language, sharply attacking the backwardness of Serb life. Of much greater importance was Dositej Obradović (c. 1740–1811), the first popular Serb author who refused to write in the old Slavonic language and used the spoken language. As a young man he had lived in a monastery; but, escaping, he spent thirty years abroad, also in England, learned the classical and modern languages, and became imbued with the moral and scientific ideas of the century. He became the first awakener of his people, an indefatigable worker for the spread of better and more rational forms of life. He was the first with the vision of a modern nation, regarding the ties of language as stronger than those of religion; he pleaded for religious toleration and propagated the unity of all Southern Slavs, irrespective of their faith. His autobiography, of which the first part appeared as "Život i priključenja" (Life and Adventures of Demeter Obradovich—a monk named Dositej) in Leipzig in 1783, marked the beginning of modern Serbian literature. He translated fables of Aesop and adorned them with moral and utilitarian prescriptions and examples. His fame became so great that Kara-George, who himself was illiterate, made him tutor of his children and minister of education, in which capacity he founded the first high school in Belgrad.

Less popular than Obradović was Jovan Rajić (1726–1801) who published the first modern history of the Southern Slavs, "History of the Different Slavonic Nations, Especially of the Bulgarians, Croats, and Serbs" (four volumes, Vienna, 1794–1795). He was an Orthodox priest, who had been educated in Kiev and had collected extensive material in Russia and in the Balkan countries. On Mount Athos he had become a friend of Paisii, the Bulgarian historian: his attempt to view the history of the various Southern Slavs as one was of special importance; yet, like most of the scholars and priests of that and even later periods he used the ecclesiastical language instead of the popular tongue and thus failed to exercise any direct influence upon the renovation of Serb life. There the first true impulse came only in the nineteenth century, when Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864), a disciple of the Slovene philologist Kopitar

in Vienna, began to devote his life to the adoption of the spoken language as the literary language. For that purpose he collected and edited the Serbian national songs, to prove the beauty of the spoken vernacular, published grammars and dictionaries, simplified the spelling and orthography, in fact created a secular modern Serbian literature based upon the popular national traditions. He can be rightly regarded as the father of his nation. He not only transmitted the vivifying influences of the Occident, its scientific methods, and its new concepts of life and society to his backward compatriots; he established their name and their achievements firmly among the educated classes of the West. He bridged with his life work the gulf separating the Serbs from Europe. His efforts would have been unthinkable without the inspiration of Herder and the new nationalism of the French Revolution. This inspiration came to earlier and richer fruition among the Czechs, who, forming the westernmost bastion of the Slavic world, have been in closest contact throughout the centuries with the intellectual life of Germany and Western Europe.

13

No other Slav people was so early and deeply stirred by Renaissance and Reformation as the Czechs. In the middle of the fourteenth century Prague became the center of the new learning of humanism and the seat of the first university north of the Alps. One century later the first mighty tidings of the Reformation spread from Bohemia, which became its spearhead: the two great religious wars of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries started and centered in Bohemia, which was situated, intellectually and strategically, at the very crossroads of Europe, where Slav, German, and Romance influences met. The defeat of Bohemian Protestantism in 1620 brought the loss of the native Protestant aristocracy; Catholic noblemen from many countries took their place and, together with the Jesuits who monopolized education, introduced to Bohemia a high flowering of Spanish and Italian Baroque with its voluptuous wealth in architecture and its transcendental modes of thought and international outlook; in the eighteenth century

French Rococo and secular spirit replaced the Baroque in shaping the mind and life of the Bohemian aristocracy. Fortunately for the development of a progressive and democratic Czech nationalism the Bohemian aristocracy was a small class of wealthy magnates, quite unlike the very numerous Polish and Hungarian lower nobility with its narrow outlook and its clinging to outworn ideas of caste and tradition.

Under the influence of the Enlightenment this Bohemian aristocracy, with its origins in many countries and races, developed in the second half of the eighteenth century a patriotism based, as in Ireland or Belgium, upon the community of the historical territory, of the *natio Bohemica*, without any clear realization that this nation consisted of two ethnic groups sharply differentiated in language and traditions, the Czechs and the Germans. A German national consciousness did not exist then in Germany, and a Czech national consciousness was hardly thought of for some time to come. In Bohemia with its great natural wealth and its cultural life, the growth of enlightened patriotism was more pronounced than in other central European territories. Holding this patriotism, the aristocracy looked to the historical traditions and rights of the Bohemian kingdom as a guarantee of their privileges against the centralizing tendencies of the monarchy. A new interest in the history of the country and in the life and language of its people was fostered under aristocratic patronage. This awakening of a historical consciousness coincided in Bohemia, where the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society preceded that in any other Slav country, with the rise of the middle class. It was actively promoted by Maria Theresa's and Joseph's reforms, which had a most salutary effect upon the structure and vitality of society. Administration was modernized by a new bureaucracy rising from the ranks of the middle class; this reform demanded a new education system, to raise the general level of intelligence and of production and to provide the cadres of the new civil service. Thus the first foundations of a Czech renaissance were laid; its origins were not found in political demands, as in Ireland or the Low Countries, nor in a rebirth of poetry and creative writing, as in Germany. Its fathers were historians imbued with enlightened humanitarian-

ism; practical reformers searching to improve agriculture, to exploit the natural resources of the country, and to stimulate manufacture and commerce; and educators.

Until after the middle of the century instruction in Bohemia was exclusively in Latin and was dominated by Jesuit scholasticism. In the seventies the curriculum was modernized, and German was introduced as the language of instruction in the high schools—a reform designed to meet practical needs, not to foster German nationalism. Maria Theresa ordered greater attention to instruction in Czech, so that officials might converse with the people in their mother tongue. For the training of civil servants, a chair of Czech language and literature was established in 1775 at the University of Vienna, and candidates knowing both languages were to receive preference. Before the century drew to its close, the situation of the peasantry had been alleviated, economic life mobilized, education secularized; this whole atmosphere of enlightenment favored the rise and activities of the middle class. Of the many lands under Habsburg rule Bohemia became intellectually and economically one of the most progressive. Joseph's emancipation of the Protestants added a new and vigorous element to the Czech middle class, one in which the memories of the Hussite movement and of the Reformation were still alive. But the first generation of the "awakeners" of the Czech historical consciousness were enlightened Catholic priests, Piarists, or ex-Jesuits, to whom patriotism had come from classical humanism and later Western influences largely from and through Germany (where some leading writers and scholars showed a deep interest in Slav history and languages). Herder placed great hope in the Slav future; Goethe loved and studied their folk songs; Schlözer, who had lived and taught in Russia, became one of the fathers of Slavonic studies and a pronounced friend of the Slavs. The Lusatian Sorbs, a small Slav remnant in Saxony and Brandenburg, seemingly doomed to extinction by German pressure and separation from other Slavs, were preserved by the interest which Germans like Georg Körner and Karl Anton took in them and their folk ways. As the Irish national awakening started under the influence of English political ideas and men of English descent, so the Czech national awakening be-

temporaries, he occasionally doubted the survival of the Czech language, for which he predicted the fate of the Slavic languages spoken a few centuries before in Brandenburg; but in 1791 his faith was strong enough to allow him the publication in Czech of a history of Bohemia to the death of Charles IV—"Nová kronika česká." The new patriotic historiography not only rediscovered the past in the critical light of rationalism; it brought also a new appreciation of the Hussites, whose victories were now noticed with pride, though they were gained against Catholic crusaders, and Huss himself was regarded as an enlightened priest who fought in the spirit of the eighteenth century against obsolete superstitions and abuses.

While these pioneers prepared the scholarly foundations for a coming Czech historical consciousness, the educational reforms and the rise of the lower classes aroused the demand for more Czech publications accessible to the masses. Count Franz Joseph Kinsky (1739-1805), a high officer and educator of the Austrian army, pleaded in his "Erinnerungen über einen wichtigen Gegenstand von einem Böhmen" for the recognition of the usefulness of Czech, and his argument was reemphasized ten years later, in 1783, by Johann Alois Hanka zu Hankenstein, who dedicated his "Empfehlung der Böhmisches Sprache und Literatur" to his fatherland Moravia and to Joseph II, to whom he recommended to become a king of the Slavs in view of the fact that Slavic languages were spoken from Ragusa to the Arctic Sea and from the Baltic to Kamchatka. The use of Czech began slowly to spread: it became the language of theatrical performances¹⁰⁸ and of a growing periodical literature¹⁰⁹ which met some of the practical needs of the time. Yet in the esthetic field its value lagged badly: the first Czech verses and almanacs, published by Václav Thom (1785) and Antonín Jaroslav Puchmajer (1769-1820), were artless imitations of the idyllic poetry current in Germany and Italy some decades before. It took almost half a century longer for a real Czech literature to strike firm root. This was the work of three men, who represented three generations in the transition from the eighteenth century of enlightenment to the nineteenth century of nationalism,

Josef Dobrowský (1753-1829), Josef Jungmann (1773-1847), and František Palacký (1798-1876).

Dobrowský belonged to the pioneer generation of the eighteenth century. He was a man of wide and tolerant sympathies, an enthusiastic rationalist, and an enlightened Catholic humanist, writing in Latin and German, whom Jungmann, though with little justice, called in 1823 a "slavisierender Deutscher" (a German with Slav sympathies). He was one of the fathers of modern Slavic philology, a scholar of vast knowledge and indefatigable labor who helped to make Prague the western center of Slavonic studies. Under Herder's influence he stressed the unity of the Slavs and their future greatness. In 1806 he began to publish a review *Slawin*, which he called *Botschaft aus Bohmen an alle Slavischen Völker, oder Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Slavischen Literatur nach allen Mundarten* (Message from Bohemia to all Slav Peoples, or Contributions to the Knowledge of Slavic Literature in all its Dialects), assuming a much closer unity of the Slavonic languages than exists in reality. His political vision embraced an enlightened patriotism and a humanitarian cosmopolitanism, despair in the future of the Slavs, and great hopes for their role among the races. On November 24, 1795, he wrote to a fellow scholar, Václav Fortunat Durych: "And what could after God be dearer to me than the fatherland? But I wish to be useful to foreigners too and to all mankind." His doubts found expression in his letter of October 20, 1811, to Bartolomew Kopitar, the great Slovene scholar in Vienna, in which he wrote about the Slavs: "Causa gentis nostrae, nisi Deus adjuvat, plane desperata est." (We must plainly despair of the cause of our race, if God does not help.) Yet on May 7, 1815, he wrote to Kopitar that the new light for the world must come from the Slavs, for the Slav *um*—uniting understanding and feeling, brain and heart—was in its purity much superior to the German *Verstand* or the French *esprit*.

Was this confidence in the Slav mission strengthened by the fact that between 1811 and 1815 Europe had witnessed the phenomenal rise of Slavic Russia, which by the stunning victory over Napoleon on the snow fields of the East had delivered Europe,

whose armies marched across Germany into the heart of France, and whose youthful and handsome czar was the idol of Viennese society? The new discovery of a German unity based upon a common language necessarily impressed the Slavs, who found themselves involved in a centuries-old struggle with their German neighbors. As the Germans, though split into a number of states, began to regard themselves, on the strength of a common language and culture, as one nation, so the Slav peoples, divided politically among the great empires of Eastern Europe and weak in their isolation, began to discover the tie of linguistic unity. Should not a united Slavic world face a united German world? Did not powerful Russia offer leadership? And was not Slavic strength in the interest of mankind? Did not some Germans themselves recognize the importance of the Slavic contribution to mankind? In the romantic mood of the period philology and prehistory, antiquarian research and metaphysical speculation were used to prove the moral superiority and thereby the future mission of the Slavs with their peaceful nature, their aversion to force and violence, their deep and all-embracing spirituality, their relative youth at a time when the "older" European races seemed to have fulfilled their work to which the Slavs were to fall heirs. Thoughts of political union or action were still absent, the emphasis was put on the spiritual or cultural unity. The literary solidarity of all the Slavic peoples and dialects would guarantee the realization of Herder's ideals of humanity. If the Slavs could unite and cease to imitate other nations, they would conciliate the tensions and conflicts of civilization in a new and final harmony. Dobrowský's sobriety never allowed him to indulge in farfetched flights of imagination, but the two Protestant Slovaks, Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795-1861) and Jan Kollár (1793-1852) became the first literary pioneers of a Pan-Slavism which transcended all political divisions and religious differences; Huss, the Slav herald of the Reformation, Jan of Nepomuk, the official Catholic saint of the Czech Counter Reformation, and Cyril, the Greek Orthodox apostle of the Slavs, all participated in the mission of the race.¹⁰⁰

In a more realistic way Jungmann continued Dobrowský's work. The son of a poor Czech peasant and village cobbler, he became

the real creator of the modern Czech language. He wrote Czech as his natural language and made it fully alive. His Czech grammar, his history of Czech literature, and especially his great Czech-German dictionary became the cornerstones of the Czech literary renaissance. In an article "On the Czech Language" (1803) he raised language to the supreme criterion of nationality. Nations, he proclaimed, live by their languages; as many languages as there are, so many fatherlands exist. In this spirit he declared what would have seemed fantastic to the earlier generation of Czech patriots, that good education can be achieved only in the mother tongue; and that Czech could win the hearts of the educated people if there were a worth-while literature in Czech. To that task Jungmann devoted his life. In addition to his scholarly writings he translated copiously from the English (among other works, Milton's "Paradise Lost"), the French, and the German. By 1825 a new Czech literary life began to develop; what had seemed a few years before to be an almost hopeless undertaking—the awakening of the dormant Czech nation—was about to become a reality. What it needed was the consciousness of its distinct character and task.

This was supplied by a historian, who became, in Masaryk's word, the Father of the Nation. Palacký's interpretation of Czech history dignified the past by an inspiring vision and justified the hard struggle which the Czechs had to fight for their national renaissance. Through his interpretation of the Czech past, he gave Czech nationalism a secure foundation in the liberal tradition of the West, distinguishing them from, and opposing them to, the Germans, in whose midst they lived. Palacký made the whole Czech people the bearer of the Czech idea; himself of Protestant faith and a descendant of the Bohemian Brethren, he found in the Czech Reformation from Huss to the Bohemian Brethren the culmination and the meaning of Czech history, and at the same time the modern consummation of the original Slav character. Like Herder, he regarded the Slavs as a people approaching the Rousseauian ideal, pious, peace-loving, close to nature, peasants and shepherds; they lived in a primitive democracy of equality, but their communities inclined toward anarchy and thus became easy prey of stronger neighbors who, like the Germans, represented a

bellicose and well organized group under competent leadership, bent upon conquest and exploiting the work of the vanquished. This picture with its roots in the eighteenth century Rousseau-Herder tradition was common in the nineteenth century to the Russian Slavophiles, to the Polish Messianists, to Palacký; but he alone drew from it a conclusion which did not oppose the Czechs to Western liberalism but made them its forerunners. According to Palacký the Czechs pioneered in the Hussite wars for the whole of humanity in a spiritual struggle against authority and hierarchy for the equality of men and the freedom of conscience. He saw in the Hussites not only the start of the Reformation, but the seed for the future growth of liberalism, the forerunner of the Puritan Revolution, which in its turn heralded the American and the French Revolutions. The Czechs had undertaken the liberation of the human spirit too early; they could not reap the harvest themselves; but when Western enlightenment revived them, it was only a reawakening of the deepest national Czech traditions, and the Czechs could find their place at the side of the progressive West. This interpretation of Czech history made the Czechs the eastern outpost of the liberal West instead of the western outpost of the Slav East. Dobrowský, who had traveled in 1792 to Russia, the first Bohemian to undertake the pilgrimage to the great Slav brother, came back with an impression similar to that gained more than a century later by Masaryk, of Russia's backwardness on account of her "terrible serfdom," so that no human progress was to be expected from her for a long time to come. In this enlightened humanism and in the interpretation of their revolutionary past in the Hussite period the Czech "awakeners" bound their nation to the liberal tradition of the West. In this tradition the nation was born—and in his farewell message on relinquishing the presidency of the Czechoslovak Republic Masaryk rightly pointed out that nations live and preserve themselves by the ideals out of which they were born.

14

England and Russia not only form the western and eastern outposts of Europe; their political ideas and social structure represent

the opposite poles of development. England has been the classical home of liberty and of individualism. Both were unknown in Russia. There the prince was the sole owner of the land; all the people without distinction were equally subject to him, liable to compulsory and universal service to the state which was identical with the prince and was everything. Neither nobles nor burghers existed with rights secure as in the Occident; all were humble serfs of the prince, as the peasants were serfs of the nobles, subject to lawless whim and any personal humiliation. Yet, with all these fundamental differences, the two nations were alike in the immense vitality of their development from the seventeenth century on, which made the Russian people survive and harden through long periods of entirely inefficient and unbelievably corrupt rule. The Russian Czars were supported in their grandiose schemes of expansion in all directions by the passive willingness of the masses to bear the sacrifices involved; their territorial ambitions received sanction from an unconscious but unmistakable feeling of a national mission to carry the message of the Orthodox Church, which was identified with Christianity, and of the Eastern Empire back to Byzantium and deep into infidel Europe and Asia. The Russians always showed a great confidence in their strength, and in their superiority over the outside world.

The Russian Empire conquered vast territories alien in race and civilization and welded them into a centralized despotism mightier than any other in history. The later Russian Empire differed fundamentally from the liberal, tolerant British Empire in its tendency to impose uniformity upon its immense domains, to Russify or later to communize them without any freedom of spontaneous development. In the seventeenth century Russian pioneers pushed across the endless plains of northern Asia to the gates of China; the northern Arctic sea route was explored at the beginning of the eighteenth century, southern Kamchatka reached, contact with Japan established, and the colonization of northwestern America started, which Vitus Behring entered in 1740.¹⁶¹ Circling the globe eastward, Russia claimed, and to a large extent gained, in the West the inheritance of Sweden, Poland, and Turkey, and thus opened for herself the road to Europe. At the beginning of the eighteenth

century the Russian colossus, still unknown and mysterious, loomed for the first time as a determining factor on the eastern approaches to Europe; by the middle of the century its armies advanced into Central Europe; at the end of the century the Russian General Suvarov marched into Italy and Switzerland. In the course of one century Russia, firmly established in the Ural, the Altai, and the Caucasian mountains, had become a great European power.¹⁸²

This emergence of Russia was the work of Peter the Great (1689-1725). Before him the rhythm of life at the Russian court had been that of an Oriental theocracy with its formalistic monotony, the great influence of the clergy and the seclusion of women. After Peter women began to play an entirely different part, the theocracy was transformed into a military bureaucracy, the uniform replaced the clerical garb at court. The secularization of life which the fourteenth century brought to Europe, came four centuries later to Russia, a country hardly touched by European scholasticism, by Renaissance or Reformation. The so-called reform in seventeenth century Russia was not concerned with dogma or thought, it was merely an attempt to correct ritual and textual details which seem of trifling importance; yet it led to a bitter struggle and a lasting schism; some of the Old Believers turned against the "innovations" as "Western corruption," while other sects of a more spiritualistic character showed the influence of Protestant thought. But the whole conflict proved how alien Russia was to Europe.

Peter's reforms were sweeping in intention though very limited in depth. They were the first effort to adapt a backward country to modern civilization, an effort repeated with the spread of nationalism in many Eastern and Latin American lands—often by men as similar to Peter in personality, intention, and method as Mustapha Kemal and Stalin. In the twentieth century, with modern means of education and administration, the reforms could be carried to a depth impossible in the early eighteenth century. Peter's reforms were motivated primarily by the needs of war (in the preparation for and active pursuit of which he spent most of his reign), by the desire to make Russia a strong military power,

able not only to hold its own against Europe but to expand and to impose its will. Peter's mind was not attracted by the humanism and freedom of Europe; he did not long for spiritual relations; what he wished to gain from Europe was the outward armor. "Peter nourished no blind, indulgent passion for the West. Rather he never ceased to treat it with great distrust."¹⁰⁸ He was always suspicious of Europe, fearing her ill will and contempt toward Russia and the wish to cut off her growth in strength and advance in the art of war. He wished to borrow Europe's practical efficiency and technical skill, but not her spiritual ideals of liberty and human dignity; and his sole purpose was to strengthen Russia. As war seemed to threaten always and time to press hard, his reforms had to bring speedy results; and this necessarily could be achieved only at great costs and with many maladjustments. The reforms did not aim at a new morality, but at providing Russia with the resources to occupy a dominating position in the international world.

It was Peter's greatness, that he clearly understood that these resources were not to be found in Poland, formerly the intermediary between Europe and Russia, but in Holland and Protestant Northern Europe, and that what was most needed was to increase the "productiveness of popular labor." He sensed rightly that he had to do more than introduce Western technique into Russia, that he had to transform Russian life, to stir it into a new sense of initiative, of activity, of self-reliance, of responsibility, of individualism, briefly of true citizenship. He wished to teach his people to differentiate between the czar and the state, to release their personality from the deadening shackles of lawless despotism for free and willing participation in the service of the commonweal. But he could not reach this goal. He did not see it clearly himself. Russia was in no way ready, and he was in a hurry. There were a few men who recognized the need of reform, yet believed that the traditional life of Russia could be preserved. Most remarkable among them was Ivan Tikhonovich Pososhkov (c. 1652-1725), a craftsman and merchant, self-educated and farsighted, who in his "Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve" (Book on Poverty and Wealth) proposed, apparently without direct foreign influence, modern

theories on the improvement of the conditions of the peasant and on the need of a rule of law. Yet he was one of the very few independent thinkers. Peter did not use them; as a typical despot he had no understanding of the importance of public opinion. His conception of reform was too mechanical. In face of the inertia and backwardness of the people, he imposed his reforms and ruthlessly carried them through finding no support and little understanding among the people, even among his closest collaborators, who supported the reform because the reforms gave them good positions. "Peter himself served his country wholeheartedly; but his assistants did not necessarily understand the term 'service' as service of Russia, for the fatherland idea still lay beyond their comprehension, and had no connection with their civic intellectual growth—even those of them who stood nearest to the throne were virtually only Peter's court and personal underlings, and little, if at all, fitted to act also as his agents in his reforms. Hence, strive as he might to regard his helpers as co-workers, it was an effort which only increased his sense of autocratic isolation, and left him with no idea in the matter save to thrash them soundly with cudgels." Thus a state was created by Peter which reared its subjects "to an atmosphere of arbitrary rule, general contempt for legality and the person, and to a blunted sense of morality"; and, though this heritage of Peter's Russia disappeared among the intelligentsia in the nineteenth century, it remained with the masses even in the twentieth century.

Peter's zeal for reform, his ruthless despotism, and the inertia which he encountered, drove him to use force and regimentation to a degree which not only kept Russia outside Europe but defeated the purpose which he dimly sensed as fundamental, of arousing the Russians to patriotic responsibility and human stature. He regulated everything; the individual, the human being counted for nothing. "Indeed, there was not an offense against the law, from presentation of an inopportune petition for a permit to fell an oak tree or a masthead spruce of more than the statutory height to the failure of a nobleman to attend an annual inspection, or to a mercantile transaction in Russian cloth, for which he did not ordain, variously, confiscation of property, loss of civil rights, the

knout, the galleys, or the gallows—either, that is to say, political extinction or physical death.” Peter was faced with an insoluble problem. “Even when his doings were beneficent in intention they were accompanied with a repellent display of force, since his reforms were a threefold struggle between a despotism, a people, and a people’s instincts: a struggle in which, using his authority as a menace, he constantly strove to spur a community of serfs into self-action, and yet to make of his nobility, that community’s own enslaver, the agent of European science and enlightenment—the two factors which he considered indispensable before the people as a whole could act for itself, and its fettered bondsmen engage in free and conscious activity.” Thus Peter, and official Russia to this day, could not find the solution of the problem of the co-existence of order and freedom, for which, in the fruition of the European tradition, England had set the example. The Russians saw only the alternatives order and anarchy; except for the small group of true liberal Westernizers, they suspected European liberty and individualism of leading to chaos. Peter’s reforms marked a turning point in Russian history, but their value was discussed and disputed for two centuries. Many saw in him the Antichrist who had destroyed the Christian foundations of Russian order and exposed it to the destructive influences of unchristian Europe; others saw in him an idol, the father of a better Russia; but even among his admirers some to this day, by accepting his methods of force and regimentation, and even surpassing him in them, have confined Europeanization to the outward aspects, leaving the core of Russia unreformed.

To mark the new beginning Peter transferred the capital from historical Moscow, which represented Holy Russia, to St. Petersburg, built in 1703 on the border of Russia, nearest to Europe, on newly conquered marshy land, without any connection with or roots in Russian tradition, a symbol of secularized Russia. To accelerate the process Peter reformed the calendar, introduced a simplified alphabet, substituted for the ecclesiastical literary style a simpler language nearer to life, and began to publish and edit the first newspaper. The first secular book printed in the new type was characteristically a simple manual on geometry and surveying

(1708), and this was followed by a "Complete Letter Writer," translated from the German, and "An Honorable Mirror for Youth or Guide for Deportment." Many foreigners and technicians were called to Russia, and Russians were sent abroad to study; but they were wholly unprepared, and they brought back foreign vices rather than thorough knowledge. Peter's immense efforts gave only a thin veneer, but they left a deep ferment in Russian life.

His work was carried on by Catherine II (1772-1796), a German princess and disciple of French enlightenment, who vied with Frederick II for the friendship of the French *philosophes*, the admiration of Europe, and the distinction of creative literary work. German instructors built the Russian army and administration in the eighteenth century; French influences shaped her intellectual life, especially at the court. Foreigners were indispensable for every progress. When Shuvalov founded in 1755 the first Russian university in Moscow, very few students could be admitted, on account of a complete lack of preparation, and most of the professors had to come from Germany. A decision of the Imperial Academy of Petersburg in 1747 that half of its membership should be Russian proved unrealizable. Yet the Russians, with their great and naive self-confidence, resented the foreigners bitterly. Only at the end of the century could native scholars and writers carry on the work. But throughout the century the few learned Russians saw the defense of the country as a main task.

Vasily Nikitich Tatishchev (1686-1756), a typical man of Peter's reform period, an officer and administrator, a mining engineer and a compiler of Russian laws, a scientist and a geographer, wrote a History of Russia from the Oldest Time, to prove the greatness and achievements of Russia against accusations of barbarism and backwardness. The greatest Russian scholar of the century, Michael Vasilievich Lomonosov (1712-1765),¹⁸⁴ voiced even more strongly the self-confidence of the rising Russia. He was the son of a peasant from Archangel, first educated in an Orthodox seminary and later abroad—"the first Russian university," as Pushkin called him, a self-made man who labored with exemplary zeal in many fields; though by nature a scientist of the first rank, he left his most indelible mark on the Russian language

through his grammar (1755), which transformed Russian into a vehicle for the expression of modern thought and sentiment. All his work was filled with Russian pride, and many of his activities were directed against foreign scholars in Russia—especially Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705–1783), who performed a great service to Russian historiography by his “Sammlung russischer Geschichte” and his pioneer work in Russian archives. Lomonosov himself wrote Russian history to “reveal the glorious deeds of our rulers,” so that every one “might find in the Slavic sagas deeds as magnificent as those of ancient Greece and Rome, and Russia need never again to be humiliated.” In the dedication of his Russian Grammar he wrote: “The Roman Emperor Charles V used to say that one should speak Spanish in addressing God, French in talking with friends, German in dealing with enemies, and Italian when conversing with a woman. But had he known Russian he would, no doubt, have added that one could talk to any and all of them in Russian. He would have found in Russian the grandeur of Spanish, the grace of French, the strength of German, the tenderness of Italian, besides the wealth and conciseness of Greek and Latin. I am certain of this because I have been using Russian for a long time. If there is something we cannot express, it is not because of the poverty of our language but because of the lack in our knowledge.” He appealed to the Russian youth to enrich Russian literature and to study diligently, so that Russia would have her own Platos and Newtons, become glorious, and utilize her immense idle natural resources.

Eighteenth century Russia did not fulfill Peter’s hopes of increasing the productiveness and raising the standards of the masses; *their exploitation for the state increased, their burden became heavier.* Only the nobility was set free in the course of the century and was recognized as in possession of independent rights; the state was transformed from the purely Oriental patriarchal state into a nobilitarian state of the eighteenth century. Catherine introduced the language of enlightened patriotism of the period to Russia. But the Russian reality in no way corresponded to it. Serfdom reached its climax, the peasants lost the last vestiges of legal protection, neither the financial system nor the national economy

was strong enough to support a modern administration and its vast ambitions. Yet in these years a new class of educated Russians, the intelligentsia, came into closer contact with Europe. Popular literature still glorified Russia's greatness—Michael Natveevich Kheraskov (1733–1807) wrote long patriotic epic poems, like “Vladimir” and “Rossiada” (1779), praising the Russian victory under Ivan IV over the Mohammedans and thereby the wars against Turkey for the liberation of the Balkan Slavs—or ridiculed the superficial imitators of foreign ways of life, as the Russian comedy did in the fast expanding theater. But the period witnessed also the first serious attempts at improvement, started by private initiative, the growth of a true patriotism in the spirit of the age. Nikolai Ivanovich Novikov (1744–1818) founded a number of periodicals criticizing the government and demanding reforms. He started the publishing and distribution of books on a modern basis in 1782. Through him bookshops were opened in many cities; scientific books translated into Russian; magazines, among them the first for children, propagated the ideas of enlightened morality, and attention turned to the need of elementary education. The five years from 1786 to 1790 saw a great development of Russian publishing; 366 books were published yearly, as against 126 books yearly for the period 1771–1775 and 23 books yearly 1751–1760. Catherine allowed private printing presses for the first time, and a public opinion became vocal. Alexander Nikolaevich Radishchev (1749–1802), perhaps the most typical representative of the small group of young intelligentsia, was sent by Catherine to the University of Leipzig to be trained as a civil servant. There he became acquainted with the writers of the age, especially Rousseau and Mably. In his ode “Volnost” (Liberty) he praised Cromwell and Washington, and in his famous “Puteshestvie iz Peterburga v Moskvu” (Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow)¹⁶⁵ he voiced an eloquent plea for the emancipation of the serfs and for a constitutional regime. The book appeared in 1790 when Catherine, frightened by the French Revolution, veered sharply from support of progressive enlightenment to defense of the existing order. Radishchev paid with banishment to Siberia for his revelation that the “order” was nothing but a profound and pernicious disorder. The

brief period of relative freedom came to a sudden end. Novikov was imprisoned, the emancipation of the serfs was postponed for seventy years, and many voices began to exalt the old against the new Russia.

Catherine had always maintained that Russia was equal to Europe, not worse. But was Russia in fact not better than Europe? Catherine herself, who in her last years with the Greek project and the Polish partition accepted more and more the traditional policy of Russia's national aspirations, developed a growing interest in Russian history and chronicles. Russian amateur historians like Prince Mikhail M. Shcherbatov (1733-1790) idealized the period before Peter as virtuous and an age of innocence, and represented the enlightenment as undermining religion and thereby morals and virtue. Even further went General Ivan N. Boltin (1735-1792), who maintained that Russians were not better nor worse than Europeans but different from them—the difference rising as much from geographic and climatic factors as from spiritual traditions. He defended the old patriarchal customs as good, because they corresponded to the unique and peculiar psychophysical character of Russia and the Russians. All rational reforms after foreign models were therefore against the nature of things: a reform had to grow slowly, could not be ordered by one reformer. He protested against too much reform legislation, for laws do not produce new mores or habits—it is slow change of habits to which new laws respond.

This change from a liberal cosmopolitanism to a narrow nationalism at the turn of the century was exemplified by Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin (1765-1826).¹⁰⁰ Russian literature owes him much, for he can be regarded as the creator of the modern Russian literary style under French influence. But his travels abroad in 1789-1790, of which he wrote in his "Pisma russkago puteshestvennika" (Letters of a Russian Traveler), awakened his faith in the superiority of Russia over Europe. In 1803 he was appointed official historiographer, and in that capacity he wrote "Istoriya gosudarstva rossiyskago" (History of the Russian State) finishing twelve volumes of this before his death. The work, written in an interesting and gracious style, gained wide popularity and did more than any

other book to familiarize Russians with their history and to fill them with pride in the regime and its ancient institutions. Karamzin glorified autocracy and the Russian past; he saw the greatness of Russia not in Peter but in Ivan the Terrible. He accused Peter of interference with the moral life of the Russian people and its continuity, through which the Russians became citizens of the world but ceased to be citizens of Russia, while in reality "the existence of each individual is intimately bound up with the fatherland; the noble sentiment which ties us to it, forms part of the love of ourselves. Universal history embellishes the world before our mind; that of Russia beautifies the fatherland, the center of our existence and our affection." The imperial greatness of Russia seemed to equal, nay, to dwarf that of Rome. "Looking on the immensity of that monarchy which is unique in the world, our mind feels overwhelmed. Never did Rome equal it in greatness." It is therefore not surprising that Karamzin opposed all liberal reforms, in the memorandum on Old and New Russia (1811). He was convinced that, whatever might be true of Europe, Russia needed an autocrat in order to be strong and to be feared. The introduction of a new code of civil law, drafted after the model of the Code Napoléon, appeared to him to contradict the national mind. Russia needed only a collection of her own old decrees and ukases, rejecting what was contradictory or superfluous in the legacy of generations. He protested above all the doctrine that the law was above the autocrat. Any limitation of his power, even by a voluntary grant of a charter, would destroy the foundations of the czar's power: he could do everything except limit himself. Karamzin constructed a legendary Russian past to justify the development of Russian autocracy in modern times. But above all he appealed to the past against the present.

Karamzin, in his youth, had been a defender of reform, because "the path of enlightenment is one for all nations"; he then regarded all laments about the Russian past as "a joke resulting from lack of thorough thought." "We are not as our bearded ancestors have been—and that is to the good! Crudeness and coarseness, external and internal, emptiness and boredom, that was their character even in the highest classes; to us all roads to the refinement of

the mind and to the nobler pleasures of the soul are open. Everything national is nothing compared to the human and universal. It is important that we become human beings, not Slavs. What is good for men in general cannot be bad for Russians; and what Englishmen or Germans have invented to human advantage, that is mine, for I am a human being." He was enthusiastic about Rousseau and the French writers: but his enthusiasm remained theoretic; when he saw the French Revolution in its beginnings he met it with a complete lack of comprehension. He came to the conclusion that "all violent convulsions are pernicious. We wish to abandon ourselves to the power of Providence; it certainly has its plan; the hearts of the rulers are in its hands—and that is enough." He believed order was sacrosanct even in its most casual defects. Under the immediate impression of the French Revolution he wished to confine all daring theories of the mind within the covers of books, though he admired them. Ten years later (1802) Karamzin, editing the *Vyestnik Evropy* (Messenger of Europe), again propagated liberal ideas. But again ten years later, in the memorandum on Old and New Russia, he proclaimed liberal reforms pernicious, and nothing necessary but autocracy and the (legendary) old virtue. "Has the name 'Russian' still for us the inscrutable force which it formerly had? Our ancestors [before Peter] remained, even if they adopted many advantages of foreign customs, always of the opinion that the Orthodox Russian is the most perfect citizen on earth and Holy Russia the first state. May one call that an error; yet how it promoted the love of the fatherland and its moral strength! Now, however, after more than a century of foreign education, . . . we call all the Europeans brothers, whom we formerly called infidels; I ask, For whom will it be easier to subdue Russia, for infidels or brothers? . . . Peter is responsible for it." ¹⁰⁷

Eighteenth century Russia began with Peter the Great; it ended with Alexander, who like Karamzin vacillated between liberal reforms and quietist reaction, and ended in lethargy and ascetic mysticism. The problem of Russia, posited by Peter, was not solved in the eighteenth century: the discrepancy between the ideals and the reality grew, and with it the gulf between government and

society. While in England ideals and reality, government and society blended more intimately than anywhere else, in Russia they were wider apart than in any European country. Eighteenth century Russia left to the nineteenth century the solving of this problem. It was not solved: Russia remained an eighteenth century state, whose problematic existence put before the Russian intelligentsia the eternal question about the meaning of Russian life and relations with Europe. The moral and social crisis of eighteenth century Europe was prolonged in Russia to the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, which undertook to resolve Russia's crisis as the French Revolution had resolved the European crisis. In the historical conditions of Russia this transformation could not be brought about in the Western forms of freedom and legal rights, but in the Petrinian arbitrary form of the autocracy's struggle with the inertia of people and tradition.

15

Thus all Europe at the end of the eighteenth century passed through a deep crisis, a search for regeneration, for better foundations of social life, for new concepts of public and private morality. The crisis had been resolved before then among the English people, both in Great Britain and in America: this gave them their unique strength and their exemplary rank. On the continent of Europe the crisis was much more pronounced in the West than in the East, where the new spirit penetrated only slowly and against great resistance; what was a broad movement in the West touched only a few isolated minds in the East; yet everywhere it was soon to usher in a complete transformation: for the whole continent the French Revolution was a turning point. The Revolution happened in France, as Tocqueville has shown, for the very reason that France was the most progressive country on the continent, that the old institutions and abuses were weakest there, while the right to change them was felt more strongly than anywhere else. France set the pace for the whole continent. Through it the nations gained consciousness of themselves, as the French nation had done. But there was a difference: French nationalism was born (as English and American had before it) in a wave of generous enthusiasm

for the cause of mankind; the opposing nationalisms lacked this initial inspiration of a disinterested humanitarianism—from the beginning they were directed to laudable but narrower goals, self-centered and antagonistic.¹⁰⁸ Yet through the French Revolution they too became transformed. Before the Revolution there had been states and governments, after it there emerged nations and peoples. The new authorities were infinitely stronger than the old governments, for they were rooted in the nation and filled with a new morality. Old Europe (outside England) foundered before the French Revolution, because it did not understand the transformation it had wrought in France: Napoleon failed for the very same reason, because he did not understand the new forces aroused by the French Revolution abroad—he still thought of the old Europe, while Europe had entered, thanks to the Revolution and to him, a new age, the age of nationalism, the regeneration prepared by the crisis of the eighteenth century.

In this second and greater Renaissance the new universal ideas were interpreted and remolded in the various countries according to their social structure, their cultural traditions, and their level of civilization. As it had been with the message brought by the Renaissance and Reformation, the new message, fundamentally one, could realize itself only among the conditions created by the past and differing from country to country. The spirit moves easily across the frontiers erected by the past; but it is resisted by that force of continuity and inertia, which human passions and the nature of things have built up for centuries and are continually rebuilding. The French Revolution carried over Europe, and even to Latin America and the Near East, its one message of liberty and human dignity; but, except for the rare generous moments when the spirit moved them almost irresistibly, it did not unite peoples. In the long run it was everywhere integrated into past patterns, separating and forming the nations more than ever into distinct corporate personalities, not only politically, but down to the very substance of their life, in their innermost dreams and in the ideas which propelled them to action. Thus the gulf between nations grew in the age of nationalism. The development of their character and the course of their conflicts in the nineteenth and twentieth

centuries were foreshadowed by the conditions of the eighteenth century under which they received the seeds of nationalism. At that time the nations began to grow conscious of themselves and of their political and cultural ideals. In the age of nationalism this consciousness, penetrating through the channels of education and literacy into the masses, becomes one of the decisive factors of history.

Two main concepts of nation and fatherland emerged in the intertwining of influences and conditions; conflicting and fusing, they became embodied in currents of thought in all nations and, to a varying degree, in entire nations. The one was basically a rational and universal concept of political liberty and the rights of man, looking towards the city of the future. In it the secularized Stoic-Christian tradition lived on: in England, in its Protestant form; in France, in its Catholic form. It found its chief support in the political and economic strength of the educated middle classes and, with a shift of emphasis, in the social-democratically organized labor movements. The other was basically founded on history, on monuments and graveyards, even harking back to the mysteries of ancient times and of tribal solidarity. It stressed the past, the diversity and self-sufficiency of nations. It found its support, above all, among the aristocracy and the masses. These two concepts of nationalism are the poles around which the new age with its innumerable shadings and transitions will revolve: from them it draws the pathos and the promises which move the hearts of men and masses as did in preceding ages the expectations of heavenly bliss and of redemption. These religious concepts were also interpreted in a twofold sense, one more narrow and ritualistic, bound up with the survival of ancient lore and myth, the other soaring to the free heights and wide horizons of a universal message proclaiming man as the image of God. In the new age nationalism, taking the place of religion, is as diversified in its manifestations and aspirations, in its form and even its substance as religion itself. Yet in all its diversities it fulfills one great task—giving meaning to man's life and justifying his noble and ignoble passions before himself and history, lifting him above the loneliness and futilities of his days, and endowing the order and power of government, with-

out which no society can exist, with the majesty of true authority.

The nineteenth century was in many ways infinitely superior to any preceding age. The eighteenth century still had been an age of savage wars and unscrupulous diplomacy, to a degree unbelievable to nineteenth century minds. True, the eighteenth century was more enlightened and refined than the seventeenth; yet everywhere the corruption, political and individual, was stupendous, unashamed, and universal. Wars and diplomacy in the nineteenth century not only gained in depth; whereas previously they had been the affairs of courts and governments, in which and from which the people suffered only as passive objects, they became now the concern of nations, in which the people actively participated, and though they continued to suffer, found also a source of inspiration and of self-realization. But they underwent also an unprecedented refinement; for the age of nationalism brought to private and public life a new morality and dignity. Even the Holy Alliance, though ostensibly directed against the new age, reflected it as the Counter Reformation reflected the new morality of the Reformation. In the preceding centuries venality and coarseness had been universal, and life and dignity had meant as little as permanency of government. The Holy Alliance was no longer the old Europe; it not only proclaimed a new respect for moral principles and for the dignity of royalty—it practiced it to an unprecedented degree. A new feeling for peace and order prevailed, the old-regime principle of legitimacy became more than an object of cynicism and of ruthless self-interest. In all European states a new sense of responsibility and a more intimate cohesion developed; and through the French revolutionary wars and especially through British imperialism this process of regeneration and moral education spread to distant continents, carrying there a civic and even personal morality infinitely superior to anything known before, invigorating ancient races and awakening masses, downtrodden since time immemorial, for the first time to human life.

This new morality expressed itself in the age of nationalism in the two concepts of nationality and liberty. They have seemed often almost inseparable. Yet they are different in origin and substance, in effect and duration. In the word "liberty" vibrates the

message which pervades all human history and makes it human: the promise of the dignity of man, of his rights as an individual, of his duties to his fellow men, a message dimly perceived from the very beginning, and growing in breadth and depth, until it comes to fruition in seventeenth century England and dominates the philosophy of the eighteenth and the life of the nineteenth century in the Western world. Compared with it, nationalism is only a passing form of integration, beneficial and vitalizing, yet by its own exaggeration and dynamism easily destructive of human liberty. In the age of nationalism the nature of things and human passions, as always, use and shape the dominant tendencies of the period, but through them also the struggle of the ages for the emancipation of the human goes on, which began in Palestine and in Hellas. From Hebrew and Greek ideas the age of nationalism drew many of its initial and fundamental inspirations, but from Jerusalem and Athens shine also the eternal guiding stars which lift the age of nationalism above itself, pointing forward on the road to deeper liberty and to higher forms of integration.

Notes

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Most historians are agreed upon a modern origin of nationalism: "Nationalism is a child of the French Revolution" (G. P. Gooch, *Studies in Modern History*, London: Longmans, 1931, p. 217); "Nationalism is modern, very modern" (Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, New York: Macmillan, 1926, p. 29 and *passim*). See also Halvdan Koht, "L'Esprit national et l'idée de la souveraineté du peuple," in *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, vol. II, part II, pp. 217-224; Sydney Herbert, *Nationality and Its Problems* (London: Methuen, 1920); Waldemar Mitscherlich, *Der Nationalismus Westeuropas* (Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1920); Kurt Stavenhagen, *Kritische Gänge in die Volkstheorie* (Abhandlungen der Herder Gesellschaft und des Herder Instituts, Band V), (Riga: Ernst Plates, 1936); H. A. L. Fisher, *The Common Weal* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 195; Friedrich Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1915), pp. 5 f.; James Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), vol. I, p. 268.

The concern with nationalism in old times is a product of the years, when nationalism dominating all our thought makes us see nationalism everywhere. Prof. M. T. Walek-Czernecki ("Le Rôle de la nationalité dans l'histoire de l'antiquité," *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, vol. II, part II, pp. 303-320) upholds against Eduard Meyer—who believed that in ancient times only the Jews, the Iranians, and the Greeks had arrived at full development of nationality—that Greeks and Romans never developed a real nationalism, whereas Babylonians, Egyptians, and other Orientals developed a full-fledged nationalism.

2. John Oakesmith calls nationalism "what the vast majority of civilized people feel to be the most sacred and dominating inspiration in life," and "the most pregnant fact of modern political evolution" (*Race and Nationality: An Inquiry into the Origin and Growth of Patriotism*, New York: Stokes, 1919, pp. viii f.). His definition of nationalism is valid only for the period since the French Revolution. Then, and only then, did nationalism become the inspiration of "civilized people." We may even say that a people enters the orbit of "modern" civilization when it becomes imbued with the spirit of nationalism. The Chinese were civilized before they, in their vast majority, developed a national feeling in the twentieth century, when they entered "modern" civilization. Nationalism is coextensive with "modern" civilization—not, of course, with civilization generally.
3. See Ignaz Seipel, *Nation und Staat* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1916). Aristotle understood by state or fatherland something which could be felt easily as a reality in everyday concrete contacts. A state should consist of no fewer than ten and no more than ten thousand inhabitants (*Ethics*, IX, 10, 3). The great barbarian empires were for him no real states (*Politics*, VII, 4).
4. Robert Michels (*Der Patriotismus Prolegomena zu seiner soziologischen Analyse*, Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1929, p. 88) remarks that the *Fernstenliebe* extends from patriotism to internationalism. "Denn Patriotismus und Internationalismus haben das Merkmal physischer Kontaktlosigkeit der sie

Empfindenden zu den Mitempfindenden gemeinsam." Both are the product of an historical development and of an indoctrination by education. The historical character of patriotism was well recognized by William Hazlitt ("On Patriotism A Fragment," written Jan. 5, 1814, *Collected Works*, ed. A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover, London: Dent, 1902, vol. I, p. 67): "Patriotism, in modern times, and in great states, is and must be the creature of reason and reflection, rather than the offspring of physical or local attachment. . . . Patriotism is not, in a strict or exclusive sense, a natural or personal affection, but a law of our rational and moral nature, strengthened and determined by particular circumstances and associations, but not born of them, nor wholly nourished by them. It is not possible that we should have an individual attachment to sixteen millions of men, any more than to sixty millions. We cannot be *habitually* attached to places we never saw and people we never heard of. Is not the name of Englishman a general term, as well as that of man? How many varieties does it not combine within it?"

5. *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (London, 1773), Letter VIII, p. 55.
6. Henry Morley, *English Writers* (New York: Cassell, 1887), vol. I, p. 1; J. M. Robertson, *The Evolution of States: An Introduction to English Politics* (London: Watts, 1912), p. 285; Sir Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, (Everyman's Library, New York: Dutton, 1908), p. 128. Nationalism itself, the will of forming, or belonging to, a nationality, acts as a factor in building a national character. That is clearly seen in the process of Americanization, of the immigrants adopting in the second or third generation entirely new attitudes and characters. Here as elsewhere in history and social life we find a constant mutual interaction of cause and effect. Psychology of nationalities was developed by Moritz Lazarus and Heymann Steinthal in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (1860 ff.). They considered the group mind as an integration of the individual minds functioning as a unit. See also Alfred Fouillé, *Esquisse psychologique des peuples européens* (Paris: Alcan, 1902); Wilhelm Wundt, *Die Nationen und ihre Philosophie* (Leipzig: Kioner, 1915) (his ten volumes on *Völkerpsychologie* are rather a study on ethnography); Eduard Wechsler, *Esprit und Geist: Versuch einer Wesenskunde des Deutschen und des Franzosen* (Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1927); Michael Demiashevich, *The National Mind: English, French, German* (New York: American Book Co., 1938); Elias Hurwicz, *Die Seelen der Völker* (Gotha: Perthes, 1920).
7. W. B. Pillsbury, *The Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism* (New York: Appleton, 1919), p. 5. See on p. 267, "Nationality is an affair of the mind or spirit, not . . . of physical relationship. The only way to decide whether an individual belongs to one nation rather than another is to ask him."
8. Sociological definitions view nationality primarily as a conflict group. See Max Sylvius Handman, "The Sentiments of Nationalism," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 104-121, and Louis Wirth, "Types of Nationalism," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XLI, pp. 723-737. A typology according to historical elements in C. J. H. Hayes, "Two Varieties of Nationalism, Original and Derived," *Proceedings of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland*, No. XXVI (1928), pp. 71-83; and in my *Revolutions and Dictatorships* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1939), pp. 68-82, and *Not by Arms Alone* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 103-124.
9. The word "nationality" is preferable to "nation," as the latter term frequently denotes "state" in French and English. In the later Middle Ages the word "nation" often had no political content whatsoever. The Romans never designated themselves as a *natio* but as a *populus*. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "nation" was opposed frequently to "people" (*peuple*). It indicated

the conscious and active part of the people, whereas "people" denoted the politically and socially more passive masses. In a similar way the word *Volk* was used in German, where Romanticism with its stress upon the irrational and subconscious brought about a curious revaluation. Nationalism brought the integration of the people into the nation, the awakening of the masses to political and social activism. The revolutions of the eighteenth century accomplished in the West this integration of the people, and "nation" came generally to mean the whole political organization or state; this identification is often inapplicable to the more complex situation in Central and Eastern Europe. See Friedrich Julius Neumann, *Volk und Nation* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1888); Josef Fels, *Begriff und Wesen der Nation: Eine soziologische Untersuchung und Kritik* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1927); Heinz O. Ziegler, *Die moderne Nation. Ein Beitrag zur politischen Soziologie* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1931); Friedrich Hertz, "Wesen und Werden der Nation," *Nation und Nationalität* (*Jahrbuch für Soziologie*, 1st supplementary vol.), (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1927); Alfred Amann, *Nationalgefühl und Staatsgefühl* (Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1915).

10. The racial theory has found its strongest expression in Germany. Its triumph was foreseen by a French author when he wrote, "Un mot résume cette retombée incessante, dont la pensée allemande ne pourra même jamais avoir l'idée de se libérer, un mot qui exprime tous les aspects de cette impuissance créatrice, c'est la *Leiblichkeit*, cette affirmation massive du corps et du terrestre, cette primauté des sens et de l'énergie musculaire, cette préférence quand même pour la force qui se fait sentir. . . . Plus ou moins, il [l'Allemand] réduira la conception et la portée des droits plus vastes à l'image et à la formule des réalités dont il profite, et, avec plus de ténacité que les autres groupes humains, continuera à se figurer la nation d'après le type naturel et sensible de la famille. Les biens du sang seront seuls pour lui compréhensible et, vrais ou faux, primeront tout. L'égoïsme, inné dans tous les hommes et dans toutes les réunions humaines, revêtira chez l'Allemand comme dans les nations allemandes, un aspect auguste, terrible, quasi-religieux." René Johannet, *Le principe des nationalités*, new ed. (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1923), pp. 187 f. See also Eric Voegelin, "The Growth of the Race Idea," *Review of Politics*, July, 1940, pp. 283-317.
11. The importance of language was stressed by Georg Schmidt-Rohr, *Die Sprache als Bildnerin der Völker* (Jena: Diederichs, 1932). According to him the community of language is the real national community. The second printing in 1933 had the changed title *Muttersprache: Vom Amt der Sprache bei der Volkswerdung*, and a foreword apologizing for a theory in contradiction with the then ruling racial theory.
12. An example of the insufficiency of objective characteristics for the determination of one's nationality, including language, in C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 8 f. See also Hans Rothfels, *Ostraum, Preussentum und Reichsgedanke* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935), p. 193. Nationality in Eastern Europe "ist nicht nur eine Angelegenheit des Blutes, sondern des geschichtlich-kulturellen Zusammenhangs."
13. Ernest Renan's definition in his address *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1882), p. 27, is famous "Une nation est une grande solidarité constituée par le sentiment des sacrifices qu'on a faits et de ceux qu'on est disposé à faire encore. Elle suppose un passé, elle se résume pourtant dans le présent par un fait tangible: le consentement, le désir clairement exprimé de continuer la vie commune. L'existence d'une nation est un plébiscite de tous les jours." By this definition Renan supported the claim of the two lost prov-

inces to decide their allegiance of their own free will. The great importance which Renan himself attached to this speech can be seen from the preface to his *Discours et Conférences* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1887): "Le morceau de ce volume auquel j'attache le plus d'importance, est la conférence Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? . . . C'est ma profession de foi en ce qui touche les choses humaines, et, quand la civilisation moderne aura sombré par suite de l'équivoque funeste de ces mots: nation, nationalité, race, je désire qu'on se souvienne de ces vingt pages là."

The German point of view was expressed equally authoritatively by Heinrich von Treitschke. "Who in the face of this duty to secure the peace of the world, still dares to raise the objection that the people of Alsace and Lorraine have no wish to belong to Germany? Before the sacred obligation of these great days, the theory of the right to self-government of every branch of the German race—that seductive battle-cry of expatriated demagogues—will be ignominiously routed. These provinces are ours by the right of the sword; and we will rule them in virtue of a higher right, in virtue of the right of the German nation to prevent the permanent estrangement from the German Empire of her lost children. We Germans, who know both Germany and France, know better what is for the good of the Alsatians than do those unhappy people themselves, who, in the perverse conditions of a French life, have been denied any true knowledge of modern Germany. We desire, even against their will, to restore them to themselves." (Passage from *Zehn Jahre deutscher Kämpfe*, 3rd ed., Berlin, 1897, vol. I, pp. 326 f., transl. in H. W. C. Davis, *Political Thought of H. von Treitschke*, London: Constable, 1914, pp. 110 f.)

The strength of the Alsatian feeling for France even in 1912 was acknowledged by as strong a German nationalist as Max Weber: "In solchen Erinnerungen ist der Grund zu suchen, warum der Elsässer sich als nicht der deutschen Nationalität zugehörig empfindet seine politischen Schicksale sind zu lange in außerdeutschen Zusammenhängen verlaufen. Seine Helden sind Helden der französischen Geschichte. Wenn Ihnen der Kastellan des Kolmarer Museums zeigen will, was ihm von seinen Schätzen besonders teuer ist, so führt er Sie von Grünewalds Altar fort in ein Zimmer mit Trikoloren, Pompier- und anderen Helmen, und solchen Erinnerungen scheinbar niedrigster Art aus einer Zeit, die ihm ein Heldenzeitalter bedeutet." (*Verhandlungen des Zweiten Deutschen Soziologentages*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1913, p. 50.)

14. On the character of the Swiss nationality, see Johann Kaspar Bluntschli, "Die Schweizer Nationalität," in *Gesammelte kleine Schriften* (Nordlingen: C. H. Beck, 1879), vol. I, pp. 114-131. Karl Hilty in his *Vorlesungen über die Politik der Eidgenossenschaft* (Bern: Fiala, 1875) stressed the fact that nature, language, and blood separate the Swiss from one another; what keeps them together is a consciousness of forming a nationality far above blood and racial ties. "Die Eidgenossenschaft hat sich das hohe Ziel gesetzt, mit verschiedenen Stämmen durch wohlthätige Vermischung in einem freien Gemeinwesen eine neue eigene Nationalität . . . zu bilden, die stärker als der natürliche Zug zur Stammesverwandschaft diese vergessen machen soll."
15. "Nationality does not consist necessarily in either language or religion or a common past, but in the will of a people. The expression of this will is generally made by a synthesis of some of the constitutive elements which we have just enumerated and sometimes all of them. However, nationality can very well exist in the absence of several of them and can even be limited to a single element, the essential one: the will." (Robert Michels, *Notes sur les moyens de constater la nationalité*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1917, p. 1.) Similarly Arnold J. Toynbee says of nationality that "like all great forces in

human life, it is nothing material or mechanical, but a subjective psychological feeling in living people. This feeling can be kindled by the pressure of one or several factors, as a common country, language, or tradition (*Nationality and the War*, London: Dent, 1915, p. 13.) Franz Oppenheimer puts it succinctly: "Wir müssen nicht aus der Nation das Nationalbewusstsein, sondern umgekehrt aus dem Nationalbewusstsein die Nation ableiten" (*System der Soziologie*, Jena: Fischer, 1923, vol. I, 2, p. 644; cf. Walter Sulzbach, "Begriff und Wesen der Nation" in *Die Dioskuren*, Munich: Meyer & Jessen, 1923, vol. II, p. 140). A French scholar offers a similar definition: "En même temps qu'un souvenir la nationalité est un idéal; elle est une histoire; mais elle est aussi une prophétie, une prophétie créatrice. Ceci revient à dire que la nationalité est un fait de conscience collective, un vouloir-vivre collectif. Race, religion, langue, tous ces éléments sont ou ne sont pas des facteurs de la nationalité suivant qu'ils entrent ou n'entrent pas, à ce titre, dans la conscience collective." (Henri Hauser, *Le Principe des nationalités: Ses origines historiques*, Paris: Alcan, 1916, p. 7.) Some writers stress the fact that the will to form a nationality is not sufficient, especially in the case of very small groups. "Le vouloir-vivre collectif ne suffit pas, il faut aussi un pouvoir-vivre collectif" (Bernard Lavergne, *Le Principe des nationalités et les guerres*, Paris, Alcan, 1921, p. 29).

The principle of nationality based upon national consciousness was stressed in the Italian Risorgimento. Count Terenzio Mamiani Della Rovere made nationality the basis of human association in "Dall'ottima congregazione umana e del principio di Nazionalità," printed as an appendix in his book *D'un nuovo diritto Europeo* (Turin, 1859). Pasquale Stanislao Mancini, later foreign minister of Italy, pointed out in his inaugural address at the University of Turin in 1851, "Della Nazionalità come fondamento del diritto delle genti," that race, language, customs, and past history are nothing but inert matter into which only national consciousness (conoscenza della nazionalità) breathes life. Nationality is for him collective liberty and therefore "sacred and divine as liberty itself."

16. Israel Zangwill, *The Principle of Nationalities* (London: Watts, 1917), p. 39. Max Weber defines (*loc. cit.*) nationality as "a common bond of sentiment whose adequate expression would be a state of its own, and which therefore normally tends to give birth to such a state." See also Alfred E. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government, and Other War-Time Essays* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1918), p. 52.
17. Hans Delbrück (*Regierung und Volkswille*, Berlin: Georg Stilke, 1914, pp. 3 f.) points out that in *deutsches Volk* we have to deal "nicht mit einem von der Natur gegebenen, sondern mit einem durch den Lauf der Geschichte geschaffenen Gebilde."
18. Sydney Herbert, *Nationality and Its Problems*, p. 161. Lord Acton sounded an early warning against political nationalism in *The History of Freedom and Other Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1907), pp. 270-300. From the economic point of view see Edward Batten, *Nationalism, Politics, and Economics* (London: King, 1929); Waldemar Mitscherlich, *Nationalstaat und Nationalwirtschaft und ihre Zukunft* (Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1916). Lord Acton's plea for multinational states was taken up by Karl Renner, *Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen in besonderer Anwendung auf Oesterreich*, vol. I, *Nation und Staat* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1918), p. 29.
19. Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, 2nd ed. (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 931.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Probably the Japanese had a similar sentiment of being a chosen race. Nevertheless the position of the dynasty made the Japanese attitude differ sharply from Hebrew and Greek national sentiment; and, of course, Japan was of no importance in the formation of modern nationalism. But this Japanese attitude may explain the fact that the Japanese were the first nation outside the Judeo-Greek tradition successfully to adopt modern nationalism.
2. Karl Joel, *Geschichte der Antiken Philosophie* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1921), vol. I, p. 88. Joel's characterization puts too much emphasis on geography, rivers trickle away amongst the stones in most of the Mediterranean countries. J. Huizinga, *Tien Studien* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1926), p. 85, claimed a similar visual-mindedness for the Dutch: "Onze nationale cultuur is van de vroegste tijden af, dat er zoo iets als een Nederlandsche nationaliteit begint op te komen, gekenmerkt door dat overwegen van het visuele. Door een maximum van gezichts-fantazie en een minimum van gedachten-fantazie: het denken in gezichtsvoorstellingen. Hebt ge Ruusbroec wel eens naast Heinrich Suso geleegd? Bij den Duitscher smelt en smacht en zingt alles in duistere diepten van menigheid; bij den Nederlander is alles stralend, blinkend, tenslotte verblindend licht, licht, licht."
3. Contemporary Jewish philosophers emphasize the basic importance of time. Bergson has made time the vehicle of his world conception. See my *Die politische Idee des Judentums* (Munich: Meyer & Jessen, 1924), p. 14.
4. Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1907), vol. I, part I, p. 225.
5. Even today orthodox Jews celebrate the Passover as if they in their generation had been delivered from Egypt, as if national history were alive across thousands of years in the present. One is reminded of the fragment by Novalis: "Wir tragen die Lasten unserer Väter, wie wir ihr Gutes empfangen haben, und so leben die Menschen in der Tat in der ganzen Vergangenheit und Zukunft und nirgends weniger als in der Gegenwart" (*Werke*, ed. Hermann Friedemann, III, 191).
6. Deuteronomy 10:17, reads in the authorized King James version, "above all the nations"—different from the Hebrew (*mikol*), which does not say "above all the nations" but "out of all the nations."
7. "Is not this the fast I choose—to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the knots of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free, and every yoke to snap? Is it not to share your bread with the hungry, and the homeless poor to bring home; when you see the naked, to cover him, and to hide not yourself from your own flesh and blood?" Isaiah 58:6-7 (transl. Alexander R. Gordon, *The Old Testament*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).
8. Josephus, *Ant.* IV, 8:5 θεὸς γὰρ εἰς καὶ τὸ ἑβραίων γένος ἐν.
9. J. M. Powis Smith chose as chapter heading for Amos 3:1-8 the words "The Categorical Imperative" (*The Old Testament*, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1927, p. 1542). Verses 3-6 express with remarkable terseness the idea that nature and humanity are subject to the same divine law. God is the cause and source of all phenomena. A new unity is set: one God, one world, one history.

At the same time world and history have not only a common source, but also a purpose, a goal.

10. The task of the Prophets was national. See Henry J. Cadbury, *National Ideals in the Old Testament* (New York: Scribner, 1920), and Wolf Wilhelm Graf Baudissin, "Nationalismus und Universalismus," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. CLIII (1913), pp. 385-399. But they discovered man freed from all ties of clan or group and confronted in his individuality with God. And man was not confined to Israel. Ancient Hebrew mythology traced the descent of Israel and of all nations from a common ancestor, from Adam and Eve, and again from Noah, so that in the veins of all mankind flows the blood of a common father and mother. In the story of the Creation all nature conspires towards this end and places the imprimatur of its unity on man.

The unity of man was stressed even in a more explicit way later in the Talmud when Judaism had in the main narrowed down to a strictly nationalistic attitude. The Talmud relates that Rabbi Meir was in the habit of saying, "The dust from which the first man was formed was gathered from the entire earth." But Alan was not only formed from the dust of all the lands of the earth; he has been formed in the image of God. This belief carried within it a potential significance which constituted the pivotal point of all political and social ethics. Alan became the fellow of man, his neighbor. The command in Leviticus 19 18, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," referred probably only to the fellow citizen. (On the problem of the alien, see Alfred Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* [Freiburg i. B.: Mohr, 1896].) However, when Hillel summed up the chief principle of the Law of Moses for a non-Jew in the words, "What is hateful to you do not do unto your neighbor," the shortest formulation of the categorical imperative and the basis of all social ethics, he clearly understood by "neighbor" man in general, not the fellow citizen alone.

In the Talmudic period the idea of the unity and equality of the human race was frequently emphasized. One of the most significant sayings is, "For the sake of peace among creatures, the descent of all men is traced back to one individual so that one may not say to his neighbor, My father is greater than yours. A man stamps a hundred coins with the same design and they are all alike; but God stamps all men with the mask of the first man, and yet not one resembles the other. Therefore everyone can say, For my sake the world is created." This consideration also holds true of an enemy. It is related that on the day on which the Egyptians who pursued the Hebrews into the Red Sea were drowned the angels of God wished to burst into a triumphant song. But God rebuked them: "The work of My hands is being destroyed and you wish to sing before me!" In the same spirit, the Jewish liturgy omits the great song of praise, otherwise recited daily, on the day on which according to tradition the Egyptians were drowned. (Sanhedrin 59b, cf. Magill 10b, Zohar I, 57b.)

11. Marx transferred this task of being the instrument for the fulfillment of the destinies of mankind from a nation to a class. The concept of proletarian revolution owes much of its driving force to Messianism in a secularized form. But Messianism has especially influenced nationalism, where the nation as a corporate Messiah replaced the personal Messiah, to bring about a new order of things. The nationality transcends thus the limits of a political or social concept; it becomes a holy body sanctified by God; and nationalism becomes a religious duty full of responsibility towards world history and the redemption of mankind. National Messianism often becomes the cradle of an unbridled imperialism.

12. George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Cambridge Harvard Univ. Press, 1927), vol. II, p. 319.
13. Matthew 5. 17-19 (transl. Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The New Testament*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923): "Do not suppose that I have come to do away with the Law or the Prophets. I have not come to do away with them but to enforce them. For I tell you, as long as heaven and earth endure, not one dotting of an i or crossing of a t will be dropped from the Law until it is all observed. Anyone, therefore, who weakens one of the slightest of these commands, and teaches others to do so, will be ranked lowest in the Kingdom of Heaven; but anyone who observes them and teaches others to do so will be ranked high in the Kingdom of Heaven."
14. The words of John the Baptist in Matthew 3. 9 are no proof to the contrary. They illustrate in the prophetic tradition the omnipotence of God and the wickedness of the Jews, but not the abolition of the distinction between Jew and Gentile.
15. See Julius Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1923), p. 5. The characterization of Barbarians as animals, while only the Greeks were considered real human beings, is so frequent in Greek literature that Jüthner (*op. cit.*, p. 7, and note 30, p. 128) speaks of it as a current commonplace (*geläufiger Gemeinplatz*); it is found several times in Aristotle's *Ethics*.
16. *Republic*, transl. Paul Shorey (Loeb Classical Library), Vol. I, p. 497.
17. "Second only to the war which we carry on in alliance with all mankind against the savagery of the beasts, that war is the most necessary and the most righteous which we wage in alliance with the Hellenes against the barbarians, who are by nature our foes and are eternally plotting against us" Isocrates (*Panathenaicus*, XII, 163), transl. George Norlin, Loeb Classical Library, vol. II, p. 475. "The Aetolians, the Acarnanians, the Macedonians, men of the same speech, are united or disunited by trivial causes that arise from time to time; with aliens, with barbarians, all Greeks wage and will wage eternal war [*cum alieniis, cum barbaris aeternum omnibus Graecis bellum est eritque*]; for they are enemies by the will of nature, which is eternal, and not from reasons that change from day to day." Livy, Bk. XXXI, 29, 15-16, transl. Evan T. Sage, Loeb Classical Library, vol. IX, p. 87.
18. Aristotle, *Politics*, transl. B. Jowett, Bk. I, v, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), p. 7. Aristotle went on to explain that should Greeks become slaves, as happened even in Greece, they were slaves only by accident in a relative sense whereas Barbarians were slaves by nature, in an absolute sense. This contempt for the slave nature of the Barbarians is combined with a pride in Greek democracy. Euripides says in *Helen*, 276, that all Barbarians except one are slaves, and Aristotle goes so far as to declare that they (the Barbarians) have by nature no gift of command (*Politics*, I, 1252b).
19. *Politics*, Bk. VII, vi, 1-1327b.
20. Of the Athenian writers of the Peloponnesian War, Aristophanes professed some Panhellenic feeling, as when Lysistrata exclaims.

And now, dear friends, I wish to chide you both,
 That ye, all of one blood, all brethren sprinkling
 The selfsame altar from the selfsame lever,
 At Pylae, Pytho, and Olympia, ay,
 And many others which 'twere long to name,
 That ye, Hellenes—while Barbarian foes
 Are looking on—fight and destroy Hellenes.
 (*Lysistrata*, 1128 et seq.)

But this is a rare exception at a time when all political emotions were dominated by love of the particular city-state and enmity to and often hatred of other Greek city-states. Wallace E. Caldwell points out in *Hellenic Conceptions of Peace* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1919) that throughout Greek history "no real effort was made to bridge the gap of distrust and misunderstanding" between Greek states. "In all of their agreements the Greeks failed because they did not face and settle the basic problems of interstate relations. The only suggestion to establish a central organism was disregarded as foolish" (p. 139). "The national fanaticism of the countries of modern Europe is probably more tolerant of foreign influence than was the passionate patriotism of the little urban units with which the imperial policy of Athens and Sparta had to deal" (William Scott Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913], p. 5). In ancient Greece real nationalism was as rare and unavailing as real internationalism in Europe during the last half-century. See Victor Martin, *La vie internationale dans la Grèce des cités, VI-IV. siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris: Librairie du recueil Sirey, 1940). On the effort of Demosthenes to overcome in the fourth century this isolationism, see Frederick H. Cramer, "Isolationism: A Case History," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Oct., 1940, pp. 459-493, and in *Foreign Affairs*, Apr., 1941, pp. 530-550; see also Georges Clemenceau, *Démosthène* (Paris: Plon, 1926) and Werner Jaeger, *Demosthenes* (Berkeley. Univ. of California Press, 1938).

21. Bk. VIII, 144.

22. Iphigenia then went on to speak the verses, already quoted, that it was right that Hellenes should rule Barbarians. Having heard her speech, Achilles praised her for her patriotism.

Happy in thee is Hellas, thou in Hellas'
Well saidst thou this, and worthily of our land.

Euripides (*Iphigenia in Aulis*, v. 1271-1275, 1397-1401, 1406-1407), transl. Arthur S. Way, Loeb Classical Library, vol. I. On the national feeling in Euripides, see Ernest L. Hettick, *A Study in Ancient Nationalism: The Testimony of Euripides* (Williamsport, Pa. Bayard Press, 1933). Euripides speaks in *Troades*, v. 458, of ὁ φίλη πατρίς and asks in fragment 6 τί γὰρ πατρίδα ἀνδρὶ φθιτὸν χθονὶς. See also Greek patriotism in the stirring verses in Aeschylus, *The Persians*, v. 402-405. Cf. note 184 to Chapter VIII.

23. Victor Duruy, *History of Greece and the Greek People*, transl. M. M. Ripley (Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1890), vol. II, sec. II, p. 390.

24. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 2nd ed. (London E. Arnold, 1930), pp. 84 ff.

25. Isocrates (*Panegyricus*, 23-25), transl. George Norlin, Loeb Classical Library, vol. I, p. 133. "For it is admitted that our city is the oldest and greatest in the world and in the eyes of all men the most renowned. But noble as is the foundation of our claim, the following grounds give us even a clearer title to distinction: for we did not become dwellers in this land by driving others out of it, nor by finding it uninhabited, nor by coming together here a motley horde composed of many races; but we are of a lineage so noble and so pure that throughout our history we have continued in possession of the very land which gave us birth, since we are sprung from its very soil and are able to address our city by the very names which we apply to our nearest kin; for we alone of all the Hellenes have the right to call our city at once nurse and fatherland and mother."

26. *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Bk. II, xxxvi, 1.

27. Cf. Ernst Curtius, *History of Greece*, transl. A. W. Ward (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, 1874), Vol. II, pp. 539-542.
28. See, on the new racial interpretation of ancient history in Germany, F. Geyer, *Rasse, Volk und Staat im Altertum* (Neue Wege zum Geschichtsunterricht, Vol. III, Leipzig: Teubner, 1936). But it is important to remember the words of Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2nd ed., vol. I, part I (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1907), p. 75 f.: "Das gleiche gilt von der Rasse: auch sie ist ein durchaus moderner Begriff. Wenn auch die Unterschiede der körperlichen Bildung und vor allem der Hautfarbe immer sinnfällig waren, so haben sie doch auf das Verhalten der Völker zu einander gar keinen Einfluss ausgeübt, es sei denn, dass so scharfe Gegensätze nicht nur der äusseren Erscheinung, sondern vor allem der Kulturfähigkeit und Denkweise auf einander stiessen, wie Europäer und Negel. Auch hier hat erst unsere Zeit dem äusseren Gegensatz eine innere Bedeutung beigelegt, und manche ins Absurde überspannte Theorien haben dem Rassenfaktor eine Bedeutung zugeschrieben, die ihm niemals zugekommen ist und aller geschichtlichen Erfahrung ins Gesicht schlägt."

The slaves, who were mostly Barbarians, were prohibited by law from having homosexual relations and from athletic games, both of which were reserved for freemen. See Plutarch, *Moralia*, II, 152 D (transl. Frank Cole Babbitt, Loeb Classical Library, p. 383). Another quotation from Plutarch points to the fact that Barbarians pollute the altars and temples of the Greek gods. See *Life of Aristides*, XX, 4, transl. B. Perrin (New York: Macmillan, 1914), vol. II, p. 277.

29. Transl. J. H. Frere in *Readings in Greek History*, ed. Ida C. Thallon (New York: Ginn & Co., 1914), p. 323.
30. Euripides (*Andromache*, v. 445-453), transl. Arthur S. Way, vol. II, p. 451.
31. *Andromache*, v. 724-726.
32. *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Bk. V.
33. Otto Apelt in the Introduction to his translation, *Platon's Staat*, 5th ed. (Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1920), p. xvii. In some ways Plato, like Rousseau, can be quoted for containing certain germs of the idea of the organic state and at the same time of the totalitarian state. He compared the state to a man, *καθ' ὅσον ἓνα ἔσθ' ὅλον* (*Laws*, VIII, 828d), and spoke of the close cohesion and love community within the city-state: *πόλις φίλη αὐτῇ* (*Laws*, III, 701d), and *τὸ φίλον καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει* (*Laws*, III, 697c). Similarly Aristotle in *Politics*, V, 1, 2, 1337a, declared that the citizen did not belong to himself, he belonged to the state, for everyone was a part of the state: *ἅμα δὲ οὐδὲ χρὴ νομίζειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ τινα εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τῇ πόλει; μᾶλλον γὰρ ἕκαστος τῇ πόλει*. In the *Laws*, I, 634d, the Athenian praised the Spartan and Cretan constitutions for containing a law according to which "none of the younger men is allowed to scrutinize the adequacies and inadequacies of the laws, but that all of them must insist unanimously and with one voice that everything is well-ordered on account of the divine origin of the laws; should one utter another opinion it should not be tolerated."
34. W. W. Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *Raleigh Lecture on History, British Academy Proceedings*, XIX (London: Humphrey Milford, 1933), p. 4: "It may be possible to find, in the fifth century or earlier, an occasional phrase which looks like a groping after something better than the hard-and-fast division of Greeks and Barbarians; but this comes to very little and has no importance for history because anything like that was strangled by the idealist philosophies." And on p. 15, "the attraction of Sparta for Greek philosophers is one of our sharpest reminders that even those philoso-

phers were part of a civilization which had slavery in its blood and could hardly imagine anything else."

Max Mühl, *Die antike Menschheitsidee in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig Dieterich, 1928), and Hugh Harris in "The Greek Origins of the Idea of Greek Cosmopolitanism," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXVIII, 1-10 (Oct., 1927), use isolated instances to antedate the humanitarian feeling in Greece before the end of the fourth century B.C. The famous saying by Euripides, preserved to us in fragment 1047, that "the whole expanse of air is open to the eagle's flight, and every land is native soil to the noble man," does not, as Tarn points out on pp. 28 f., "assert the unity of mankind, but only that a noble man can range the world as an eagle the air; doubtless he knew that an eagle has a permanent home-rock." See also Julius Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren*, p. 20.

Julius Jüthner, *op. cit.*, p. 25, relates a story which was told in antiquity about Socrates, Plato, and other men, and which therefore is characteristic of the general opinion of the time. The story repeated in every instance that the Greek sage praised and thanked Fate that he was born a man and not an animal, a he-man and not a woman, a Greek and not a Barbarian. According to Jüthner, the story had its origin in the Peripatetic School founded by Aristotle.

See also Aubrey Diller, *Race Mixture Among the Greeks Before Alexander* (Urbana University of Illinois Press, 1937); Fritz Jaeger, *Der Friede von 362-1 Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der panhellenistischen Bewegung im 4. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930).

- 35 W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 26, thinks that Alexander "was the pioneer of one of the supreme revolutions in the world's outlook, the first man known to us who contemplated . . . the unity of mankind." Only today, with the progress of excavations in more distant parts of the ancient world, we can verify the claims of Alexander to the creation of an *oecumene*. See the note on p. 43. See also Pierre Jouquet, *Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenism of the East* (London: Kegan Paul, 1928).
36. Isocrates (*To Philip*, 154), transl. George Norlin, Loeb Classical Library, vol. I, pp. 337-338.
37. Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*, transl. G. C. Richards (London: Chatto and Windus, 1932), p. 147.
38. Isocrates (*Panegyricus*, 50), transl. George Norlin, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. I, p. 149.
39. *Hellenen und Barbaren*, pp. 34-36.
40. Plutarch, *Moralia*, transl. Frank Cole Babbitt, Loeb Classical Library, vol. IV, pp. 397-399 (De Fortuna Alexandri, I, 6, 329B, C). Alexander is praised as a very great philosopher (cf. 328D and 330D). There (p. 405) it is said that "that part of the world which has not looked upon Alexander, has remained without sunlight." In his *Life of Alexander*, XXVII, 6 (*Parallel Lives*, Loeb Classical Library, vol. VII, p. 306), Plutarch quotes Alexander at Ammon as saying that God was indeed a common father of all men (*πάντων μὲν ἑνὸς κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα τὸν θεόν*). According to Arrian, VII, vi, 6, the Macedonians brought their grievance to Alexander that the Persians were called Alexander's kinsmen and allowed to kiss him, whereas no Macedonian had yet tasted this privilege. Thereupon Alexander declared that he regarded all Macedonians as his kinsmen and would call them so henceforth. Cf. also Arrian, VII, ii, 9, and VII, iv, 8.

Strabo, in his *Geography*, Bk. I, iv, 9, reports that Eratosthenes, after with-

holding praise from those who divided all mankind into Greeks and Barbarians and from those who advised Alexander to treat the Greeks as friends and the Barbarians as enemies, goes on to say that it would be better to make such distinctions according to good and bad qualities, as many of the Greeks are bad and many of the Barbarians are refined. This was the reason, as Eratosthenes thought, that Alexander disregarded his advisers and divided men only according to their abilities and education.

41. On imperialism in antiquity see Franz Kampers, *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophezie und Sage* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1901—Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft, Bd. I, Heft 2, 3), and his *Vom Werden der abendländischen Kaisermystik* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1924), Johannes Hasebroek, *Der imperialistische Gedanke im Altertum* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1926); H. Berve, "Die Verschmelzungspolitik Alexanders des Grossen," *Klio*, 31 (1938), pp. 135-168; U. Wilcken, "Die letzten Pläne Alexanders des Grossen," *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1937, XXIV.

On the ecumenical idea of antiquity, see Julius Kaerst, *Die antike Idee der Oekumene in ihrer politischen und kulturellen Bedeutung* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1903), p. 18: "Das wahre Bürgertum der Oekumene, so wie es der philosophischen Auffassung sich darstellt, ist ein idealhellenisches Bürgertum, nur des zufälligen, historischen Charakters entkleidet. Das Idealhellenische ist als solches zugleich das Kosmopolitische, der Repräsentant des wahren Menschentums. . . . Auch das ursprünglich Nichthellenische wird jetzt, indem es als Allgemein-Menschliches gefasst wird, innerlich dem Hellenischen assimiliert; es wird unter dem Begriffe des Vernünftigen in die Sphäre des Idealhellenischen hinaufgehoben." This Greek universalism was based upon a static concept of the world, not upon the dynamic historical progress and labor of mankind. This latter idea was developed by the Hebrew prophets, and accepted by Western humanity. The dynamic interpretation of universalism differentiates modern thought fundamentally from Greek thought. Many years later, Kaerst returned to the discussion of the ecumenic idea, and in his *Weltgeschichte Antike und Deutsches Volkstum* (Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1925), regarded Renaissance, Enlightenment, and especially French rational and ecumenic civilization as the heir to Greece. Germanism appeared to him as the antithesis of this Western world, Reformation and German idealistic philosophy as the negation of Renaissance and Enlightenment; he proclaimed—as already in his *Das geschichtliche Wesen und Recht der deutschen nationalen Idee* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1916)—the struggle against Western ideas of democracy and universal civilization as Germany's task.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. William Linn Westermann in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. I, p. 36. See also Clifford H. Moore, "Decay of Nationalism Under the Roman Empire," *American Philological Association, Transactions and Proceedings*, vol. XLVII (1917), pp. 27-36; Herman Finke, "Blursbindung und Staatsbewusstsein im Werden des Römischen Volkes," *Morgen*, vol. IV (Berlin, 1929), pp. 556-566; George K. Strodach, "Pietas: Horace and Augustan Nationalism," *Classical Weekly*, vol. XXIX (Mar., 1936), pp. 137-144; Eduard Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI erklärt* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903).
 2. *De Republica*, bk. II, xix, 34.
 3. The Roman attitude toward the Greeks was a mixture of recognition of the Greek cultural superiority and of contempt for their political inferiority. Greek intellectual superiority was reflected in the Greek origin of all Latin words of higher learning like *poeta*, *philosophia*, *grammatica*, *retorica*, *bibliotheca*, *architectura*, etc. Cicero, however, insisted upon the dignity of the Latin language. "Latinam linguam non modo inopem, ut vulgo putarent, sed locupletiore etiam esse quam Graecam." The Romans objected to being included among the Barbarians, and preferred a tri-partition into Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians. Their patriotism centered upon the State, not upon the nationality. Joseph Vogt, *Ciceros Glaube an Rom*, (Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 6 [Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935]), p. 100, says rightly of Cicero that "sein Staatsbegriff kannte Volk und Völker nicht als grundlegende Werte." The Roman aristocracy traced its descent with pride from Aeneas of Troy, the son of Anchises and the Greek goddess Aphrodite. The Romans were prone to emphasize Greek moral inferiority. Even Cicero, who claimed that if there was ever any Roman not averse to the Greek race he was the man, said in his *Defense of Lucius Flaccus*: "But a scrupulous regard to truth in giving their evidence is not a virtue that that nation has ever cultivated; they are utterly ignorant what is the meaning of that quality. . . . Where does that expression, 'Give evidence for me, and I will give evidence for you,' come from? Is it supposed to be a phrase of the Gauls, or of the Spaniards? It belongs wholly to the Greeks; so that even those who do not understand Greek know what form of expression is used by the Greeks for this." *Cicero's Orations*, transl. C. D. Yonge (London: Bell & Daldy, 1871), vol. II, p. 429.
- On *humanitas* see R. Reitzenstein, *Werden und Wesen der Humanität im Altertum* (Strasbourg: Hantz, 1907); Thaddeus Zielinski, "Antike Humanität," *Neue Jahrbücher für Klassisches Altertum*, I (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898); Max Schneidewicz, *Die antike Humanität* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1897); Gaston Boissier, "A propos d'un mot latin," *Revue des deux mondes*, Dec. 15, 1906, and Jan. 1, 1907.
4. Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism*. (New York: Macmillan, 1914), pp. 336, 344. "The time of universal peace is near. Prove this a prosperous day, the three-nook'd world shall hear the olive freely." Caesar in Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra," Act IV, Scene VI. See also J. M. C. Toynbee, "The Roman Empire and Modern Europe," *The Dublin Review*, Jan., 1945.
 5. C. H. Oldfather in his Introduction to Diodorus, Loeb Classical Library, vol. I, p. xii.
 6. Outside this new unity the Jews remained culturally, the Germans culturally

and politically. Augustus tried to expand Roman civilization east of the Rhine. The defeat of Varus in the Teutoburg Forest in A.D. 9 confined the Roman Empire and ancient civilization definitely west of the Rhine and south of the *limes* which protected civilization against the possible inroads of the Barbarians of the North.

Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), vol. III, pp. 126 f., discusses the anomalous situation of the Jews in the Greek Diaspora. They participated in the communal life as citizens with full rights; on the other hand, they kept their exclusivity strictly, and their peculiar ways of life, their inner autonomy and solidarity, and their religion which was in strict opposition to the other cults in the city. In ancient times the religious life formed an integral part of the political life of the city. The Jews, therefore, were accused of atheism (*ἀθεότης*) and of exclusivity (*ἀκρίβεια* or *μυστικότητα*). From the beginning this seclusion at a time of growing internationalism and intercourse produced a violent reaction in Greek and Roman literature. Tacitus (*History*, V, 5) said of them, "Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium." Similar charges were first brought also against the Christians. "Hatred of the Empire and the Emperor, and uselessness from the economic standpoint—these were standing charges against Christians, charges which the apologists were at great pains to controvert. . . . As the Christians were almost alone among religionists in being liable to this charge of enmity to the Empire, they were held responsible by the populace, as everybody knows, for any great calamities that occurred." Adolf von Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, transl. James Moffat (New York: Putnam, 1905), vol. I, p. 342.

On the attitude of the Jews towards the Gentiles, see the article "Gentiles," *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. V. On the position of the Jews in Hellenism and the Roman Empire, see Felix Stähelin, *Der Antisemitismus des Altertums in seiner Entstehung und Entwicklung* (Basel: C. F. Lendorff, 1905); Jean Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain Leur condition juridique, économique, et sociale*, 2 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1914); and Werner Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews. The First Greek Records of Jewish Religion and Civilization," *Journal of Religion*, vol. XVIII, pp. 127-143 (Apr., 1938). Most illuminating about Jewish nationalism at the beginning of the Diaspora is Erwin R. Goodenough, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1938). Cf. Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1937), vol. I, pp. 143-162. The texts concerning the Jews are edited by Théodore Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains, relatif au Judaïsme, réunis, traduits, et annotés* (Paris: Leroux, 1895).

7. Cicero, *De Legibus*, Bk. I, vii, 23, transl. Clinton Walker Keyes, Loeb Classical Library (*De Re Publica, De Legibus*), pp. 321-323. See also Bk. I, xxiii, 60-61 (pp. 365-367), and Bk. I, x, 30 (p. 329). "And indeed reason, which alone raises us above the level of the beasts and enables us to draw inferences, to prove and disprove, to discuss and solve problems, and to come to conclusions, is certainly common to us all, and, though varying in what it learns, at least in the capacity to learn it is invariable."
8. Seneca, *On Benefits*, Bk. III, xxviii, 1; *Moral Essays*, transl. John W. Basore, Loeb Classical Library, vol. III, p. 177, and *Ad Lucillum Epistulae Morales*, transl. Richard M. Gummere, Loeb Classical Library, epistle XLIV, 3, vol. I, p. 288. See also epistle XCV, 51, and CII, 21-22, vol. II, pp. 91, 181. In epistle XCV, 33, he exclaimed, "Man, a sacred object to man, is now slaughtered for jest and sport."
9. Pliny, *The Natural History*, Bk. III, chap. 5 (6), 35, transl. John Bostock and

- H. T. Riley (London: Bell, 1877). The passage from Virgil *Aeneid*, VI, 851-853. The passage from Tacitus' *Historiae*, IV, 74. Pliny the Elder, strongly under Stoic influence, spoke in his *Naturalis Historia*, xxvii, 1, of the "immensa romanae pacis majestas", this word gains its full meaning against the Stoic background as expressed, *Ibid.*, II, 18 "Deus est mortali juvare mortalem, et haec ad aeternam gloriam via."
10. Tenney Frank in *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. I, p. 38. See Ernst Stein, *Geschichte des Spätromischen Reichs* (Vienna: L. W. Seidel & Sohn, 1928), vol. I.
 11. Dio Cassius, Bk. LII, chap. 19. See Max Mühl, *Die antike Menschheitsidee*, p. 51. "It was the Stoic philosophy which gave to mankind the idea of an inner bond willed by nature. The razing of all barriers dividing man from man, the creation of a unity and fellowship of men rooted in the recognition of the spirit, the erection of a world-state in which all men are fellow citizens, the replacement of the idea of might by the reconciling idea of a universal, spiritual, cultural community, is one of the great achievements of the human spirit. The Stoic ideal of a human community points promisingly to the future, it has opened new ways for man's intellectual life and aspirations." See, for instance, Epictetus, transl. W. A. Oldfather, Bk. I, xiii, 3-4, Loeb Classical Library, p. 99, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, transl. C. R. Haines, Bk. III, iv, 4, Loeb Classical Library, p. 53: "And he bears in mind that all that is rational is akin, and that it is in man's nature to care for all men, and that we should not embrace the opinion of all, but of those alone who live in conscious agreement with Nature." See also Wilhelm Nestle, *Der Friedensgedanke in der antiken Welt* (*Philologus*, Supplementband XXXI), 1 (Leipzig: Dietrich, 1938).
 12. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, transl. Kirsopp Lake, Bk. I, chap. 4, 2, Loeb Classical Library, vol. I, p. 39.
 13. See Adolf von Harnack, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 327. See also Ernest Llewellyn Woodward, *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire* (New York: Longmans, 1916), Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Christian Attitude Towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1941).
 14. Eusebius, *op. cit.*, Bk. IV, chap. 26, 7-8, vol. I, p. 389.
 15. Hippolytus, quoted in Harnack, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 331.
 16. Harnack, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 333.
 17. On the social character of Christianity, see Robert von Pöhlmann, *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der antiken Welt*, 3rd ed. (Munich: Beck, 1925), vol. II, pp. 464-505. The early Christians, like the Jews, expected the kingdom of God as a transfigured earth, not as some after-life in heaven. See also Alfred Weber, *Kulturgeschichte als Kultursoziologie* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1935), pp. 155-156. He regards the Sermon on the Mount as "die genaue und bewusste Umkehrung und die Kampfansage gegen alle bisherige Charakterformung, . . . gegen die letztlich am Kriegerisch-Heroischen orientierten Vorstellungen der auf den ungebrochenen diesseitigen Mannesstolz zugeschnittenen Kulturen . . . Jesus erscheint mit vorgegebener Notwendigkeit in dem seelisch-geistigen Gegenpol der römischen Herrenwelt. . . . Er erscheint dann, als die Lebensgestaltung dieser Herrenwelt zum ersten Mal hundert Jahre lang versagt hat, und ihre Wiederaufrichtung gegenüber dem jüdischen Volk nur mit der Verletzung seiner tiefsten Gefühle durchgeführt werden kann, in ihm unaufhörlich neuen Aufruhr und die Vorstellung heraufzuführen, dass jetzt endlich der Tag seiner grossen weltumwälzenden Mission angebrochen sei."

The understanding of Christianity and of prophetic Judaism as a revolt of an

ethical attitude against the purely esthetic aristocratic ideal was emphasized by Nietzsche. See, for instance, *The Genealogy of Morals*, Essay 1, section 7 (*The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Dr. Oskar Levy, vol. XIII, pp. 30 f.). Although Nietzsche overlooked the ethicism of the Stoa which came entirely from non-Jewish sources and yet arrived at similar conclusions, he understood the offense and challenge of the paradox of the Cross. On a different level and in a different way Sir J. G. Frazer, somewhat in the line of Gibbon, contrasted ancient and Christian civilization: "Greek and Roman society was built on the conception of the subordination of the individual to the community, of the citizen to the state; it set the safety of the commonwealth, as the supreme aim of conduct, above the safety of the individual whether in this world or in a world to come. Trained from infancy in this unselfish ideal, the citizens devoted their lives to the public service and were ready to lay them down for the common good; or if they shrank from the supreme sacrifice, it never occurred to them that they acted otherwise than basely in preferring their personal existence to the interests of their country. All this was changed by the spread of Oriental religions which inculcated the communion of the soul with God and its eternal salvation as the only objects worth living for, objects in comparison with which the prosperity and even the existence of the state sank into insignificance. The inevitable result of this selfish and immoral doctrine was to withdraw the devotee more and more from the public service, to concentrate his thoughts on his own spiritual emotions, and to breed in him a contempt for the present life . . . A general disintegration of the body politic set in. The ties of the state and the family were loosened: the structure of society tended to resolve itself into its individual elements and thereby to relapse into barbarism; for civilisation is only possible through the active co-operation of the citizens and their willingness to subordinate their private interests to the common good. Men refused to defend their country and even to continue their kind. In their anxiety to save their own souls and the souls of others, they were content to leave the material world, which they identified with the principle of evil, to perish around them. This obsession lasted for a thousand years. The revival of Roman law, of the Aristotelian philosophy, of ancient art and literature at the close of the Middle Ages, marked the return of Europe to native ideals of life and conduct, to saner, manlier views of the world. The long halt in the march of civilisation was over. The tide of Oriental invasion had turned at last." *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., Part IV, "Adonis, Attis, Osiris" (London: Macmillan, 1914), vol. I, pp. 300-301. Here Frazer confounds historical stages of development with racial and geographic factors.

18. Eusebius, *op. cit.*, IV, vii, 11, vol. I, p. 319: "It was especially in this way that it came to pass that a blasphemous and wicked suspicion concerning us was spread among the heathen of those days, to the effect that we practised unspeakable incest with mothers and sisters and took part in wicked food." Kirsopp Lake adds the footnote: "The reference is to the story which was at that time told by the heathens of the Christians and has since been told among Christians of the Jews that they kill and eat small children."
19. The transfer also gave the Bishop of Rome the opportunity of building up the power of the Pope. The more the Emperor in Constantinople became Hellenized, the more the Pope could claim to represent the Latinity of the original Roman Empire. See also O. Ehrenberg, *Ost und West: Studien zur geschichtlichen Problematik der Antike* (Brünn: Rudolf Rohrer, 1935); Walter Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin: B. Behr, 1903); Matthew Spinka, *A History of Christianity in the Balkans* (Chicago: American Society of Church History, 1933).

20. Although the Byzantine Empire became ethnologically and linguistically a Hellenic state, it considered itself to the end the Roman state, and the official name for its citizens was "Rhomaioi," which became also the name by which the Greeks later called themselves. The name of "Hellenes" was reserved for the pagan Greeks of the past. Even in modern times the Greeks were called by the Turks and Arabs "Rumi"—a word still used by the Arabs today to designate people of Greek Orthodox religion. The Western Romans were not called "Romans," but "Italics" or "Latins."

In the sixth century the two Romes, the old and the new, were separated linguistically, Greek becoming more and more the language of the Byzantine Empire, while it disappeared entirely from Rome, although until the third century the Christians there had spoken Greek. This linguistic separation was soon followed by a political and religious one. But the fact that the Greeks finally accepted the name of their former conquerors as their own testifies to the strength of the survival of the Roman idea. Simultaneously with the first Latin renaissance under Charlemagne, a Greek humanistic renaissance began in Constantinople under Patriarch Photios, which in its later development re-introduced into Greek writing the pure classical Attic and reestablished in its writings the original name and meaning of "Hellenes." But in its national sense the name and its meaning were only revived by the modern Greek national movement. Characteristic was the answer given by Georgios Scholarios, who under the name of Gennadios was the first Greek Orthodox Patriarch under Turkish rule: "Although I am a Hellene by language I would never call myself a Hellene as I am not of the faith which once the Hellenes had. But I wish to be called according to my faith, and if somebody asks me what I am, I shall answer a Christian."

21. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, transl. Marcus Dods, Bk. II, 21, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Buffalo: Christian Literature Co., 1877), vol. II, p. 36: "But accepting the more feasible definition of a republic, I grant there was a republic of a certain kind, and certainly much better administered by the more ancient Romans than by their modern representatives. But the fact is, true justice has no existence save in that republic whose founder and ruler is Christ, if at least any choose to call this a republic; and indeed we cannot deny that it is the people's weal."
22. Augustine, *op. cit.*, (Bk. XV, 2), p. 285. See also Bk. XIV, 28, *De Qualitate Duarum Civitatum, Terrenae atque Caelestis*, and Bk. XVIII, 54.
23. Edgar Salin in *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. II, p. 314. See also Harold Fuchs, *Augustin und der antike Friedensgedanke* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926).
24. Augustine, *op. cit.* (Bk. XIX, 17): "This heavenly city, while it sojourns on earth, calls citizens out of all nations, and gathers together a society of pilgrims of all languages, not scrupling about diversities in the manners, laws, and institutions whereby earthly peace is secured and maintained, but recognizing that, however various these are, they all tend to one and the same end of earthly peace. It therefore is so far from rescinding and abolishing these diversities, that it even preserves and adopts them, so long only as no hindrance to the worship of the one supreme and true God is thus introduced."
25. Augustine, *op. cit.* (Bk. XIX, 15), p. 411. ". . . ut scilicet, si non possunt a dominis liberi fieri, suam servitutem ipsi quodam modo liberam faciant, non timore subdolo, sed fidei dilectione serviendo, donec transeat iniquitas et evacuetur omnis principatus et potestas humana et sit Deus omnia in omnibus."
26. See generally Alfons Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der europäischen Kulturentwicklung* (Vienna: L. W. Seidel & Sohn, 1918), vol. I. For the existence of nationalism in the Middle Ages, see Karl Gottfried

Hugelmann, "Mittelalterliches und modernes Nationalitätenproblem," *Zeitschrift für Politik*, vol. XIX (Berlin, 1930), pp. 734-742; "Studien zum Recht der Nationalitäten im deutschen Mittelalter," *Historische Jahrbücher der Görresgesellschaft*, vol. XLVII (1927), pp. 275 ff.; and "Die deutsche Nation und der deutsche Nationalstaat im Mittelalter," *Ibid.*, vol. LI (1931), pp. 1-29, 445-484. He bases nationality in the Middle Ages upon law, not upon language. It becomes very clear from his own examples that nationalism, as understood at present, was absent in the Middle Ages. Most of his examples are taken from Franz Guntram Schultheiss, *Geschichte des deutschen Nationalgefühls: Eine historisch-psychologische Darstellung* (Von der Urzeit bis zum Interregnum. Munich: G. Franz, 1893), vol. I. Other articles on nationalism in the Middle Ages include Albert Brackmann, "Der mittelalterliche Ursprung der Nationalstaaten," *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1936, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Abh. XIII, pp. 128-142, Joseph Déer, "Le sentiment national hongrois au moyen âge," *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* (Budapest) Nov., 1936.

See also G. G. Coulton, "Nationalism in the Middle Ages," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. V (1935), no. 1, pp. 15-40. To speak of "the ferocious nationalism of the Italian city-republics" (p. 29) is misleading. Coulton gives two interesting examples of early nationalistic feeling in Britain. Giraldus Cambrensis, a Welshman living about 1200, wrote of the English (*Opera*, III, 27): "The English in their own land are serfs to the Normans, and the vilest of serfs. In our own land [Wales] we have none but English as cowherds, shepherds, cobblers, carriers, mechanics, and dock-keepers, not to say scavengers of ordure. . . . In the German Empire whosoever any man seemeth to have committed some outrageous delinquency, whatever may be his nation, it is a vulgar proverb to say Intrigue Sax! that is Faithless Saxon!" This passage is proof only of a natural dislike of the Welsh for the English and of the vivid and witty gifts of a pamphleteer, when he found his ambitions to the See of St. David thwarted by the English Archbishop of Canterbury. Giraldus had a similarly low opinion of the Irish. He characterized them as "a most filthy people, utterly enveloped in vices . . . practising always treachery beyond all other races" (*Opera*, V, 164 f.).

On the nationalism of the Middle Ages, see also Marcel Handelsman, "Le Rôle de la nationalité dans l'histoire du Moyen Âge," *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, vol. II (1929), pp. 235-247. Handelsman says correctly (p. 235) that "ce n'est pas un patriotisme, embrassant toute une nation, formant la base psychique d'un état qu'il faut rechercher dans ce patriotisme spécifique de Moyen Âge."

In Germany, historians for political reasons have frequently judged the history of the Middle Ages from their modern nationalistic point of view. The famous discussion between Heinrich von Sybel and Julius Ficker in the years 1859 to 1862 opposed a so-called nationalistic policy, concentrated upon German colonization and conquest in the East, to the universal policy of the emperors which was naturally gravitating towards Rome. Sybel judged the past entirely from the outlook of modern Prussian politics. "Er und alle, die ihm folgten, übersahen, dass es im Jahre 919 und noch lange danach nichts gab, was man ein politisches deutsches Nationalbewusstsein nennen könnte" (Paul Joachimsen, *Vom deutschen Volk zum deutschen Staat: Eine Geschichte des deutschen Nationalbewusstseins*, 2nd ed. [Leipzig: Teubner, 1920], p. 15). Adolf Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* has strongly condemned the universal policy of the Middle Ages, and stressed the necessity of a policy of nationalistic expansion in the East for the German medieval nation. Since then the question has been very much in the foreground of German interest. See the comprehensive sur-

vey by Friedrich Schneider, *Neuere Anschauungen der deutschen Historiker zur Beurteilung der deutschen Kaiserpolitik des Mittelalters*, 2nd ed. (Weimar Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1936).

The medieval imperial idea on which the German Empire was founded was a universal idea, and could not be judged by any other standard. Even the expansion of Germany eastward was dominated by religious motives. Clara Redlich, *Nationale Fikage und Ostkolonisation im Mittelalter* (Rigaer volksthoretische Abhandlungen, vol. II [Berlin: H. R. Engelmann, 1934]), rightly points out that the antagonism in the East was not at that time the antagonism between Germans and Slavs or Germans and Lithuanians, but between Christians and non-Christians. In a review of her book (*Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CLIV [1936] pp. 96-103), Fritz Röhrig agrees that there was in the Middle Ages no modern national consciousness, no striving for a national state; but he believes that there was rather an unconscious acting out of the inner necessities of the Volkstum. In agreement with him is Erich Maschke, *Das Erwachen des Nationalbewusstseins im deutsch-slawischen Grenzraum* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933).

27. Ernst Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (Ergänzungsband, Quellen-nachweise und Exkurse [Berlin: Bondi, 1931]), p. 40.
28. Otto Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, vol. III, "Die Staats- und Korporationslehre des Altertums und des Mittelalters und ihre Aufnahme in Deutschland" (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), p. 517.
29. See Richard Wallach, *Das abendländische Gemeinschaftsbewusstsein im Mittelalter* (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, vol. XXXIV [Leipzig: Teubner, 1928]).
- 29a. Before the fifteenth century "there is no evidence of the slightest desire to favor national trade by protecting it from foreign competition." Pirenne, *Economic and Social History*, p. 92. "Right up to the time of the Commercial Revolution what may appear to us as national trade was not national, but municipal. The Hanse were not German merchants; they were a corporation of trading oligarchs, hailing from a number of North Sea and Baltic towns. Far from 'nationalizing' German economic life, the Hanse deliberately cut off the hinterland from trade. The trade of Antwerp or Hamburg, Venice or Lyons, was in no way Dutch or German, Italian or French. London was no exception. It was as little 'English' as Lubeck was 'German'." Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1944), p. 63.
30. Alexander Dove, "Der Wiedereintritt des nationalen Principes in die Weltgeschichte," *Ausgewählte Schriftchen* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1898). Dove glorified the Germans as reintroducing the nationalistic principle and putting an end to universalism and universal civilization. This attitude was typical of the German historical conception at the end of the nineteenth century. The young German barbaric tribes "saved" and "redeemed" by their nationalism the decrepit world of universalism. Dove's facts contradicted his thesis; he himself was astonished about Geiseric, the king of the Vandals. "Selbst vom germanischen Gemeingefühl ist er weit entfernt. Er hat Attila gegen die Westgoten über den Rhein gerufen." This was then only natural, and no cause for astonishment, as a Germanic common consciousness did not exist. Houston Stewart Chamberlain wrote in *The Foundations of the XIXth Century* (transl. from German original, London, 1913, vol. I, p. 321) that the Germans saved the world from the "mental barbarism of civilized mestizos" by "tough but pure noble races," and "agonizing humanity" "from the clutches of the everlasting bestial" (*Ibid.*, p. 495).
31. Orosius, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, Bk. VII, ch. 43 (transl. I. W. Raymond, Columbia Univ. Records of Civilization, no. 26—New York:

Columbia Univ. Press, 1936, p. 396). The German tribes had no recognition of the foundation of civilization, a universal moral law. "Der Weg der Germanen war nicht das Erlösungsbedürfnis—das kannten sie nicht. Auch nicht die Frage nach dem Sittengesetz—das trugen sie in sich als Wille zur tapferen Selbstbehauptung und zur Wahrung der Sippenehre," says Arnold Oskar Meyer, *Deutsche und Engländer* (Munich: Beck, 1937), p. 5.

32. At the revived pagan festival of the summer solstice in 1934, Alfred Rosenberg officially celebrated the memory of Duke Widukind by planting a memorial grove. This school of German historians regards the Saxons as the last defenders of true Germanic race and thought, and sees in their destruction and Christianization by Charlemagne the subjection of German race and culture to Western and Mediterranean dominion and civilization. Widukind is regarded as a true German, Charlemagne as a traitor under alien influences, and Adolf Hitler continues the work of Arminius and Widukind. See Erwin Rundnagel, "Der Tag von Verden," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CLVII, pp. 457 ff., and "Der Ursprung der gegenwärtigen Beurteilung Widukinds und Karls des Grossen," *Ibid.*, vol. CLX, pp. 90 ff. Alrcady Herder denied Charlemagne a place in German history (*Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Suphan, vol. XVIII, pp. 381 ff.). See also Gustav Neckel, *Das Schwert der Kirche und der germanische Widerstand* (Untersuchungen zur Germanenmission: Reden und Aufsätze zum nordischen Gedanken, 18) (Leipzig: Klein, 1934). Eight German scholars published a book to justify Charlemagne as a German nationalist *Karl der Grosse oder Charlemagne? Acht Antworten deutscher Geschichtsforscher* (Berlin: E. S. Mittler, 1935). But even here Carl Erdmann, in his chapter, "Der Name deutsch," admitted. "Freilich hatte Karl noch nicht die Absicht, ein deutsches Nationalbewusstsein zu schaffen, oder gar selbst ein Deutscher zu sein. Solche Vorstellungen lagen seiner gesamten Epoche noch fern." Strange is Friedrich Schneider's conclusion: "Im übrigen konnte Karl weder Franzose, wie die Franzosen wollen, noch Deutscher sein [as the Germans wish him to be], weil es zu seiner Zeit weder Franzosen noch Deutsche gab. Aber er selbst hätte keinen Augenblick gezögert, sich als Franke zu bekennen. Er ist Deutscher." (*Ibid.*, p. 14) How Charlemagne could be a German if at that time no Germans existed is a mystery which only nationalistic historiography can solve.

In reality Charlemagne started in 772 to conduct a cruel and long drawn-out war against the Saxons which lasted for about thirty years (and which led to the famous execution of 4,500 Saxons near Verden an der Aller in 782), for purely political and strategical reasons, to expand his kingdom eastwards and to protect its eastern frontier; and for religious reasons, to carry the civilization of Christianity into the pagan and barbaric East.

The Carolingian Renaissance was in no way influenced by any Germanic consciousness or feeling. Angilbert (740-814) spoke of the Carolingian reign as a *Roma secunda* and Muadwin characterized the epoch: "Rursus in antiquos mutataque secula mores, Aurea Roma iterum renovata renascitur orbi."

33. The claim of the Pope was based on Matthew 16:18 ff. See generally Albert Hauck, *Der Gedanke der päpstlichen Weltherrschaft bis auf Bonifaz VIII* (Leipzig: Edelmann, 1904).
34. The adversaries of the papal claim to universal domination regarded the donation of Constantine as the source of the whole evil. Dante bewailed not the conversion of Constantine, but his alleged donation (*Inferno*, XIX, 114-116):

Ahi, Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!

Walther von der Vogelweide expressed in a poem (probably in 1201) the same sentiments:

Kune Constantin der gap sô vil

"King Constantine gave too much . . . to the See in Rome . . . previously everything was good with Christendom and its discipline. Now poison has reached it . . . that will cause the world later much suffering." Konrad Burdach regarded Walther as a forerunner of the early Renaissance feeling, like Pierre Dubois and Cola di Rienzo. See his "Der historische und der mythische Walther," *Deutsche Rundschau*, Oct., Nov., 1902. But Karl Vossler remarked of Walther in *Die neuen Sprachen*, Apr., 1918: "Selbst in einem so national gestimmten Dichter wie Walther von der Vogelweide ist der römische Reichsgedanke lebendiger als der nationale Stolz."

The most important documents illustrating the claims of the papacy are to be found conveniently in Carl Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des Römischen Katholizismus*, 4th ed. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1924). See also A. J. and R. W. Carlyle, *History of Medieval Political Thought in the West*, vols. IV and V (London: Blackwood, 1922, 1928); Justus Hashagen, *Staat und Kirche vor der Reformation* (Essen: Baedeker, 1931); Carl Mirbt, *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1894).

35. Alexander Cartellieri, *Heinrich VI und der Höhepunkt der Staufischen Kaiserpolitik* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 18. See also Richard Schwemer, *Papsttum und Kaisertum: Universalhistorische Skizzen* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1899); Ernst Kantorowicz, *Frederick II*, transl. E. O. Lorimer (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1931).

Even as late as 1314 Frederick III of Sicily wrote in a letter to his brother, Jayme II: "Nihil est maius imperio, cui et subesse omnes reges et principes, nationes atque provincias nemini venit in dubium quodque ex solo Deo est nec sacerdotio provenit sicut nec sacerdotium ab imperio."

36. Some historians even trace Italian nationalism to the battle at Legnano in 1176 and to the Lombard League, the confederates of which bound themselves "to oppose any army from Germany or other land of the Empire beyond the Alps attempting to penetrate into Italy, and should such army nevertheless gain entrance to persevere in war till the said army be again expelled from Italy." This oath, out of its historical context, seems to prove the existence of national sentiment. A closer examination proves the opposite. "We must remember that the 'Italy' in question still extends no further than the valley of the Po, north of the Apennines. Only distant echoes of the struggle of northern Italy penetrated to Tuscany, and even in Lombardy the struggle was not between two nationalities but between feudal centralization and municipal independence. The struggle would have been as bitter if a native prince, the Marquis of Monferrat, for instance, or William the Good of Sicily, had set up similar pretensions in Lombardy. Other cities, such as Pavia, Lodi, and for a long time Cremona, or on the other side of the Apennines, Genoa, Pisa, and Pistoja, were no less Italian than the cities of the Lombard League, and yet they stood as persistently for the rights of the Emperor as the others did against them. In fact, the movement is so far from deserving the name of 'national' that the express condition under which the cities in the League more than once offered to make terms with the Emperor was the humiliation of a neighboring city with which they were at enmity, and during the thirteen years of Barbarossa's reign, after his reconciliation with the Pope, he kept on good terms with the Lombard cities, whereas the old hostility between Milan and Pavia, together with many similar feuds, continued with unabated violence." (Karl Witte, *Essays on Dante*, transl. and ed. C. Mabel Lawrence and Philip H. Wicksteed [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898], pp. 383-384.)

37. Hermann Grimm, *Neue Essays über Kunst und Literatur* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1865), p. 149.
38. His love for his mother-tongue in *Il Convivio*, I, 12; his complaint about the misery of Italy in *Purgatorio*, VI, 76-87. On Dante's relation to the mother-tongue see Leo Spitzer, "Muttersprache," *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht*, XXXVI (March, 1944), pp. 114-121.
39. *Epistola quinta*, the beginnings of secs. 1 and 2. In his seventh letter, which was addressed to Henry VII, he greeted him as the successor of Caesar and Augustus. See also *Purgatorio*, VI, 112-114.
 Vieni a veder la tua Roma che piagne,
 Vedova e sola, a di e notte chiama.
 Cesare mio, perchè non m'accompagne?
40. Wolfram von den Steinen, *Das Kaiserinn Friedrichs des Zweiten nach den Anschauungen seiner Staatsbriefe* (Berlin: Gruyter, 1922), p. 105. See Ernst Kantorowicz, *Friedrich the Second, 1194-1250*, transl. E. O. Lorimer (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1931).
 The last words quoted from Dante are the last words of the first book of *De Monarchia*, transl. F. J. Church in R. W. Church, *Dante* (London: Macmillan, 1879), p. 210. See also H. Grauert, *Dante und die Idee des Weltfriedens* (Munich: G. Franz, 1909); Fritz Kern, *Humana Civilitas: Eine Dante-Untersuchung* (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1913); Hans Kelsen, *Die Staatslehre des Dante Alighieri* (Vienna: F. Deuticke, 1905); F. Freiherr von Falkenhausen, "Dantes Staatsidee" *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch*, Bd. 19 (Weimar: H. Bohlhaus Nachf., 1937), pp. 47-60.
41. Ernst Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 f., 93 f.
42. Karl Lamprecht, "Geschichte der Formen des Nationalbewusstseins," in his *Deutsche Geschichte*, I. Abt., vol. I, 4th ed. (Freiburg i. B.: Heilmann Heyfelder, 1906), pp. 3-56. See also H. Finke, *Welthumanismus und nationale Regungen im späteren Mittelalter* (Freiburg i. B.: Speyer & Kaerner, 1916). Specific studies of German national feeling in the Middle Ages: Heinrich Ruckert, "Deutsches Nationalbewusstsein und Stammesgefühl im Mittelalter," in Friedrich Raumer, *Historisches Taschenbuch* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1861), pp. 339-404; Herbert William Carruth, "The Expression of German National Feeling from the Middle of the Tenth Century to Walther von der Vogelweide," in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, II (Boston: Ginn, 1893), pp. 127-154; Fritz Vigener, *Bezeichnungen für Volk und Land der Deutschen vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1901); Kurt H. T. Heissenbuttel, *Die Bedeutung der Bezeichnungen für Volk und Nation bei den Geschichtsschreibern des 10. bis 13. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1920); F. A. Schultheiss, *Geschichte des deutschen Nationalgefühls*, I. (to the Interregnum) (Munich, 1893).
43. "Die Geschichte des deutschen nationalen Bewusstseins verläuft auch nach dem Fall der Staufer durchaus in den alten Vorstellungen der Kaiserzeit. Ja, man darf sagen, je wesensloser in den Jahrhunderten bis zur Reformation das Kaisertum ward, je mehr die Reichsgewalt verfällt, desto wesenhafter und wichtiger im Leben der Nation wird die Reichs- und Kaiseridee." (Paul Joachimsen, *Vom deutschen Volk zum deutschen Staat: Eine Geschichte des deutschen Nationalbewusstseins* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1916], p. 26.) About the strength of the old world-imperial idea in modern Germany see Alfons Paquet, *Der Kaisergedanke* (Frankfurt a. M.: Rütten & Loening, 1915).
- 43a. See the important study of Hildegard Schaefer, *Moskau, das Dritte Rom. Studien zur Geschichte der politischen Theorien in der slavischen Welt* (Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1929). On early "nationalism" in the Slavic-Byzantine world see Roman Jakobson, "The Beginnings of National Self-Determination in Europe," *The Review of Politics*, VII (1945), pp. 29-42.

44. Edward H. R. Tatham, *Francesco Petrarca, the First Modern Man of Letters: His Life and Correspondence* (London: Sheldon Press, 1926), vol. II, p. 302. The translation of "Italia Mia" is by Barbarina Wilmot. The importance of exile for Dante and Petrarch was stressed by Konrad Burdach in *Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit* (Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, II Bd., I. Teil), (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913), Erste Hälfte, pp. 124 f. See also Marcell Handelsman, "System narodowo-polityczny Coli di Rienzo" in his *Rozwój narodowości nowoczesnej* (Warsaw: Gebethner & Wolff, 1924), pp. 33-123.
45. Burdach, *op. cit.*, p. 130. See also Mario Emilio Cosenza, *Francesco Petrarca and the Revolution of Cola di Rienzo* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1913), and especially Paul Piur, *Cola di Rienzo: Darstellung seines Lebens und seines Geistes* (Vienna: Seidel, 1931). Dr. Cosenza regards Petrarch from the point of view of the modern Italian patriot who sees in the great poet of the fourteenth century a forerunner of Italian nationalism.

Rienzo's incipient nationalism found its clearest expression in his letter to the Italian cities of Sept. 19, 1347 (Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur, *Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo* [Berlin: Weidmann, 1912], No. 41, p. 155): "Cupimus quidem antiquam unionem cum omnibus magnatibus et civitatibus sacre Ytalie et vobiscum firmius renouare, et ipsam sacram Ytaliā multo prostratam iam tempore, multis dissidiis laceratam hātenus et abiectam ab his, qui eam in pace et iustitia gubernare debebant, videlicet qui imperatoris et Augusti nomina assumpserunt, contra promissionem ipsorum venire, nomine non respondente effectui non verentes, ab omni sue abiectiois discrimine liberare et in statum pristinum sue antique glorie reducere et augere, ut pacis gustata dulcedine floreat per gratiam Spiritus Sancti melius quam unquam floruit inter ceteras mundi partes. Intendimus namque ipso Sancto Spiritu prosperante, elapso prefato termino Pentecosten per ipsum sacrum Romanum populum et illos, quibus electionis imperii voces damus, aliquem Ytalicum, quem ad zelum Ytalie digne inducat unitas generis et proprietas nationis, secundum inspirationem Sancti Spiritus, dignati ipsam sacram Ytaliā pie respicere, feliciter ad imperium promoueri, ut Augusti nomen, quod Romanus populus, (de consensu omnium), immo inspiratione diuina, nobis concessit et tribuit, obseruemus per gratas affectuum actiones. . . ."

The love of the exile Petrarch for Italy found moving expression in his *Eclogue VIII* when he saw the smiling plains of Italy: "I step forward, and I behold new valleys and fertile fields stretching far and wide, but, frequently turning my eyes back to my wonted fields, the lands on this side of the mountain begin to seem despicable to me, the western sky misty and stormy, and the stars themselves melancholy. At once I recognize the strong love of country calling aloud within me. On the farther side of the mountain the violets, moistened with dew, are of a paler tint of yellow; the roses emit a sweeter scent from the thickets, and grow to a deeper red, there, a more limpid stream—the stream of my fathers—flows through the meadows, and the crops of Ausonia have for me now a sweeter taste." (Cosenza, *op. cit.*, p. 170.)
- 46. This complete incomprehension of Rienzo's nationalism among the Italians of his time is shown by the fact that the outstanding biography of his life, written by a contemporary observer who recorded the most minute details, did not even mention the idea of the unification of Italy or of Italian nationalism as a dominant factor in Rienzo's activities. See Paul Piur, *op. cit.*, p. 223. See also Fedor Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1925); Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des Karolingerreiches bis zum Investiturstreit*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929).
- 47. From a letter of Petrarch to the Roman people, probably in 1353, as quoted

- by Cosenza, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 f. See also there pp. 200 f., where Petrarch based the preeminence of Rome upon the fact not only that it had been once queen of the world, but also that it was the city wherein God had set the cradle of the true faith, the Rock of his Church, and the supreme seat of Empire.
48. This power of assimilation of French civilization from the beginning is stressed by Camille Jullian, *De la Gaule à la France: Nos origines historiques* (Paris: Hachette, 1922), pp. 224 f.: "La fusion se faisait entre les populations disparates qui s'étaient répandues sur la Gaule au temps des invasions. J'imagine que parmi les Francs de Hugues Capet il y avait bien des petits-fils de Sarmates, de Goths, de Syriens, de Juifs même, car avec une politique habile et point de préjugés religieux on pouvait faire de tous les Juifs des Francs de langue, d'esprit et de caractère. Le sol, les mœurs et l'ambiance, l'atmosphère physique et morale de la France, agissaient sur ces êtres différents, et, au bout de deux ou trois générations à peine, ils donnaient naissance à des enfants de l'espèce que la Gaule avait formée depuis des siècles." The same power of assimilation triumphed in the case of the settlement of the Normans in Normandy, who soon "oublèrent leur affreux langage du Nord pour parler latin ou français." France proved herself stronger in the power of assimilation than the late Roman Empire. "C'est qu'il y avait dans cette Gaule bâtie pour l'unité, dans cette France nouvelle qui voulait durer, des fermentes de vitalité morale et d'entente humaine qui manquaient à l'Empire romain incohérent et vieilli."
49. See Fritz Kern, *Die Anfänge der französischen Ausdehnungspolitik bis zum Jahr 1308* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1910) (pp. 51 f.): "Wie noch viel später, so fehlte im Mittelalter ein allfranzösisches Nationalgefühl, das die durch Abstammung und Sprache Frankreich verbundenen Nachbarländer auch politisch der Monarchie zugänglich gemacht hätte. Während bereits die Versöhnung des stammfremden Sudens mit den nordfranzösischen Zwingherren so weit gediehen ist, dass Troubadours den Tod Ludwigs des Heiligen beweinen oder den Triumph der Lilie und der siegreichen Langue d'Oïl besingen, ist bei den Nordfranken benachbarten Romanen des Reiches, bei Städtern wie beim Adel oder der Geistlichkeit, kaum eine Spur Gemeinschaftsgefühles zu bemerken, das Philipps des Schönen Bestrebungen entgegengekommen wäre." See Dorothy Kirkland, "The Growth of National Sentiment in France before the Fifteenth Century," *History*, vol. XXIII, No. 89 (London, June, 1938), pp. 12-24.
50. See Hellmut Kämpf, *Pierre Dubois und die geistigen Grundlagen des französischen Nationalbewusstseins um 1300* (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Band 54) (Leipzig: Teubner, 1935). Dr. Kämpf also edited Petrus de Bosco (Pierre Dubois), *Summaria brevis et compendiosa doctrina felix expeditionis et abbreviacionis guerrarum ac litium regni Francorum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1936). Dubois called his *Summaria* an "opus factum gratis propter ardorem salutis totius rei publicae vestrique nominis [sc. regis] et regni superexaltationem." H. Finke, *Weltimperialismus*, etc., p. 62, Note 94, quoted a similar expression of sentiment: "Franciae Regnum iusticiae Basis est et Columna ac Unicum Fidei Stabilimentum." At the end of the first part of his *Summaria*, Dubois summarized the position of the French kings, conveniently and characteristically (*op. cit.*, pp. 109 f.): "... quod sit propter (1) profectionem honorem et incrementum fidei catholicae ac (2) superexaltationem eiusdem maiestatis et (3) eorum subditorum constanciam firmitatem et perseveranciam, que notabiliter sunt ceterarum nacionum et regnorum preferende, misericorditer concedat ille Deus exercituum ... ita quod (4) regnans in maiestate praecelsi regni Francorum et eius heredes suo clarissimo sanguine regali tam exorti quam oriundi successive perpetuo

- valeant (5) monarchiam, hoc est principatum universalem, (6) victatis guer-rarum et bellorum solitis dispendiis et periculis (7) pacifice gubernare.—Amen." Kämpf warned (p. 42): "Ganz allgemein muss bemerkt werden, dass stimmungsmässige Anklänge an recht neuzeitliche Erscheinungen nicht dazu verleiten dürfen, Jahrhunderte zu überspringen." On Pierre Dubois, see also Konrad Burdach, *op. cit.*, pp. 554 ff.
51. The consecration of the monarch and the sacred character of kingship had its origin in a combination of biblical, Roman, and Germanic traditions. Of special importance was the anointment of the king. Like the bishops, he was anointed with the sacred oil mixed with balm. According to tradition, the oil which was used for the anointment of the French kings, and which was preserved in the Cathedral of Rheims, had been brought by a dove to St. Remigius for the baptism of Clovis. This legend did much to strengthen the prestige of the kings of France and of the city of Rheims. The dukes and feudal lords in France were frequently much more powerful than the king, but none of them could be anointed. See Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *La Monarchie féodale en France et en Angleterre, X^e-XIII^e siècle* (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1933), pp. 22-26: "Le roi de France était roi unique et roi partout. Il était seul à posséder le titre prestigieux au-dessus duquel il n'y a que le nom de Dieu. De ce Dieu, il était le représentant, l'élu sur terre. Pareil à un Saül ou à un David, il avait reçu l'onction sainte. De sa justice on ne pouvait en appeler qu'à celle de Dieu." Cf. also Herbert Meyer, "Die Oriflamme und das französische Nationalgefühl," *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1930, pp. 95 ff.; Victor Martin, *Les Origines du gallicanisme*, 2 vols. (Paris: Blond et Gay, 1939).
52. Ernest Renan, *Études sur la politique religieuse du règne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1899), p. 8. See also Helene Wieruszowski, *Vom Imperium zum nationalen Königtum: Vergleichende Studien über die publizistischen Kämpfe Kaiser Friedrichs II und König Philipps des Schönen mit der Kurie* (Beiheft 30 of the *Historische Zeitschrift*) (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1933), p. 213, note 223; Richard Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz VIII* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1903).
53. The older literature on Pierre Dubois is reviewed by Walther I. Brandt in "Pierre Dubois: Modern or Medieval," *American Historical Review*, vol. XXXV (1930), pp. 507-521. Bede Jarrett in his *Social Theories of the Middle Ages, 1200-1500* (London, 1926), pp. 92 f., says of Pierre Dubois's *De Recuperatione*: "Its ideas seem to have sprung out of a man's brain and to have died with him, to have been the single effort of an independent thinker, without literary affinities or descendants." Brandt sees Dubois as a child of the thirteenth century, and even his nationalism (in so far as it can be called that) as medieval, although pronounced in a vehement form generally unknown until many centuries later.
54. See Hermann Heimpel, "Alexander von Roes und das deutsche Selbstbewusstsein des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, vol. XXVI (Leipzig: Teubner, 1936), pp. 19-60. See also Fritz Kern, "Der mittelalterliche Deutsche in französischer Ansicht," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CVII (1912), pp. 237-254.
55. See Andreas Posch, *Die Concordantia Catholica des Nikolaus von Cusa* (Veröffentlichungen der Gorres Gesellschaft, Sektion für Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft, vol. LIV) (Paderborn, 1930). Nicolaus Cusanus in National Socialist interpretation: Rudolf Odibrecht, *Nikolaus von Cusa und der deutsche Geist* (Berlin: Junker & Dunnhaupt, 1938); and Gerhard Kallen, *Nikolaus von Cusa als politischer Erzieher* (Leipzig: Meiner, 1938). But the "totality" for Cusanus was universal Christendom, and participation in the "organic whole"

- was to him participation in the spiritual world of Christ. On Germany on the eve of the Reformation, see Willy Andreas, *Deutschland vor der Reformation: Eine Zeitwende* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1932).
56. C. W. Previté-Orton, "Marsilius of Padua" (Annual Italian Lecture of the British Academy, 1935), *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XXI, (London: Humphrey Milford), p. 5. See also Georges de Lagarde, *La Naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge* (Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux: Béatrice, 1934), 2 vols. (vol. I, "Bilan du XIII^e siècle"; vol. II, "Marsile de Padoue, ou le premier théoricien de l'état laïque"); Felice Battaglia, *Marsilio de Padova e la filosofia politica del medio evo* (Florence, 1928); Ephraim Emerton, *The Defensor Pacis of Marsiglio of Padua* (Harvard Theological Studies, vol. VIII), (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920).
 57. See Otto Gierke, *op. cit.*, p. 635.
 58. *Defensor Pacis*, Dict. I, cap. xvii, pt. 10, ti. by C. W. Previté-Orton, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 f.
 59. *Ibid.* (Dict. III, cap. iii), p. 24.
 60. See Otto Gierke, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 627.
 61. "Die Kirche hat zur Bildung der Nationalstaaten unendlich viel beigetragen" (Leopold von Ranke, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. XLIII-XLIV, p. 24).
 62. See Heinrich Finke, "Die Nation in den spätmittelalterlichen Allgemeinen Konzilien," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres Gesellschaft* (Cologne, 1937), vol. LVII, No. 23, pp. 323-338; and George C. Powers, *Nationalism at the Council of Constance* (Catholic Univ. of America, 1927). On p. 59 Powers quotes from Theodore de Vrie, *Historia Concilii Constantiensis*, "Rectores sacri concilii, in quibus residet mundi totius sapientia, pro sanctae unionis fundamento, et horrendi schismatis extirpatione, totam congregationem primo in quatuor nationes diviserunt, videlicet Germanicam, Gallicam, Italianam et Anglicam." See also Louise R. Loomis, "Nationality at the Council of Constance," *American Historical Review*, vol. XLIV, No. 3, pp. 508-527. She quotes the following modern definition of nations from Hermann von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense Consilium* (Frankfurt, 1700), vol. V, p. 92, a document defending the right of the English to be considered as a nation equal to the French nation. "sive sumatur natio ut gens secundum cognationem et collectionem ab alia distincta, sive secundum diversitatem linguarum, quae maximam et verissimam probant nationem et ipsius essentiam, jure divino pariter et humano, ut infra dicetur, sive etiam sumatur natio pro provincia aequali etiam nationi Gallicanae, sicut sumi deberet." In spite of this modern argument, the English proposed to disregard nations and to divide Europe for purposes of conciliar representation into four geographical regions, arranging the divisions to fit English purposes. That the concept of "natio" had nothing whatsoever to do with the modern concept of nation, is pointed out by Otto Peterka in *Wirtschaft und Kultur, Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Alfons Dopsch* (Baden bei Wien: Rohrer, 1938) p. 655.
 63. For the controversy of the Hussite movement see Josef Pekař, *Zižka a Jeho Doba*, 4 vols. (Prague: Vesmír, 1927, 1928, 1930, 1933); Kamil Krofta, *Zižka a Husitská Revoluce* (Prague: Orbis, 1934). See also Kamil Krofta, "L'Aspect national et social du mouvement Hussite," *Le Monde slave*, vol. V, (Paris, 1928), pp. 321-351.
 64. The Czechs were saved from being subjugated by the Germans, a fate suffered by the Polabian Slavs, by the natural mountain frontiers surrounding Bohemia, and by the fact of their earlier Christianization.
On the relations between Czechs and Germans prior to the Hussite Wars, see Konrad Bittner, *Deutsche und Tschechen: Eine Geistesgeschichte des böhmischen Raumes*, vol. I (Brünn: Rohrer, 1936).
On the beginnings of the Germanization of the lands east of the Elbe, see the

scholarly treatise by Georg Wendt, *Die Germanisierung der Länder ostlich der Elbe* (Liegnitz, Reisnersche Buchhandlung, Part I [780-1137], 1884, Part II [1137-1181], 1889). More popular and more definitely "patriotic" is M. W. Heffter, *Der Weltkrieg der Deutschen und Slaven seit dem Ende des funften Jahrhunderts nach christlicher Zeitrechnung* (Hamburg and Gotha: Perthes, 1847); a vehemently aggressive book written in 1913 is H. Merbach, *Die Slawenkriege des deutschen Volkes: Ein nationales Hausbuch* (Leipzig: Dietrich, 1914).

Remnants of the original Slav population continued to be found in Germany into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; see the excellent survey for the beginning of the twentieth century by Franz Tetzner, *Die Slawen in Deutschland: Beitrage zur Volkskunde* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1920).

65. Very few sayings of Huss, however, can be interpreted in a national spirit. They are concerned mostly with the preservation of the Czech language and with the protection of the privileges of the natives against foreigners. On two different occasions Huss stressed the fact that he loved a good alien or a pious German more than his own brother who was less pious. See R. R. Betts, "Jan Hus," *History*, vol. XXIV, pp. 97-112 (Sept., 1939), with bibliography, and Matthew Spinka, *John Hus and Czech Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

In the later Middle Ages we find many expressions of antipathy between natives and foreigners, but there is no national ideology behind them. Heinz Zatschek has collected many passages from historians of the late Middle Ages which bear witness to this mutual aversion, in his *Das Volksbewusstsein: Sein Werden im Spiegel der Geschichtsschreibung* (Brunn: Rohrer, 1936). A Czech chronicler in the first half of the fourteenth century characterized the Germans as an "arrogant and deceitful people who everywhere force their way into the best positions. They arrive in the foreign country poor and modest, serve here as scribes, innkeepers and servants full of falsehood, until they have finally managed to get hold of everything, have penetrated into the council chambers, have sent the most precious goods, such as gold, silver, jewels, secretly like thieves, into their homeland, and in this manner plunder dry all countries. They are like wolves in a herd, like flies on food. With cunning, craftiness and falsehood the Germans ruin all lands. Why tolerate them in one's country? The German gets preference, the native is pushed back. The Germans should stay in their own land." Another author of the beginning of the fifteenth century speaks of the Germans as

Tovica Teutonica gens perfida, pestis iniqua,
verget in obliqua, nullius gentis amica.

66. The Slavonic peoples were at an early date conscious of the close similarity of their languages. The Czechs used to call themselves Slav-Czechs to distinguish themselves from the Germans who lived in Bohemia, for which the Czechs had only the one name *Cechy*, signifying at the same time the country of Bohemia and the majority nationality living there. There is a letter preserved from the fourteenth century which purports to have been written by an Italian notary living in Prague to the Polish princes, probably at the end of the thirteenth century in the time of the fight of the Czech King Přemysl Otakar II against Rudolf von Habsburg. It appeals to them to come to the help of Bohemia, not only on account of the common danger of German aggression, but on account of their common Slavic descent. But these very rare expressions of a Slav consciousness were confined to a few scholarly circles.
67. From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century the state in Central and Eastern Europe was based upon territorial unity and later upon the privileges of the estates, both without any regard to nationality or language. On Hungary, where the estates grew in importance from 1222 on when the Golden Bull of

King Andrew II legalized the usurpations of the great barons, see Józef Deér, "Die Anfänge der Ungarisch-Kroatischen Staatsgemeinschaft," *Archivum Europae Centroorientalis* (Budapest, 1936), vol. II, nos. 1, 2. The article ends "Die Besitznahme Slavoniens, Kroatiens und Dalmatiens ist demnach als eine typische Ausserung altungarischer Herrschaftsideologie und Praxis zu betrachten. Diese lehnte seit Stephan dem Heiligen den Gedanken eines Reiches unius linguae unusque moris ab und gründete das Dasein dieses Reiches anfangs auf eine geblutsrechtlich-theokratisch beglaubigte unbeschränkte königliche Macht, die über sprachlichen und ethnischen Unterschieden waltete, später aber auf ständische Vorrechte, die alle Nationalitäten ungestört genießen durften." On the national consciousness in Poland from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century see Oscar Halecki, *Das Nationalitäten-Problem im alten Polen* (Cracow, 1916) and Stanisław Kot, "Świadomość narodowa w Polsce w. XV-XVII," in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. LII (1938), no. 1, pp. 15-33, in which he discusses the growth of a unified Polish state or nationhood consciousness out of the Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and other ethnic elements. The first feelings of a Polish étatisme, very far removed from any nationalism, were expressed by humanists like the Canon Stanisław Orzechowski (1513-1566), who is reported to have characterized himself as "gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus," and later by Łukasz Opaliński (1612-1662), who wrote "Polonia defensa" in 1648, and by Szymon Starowolski (1588-1656), the author of "Declamatio contra obstructores Poloniae" and the "Lament Atropioney Matki Korony Polskiej."

In the fifteenth century the growing Burgundian state was starting to lay the foundations for the development of a Burgundian national consciousness. Historical events made impossible this development, based upon territorial unity under one dynasty. At a later period the religious wars divided the Burgundian legacy, and in these divided territories grew up the nationalities of the Netherlands and of Belgium. It is interesting to note that the linguistic frontier traversing Belgium has not changed for many centuries. Documents of the tenth century prove that the Walloon and Flemish languages were spoken in the same districts as today. "Mais, observation aussi intéressante qu'essentielle et qu'on ignore trop souvent: cette frontière linguistique n'a jamais influencé ni dominé la formation politique," Louis Franck, "La Nationalité Belge et le Mouvement Flamand," *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, Séance du 14 juin 1930, Compte rendu 1930, 2 semestre (Paris: Alcan), p. 492.

Language was generally not an element of political division or national consciousness before the end of the eighteenth century. The leading Flemish poet of the later Middle Ages, Jakob van Maerlant, in spite of his occasional emphasis on German and Flemish pride, felt himself definitely a part of the French nation and civilization. He wrote Flemish because he wrote for the Flemish-speaking middle classes of the Flemish cities, but neither he nor they felt any desire to cease to be a part of French civilization and form a national civilization of their own (Eugen Lemberg, *Wege und Wandlungen des Nationalbewusstseins: Studien zur Geschichte der Volkswerdung in den Niederlanden und in Böhmen* [Münster: Aschendorff, 1934], pp. 61 f.). Despite their Germanic language and descent, the Flemish were proud to belong to the crown of France, and though they fell within the German Empire their sympathies were with the crown and civilization of France. The Burgundian rule increased the predominance of French influence in the Netherlands. On the historical background of the nationalism in the Low Countries, see J. Huizinga, "Uit de Voorgeschiedenes van ons Nationaal Betef" in his *Tien Studien* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1926), pp. 1-79. At the end of the sixteenth century there was no national consciousness in the Netherlands. The religious wars united the seven northern provinces in their fight against

Spain, and in the first half of the seventeenth century Holland was distinguished by the flowering of a civilization which was then the most progressive in Europe. In their statehood, religious consciousness was predominant over national consciousness; the basis of their civilization was the unique social structure of the Netherlands, the first example of a middle-class civilization, a country of cities and traders, peasants and fishermen, without any important big estates. "In der ganzen Geschichte und Kultur Hollands nimmt der Reiter, der Mann zu Pferde, der Ritter, als soziologische Figur einen geringeren Raum ein als irgendwo sonst," J. Huizinga, *Hollandische Kultur des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts: Ihre sozialen Grundlagen und nationale Eigenart* [Jena: Diederichs, 1933], p. 8. At the end of the seventeenth century the national civilization of the Netherlands was completely overshadowed by the growing influence of French civilization.

G. Malengrau, *L'Esprit particulariste et la Révolution des Pays-Bas au 16^e siècle, 1578-1584* (Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux, 2^e série, vol. XXXVI, 1936), maintains that even during the revolution of the Netherlands there was no common consciousness among the provinces, which were still steeped in medieval territorialism.

68. See Ernest Denis, *Fin de l'Indépendance bohème*, vol. II (Paris: Armand Colin, 1890), p. 421.
69. Charles Seignobos, *The Evolution of the French People*, transl. Catherine Alison Phillips (New York: Knopf, 1932), p. 153.
70. An illuminating testimony on the character of the Hussite Wars and of Joan of Arc is contained in a letter which Joan wrote to the Hussites on March 23, 1430: "It is already some time since news and reports reached me of how you who have turned from true Christians into heretics and men similar to the Turks, of how you have destroyed the right religion and divine service . . . you destroy churches, smash and burn images made for saintly commemorations, and kill Christians because they do not have your faith. . . . It is you who are blind and not those who have no sight and eyes. Do you think that you will escape punishment? Don't you know that God does not hinder your criminal undertakings . . . so that he can prepare for you punishment and sufferings the greater the more you rage? . . . To say the truth if I were not occupied with the wars against the English, verily I would already have gone long ago to find you. But in truth, should I not hear that you have mended your ways, I will perhaps leave the English and proceed against you, so that I shall, if unable by other means, starve out by the sword your stupid and stubborn superstition and take away either your heresy or your life." (Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* [Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1908], vol. II, pp. 127 f.) In a letter written before the expedition to Orléans, Joan asked the English to unite with the French to fight the enemies of the Church. She spoke frequently of crusades against the Turks.
71. The thesis about the age and intensity of French nationalism before the eighteenth century in René Johannet, *Le Principe des Nationalités*, p. 33, seems based on an equivocal use of "national sentiment" and "nationalism." On early French nationalism see Ch. Lenient, *La Poésie patriotique en France au Moyen Age* (Paris: Hachette, 1891); Georges Guibal, *Histoire du sentiment national en France pendant la guerre de cent ans* (Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1875); Georges Grosjean, *Le Sentiment national dans la guerre de cent ans* (Paris: Bossard, 1928); Victor du Bled, "L'idée de patrie à travers les siècles: La France—Moyen Age et temps modernes," *Revue des deux mondes*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 329-360 (July 15, 1915). There is very little material of use for our subject in works like Jules d'Auriac, *La Nationalité française: Sa formation* (Paris: Flammarion, 1913), or Julien Benda, *Esquisse d'une histoire des Français dans leur volonté d'être une nation* (Paris: Gallimard, 1932). On the

- importance of kingship for the French state see Percy Ernst Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich* (Weimar: Hermann Bohlhaus Nachf., 1939); on sixteenth century political thought William Farr Church, *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth Century France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941).
72. Much valuable material on early French nationalism is contained in John M. Potter, *The Foundations of Renaissance Monarchy in France*, Harvard Ph.D. thesis, 1935.
73. The coronation oath of Charles V in 1364 promised "et superioritatem, jura et nobilitates coronae Franciae inviolabiliter custodiam et illa nec transportabo nec alienabo."
74. Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Firmin Didot & Cie., 1878), vol. III, pp. 62, 96. See also his "Sur Bertrand du Guesclin," vol. III, p. 100, and "Vision prophétique de l'Angleterre," vol. I, p. 315. Interesting also is his praise of Paris.
- C'est la cité sur toutes couronnée,
Fontaine et puis de sens et de clergie,
Sur le fleuve de Saine située:
Vignes, bois a, terres et prairie.
De touz les biens de ceste mortel vie
A plus qu'autres citez n'ont;
Tuit estrangier l'aiment et ameront,
Car, pour deduit et pour estre jolis,
Jamais cité tele ne trouveront.
Riens ne se puet comparer a Paris.
- Robert Blondel, *Œuvres* (Rouen, 1891-1893), vol. I, p. 135. Alain Chartier, *Œuvres*, ed. Duchesne, pp. 417, 410.
75. "For the first time in French history, deputies of all parts of France—save only Brittany, which remained still aloof—assembled in one place with the announced purpose of considering the affairs of the entire realm," says John M. Potter (*op. cit.*, pp. 209 f.) of the Estates General of 1484. Some of the characteristic passages of the opening speech by Guillaume de Rochefort are "... ut primo quae totius regni bonum, regisque personam respiciunt, tractentur, dehinc provinciarum, post civitatum et singularum personarum: nec has misceatis, oro, materias"; and "De ejus vero cultorum praeclaris populi que virtutibus ausim affirmare Gallos caritate, honestate, urbanitate, munditia caeteris praecellere gentibus."
76. See A. Aulard, *Le Patriotisme français de la Renaissance à la Revolution* (Paris: Etienne Chiron, 1921), p. 14. When Joachim du Bellay spoke in his *Deffence et illustration* (1549) of "l'affection naturelle envers ma patrie," Charles Fontaine objected that *patrie* was a superfluous neologism for *pays*. This new word expressed a new way of loving France, writes Aulard, "une manière de l'aimer comme les Athéniens aimaient Athènes ou comme les Romains aimaient Rome. L'humanisme restaure, en s'appliquant à notre pays, le patriotisme antique." Michelet in his *Histoire de France* (Paris: A. Lacroix, new ed., 1876), vol. IX, p. 67, says of the sixteenth century, "Le génie de chaque nation, qui est surtout dans sa langue, révélait, par de timides tentatives, par un premier bégayement, ce mystère d'unité: Patrie!" See Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, "Le Sens des mots 'patria' et 'patrie' en France, au moyen âge et jusqu'au debut du XVII^e siècle," *Revue Historique*, vol. CLXXXVIII (Janvier-mars 1940), pp. 89-104.
- For discussion in the text see especially Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1906), vol. II, *Le Seizième Siècle*, chaps. 3 and 4; and A. Darmesteter and Adolphe Hatzfeld, *Le Seizième Siècle en France: Tableau de la littérature et de la langue* (Paris: Delagrave, 1923).

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. On the Renaissance see B. Groethuysen's article, "Renaissance," in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. XIII, and the bibliography given there, also the effort at synthesis by Heinrich Schaller, *Die Renaissance* (Munich: Reinhardt, 1935), Pierre Mesnard, *L'Essor de la philosophie politique au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Boivin, 1936); J. Huizinga, "Het Problem der Renaissance" in his *Tien Studien* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1926), pp. 289-344, H. Hefele, "Zum Begriff der Renaissance," in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIX (1929), pp. 444 ff., regards the Renaissance as an expression of the national awakening of Italy between the expulsion of the Germanic invasion and the beginning of the Franco-Spanish invasion. He finds the origin of the Renaissance in a fusion of the awakening national consciousness with the democratic consciousness of the *Guelfismo popolare* (p. 456). It is more characteristic that Jacob Burckhardt in his *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* devotes only a very brief paragraph to Italian patriotism in that period, at the end of his first chapter on the Renaissance State.
2. On the Reformation see the extensive bibliography given in H. Richard Niebuhr's article in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. XIII. Ernst Troeltsch rightly pointed out that the system of national churches of Protestantism has "no connection whatever with the principle of nationality. This contributed, no doubt, to the concentration of power in the hands of the central authorities, but the principle of nationality was the product of two completely modern, though in some respects contrasted, forces—the democratic awakening of the masses and the romantic idea of the national spirit." (*Protestantism and Progress: A Historical Study of the Relation of Protestantism to the Modern World*, transl. W. Montgomery [London: Williams & Norgate, 1912], p. 127.)
3. "Der Ursprung des Ausdrucks [*sc.* humaniora] führt übrigens wohl in die gelehrte Sphäre des Bibliothekars: man schied die gesamte Masse der Bücher ihrem wesentlichen Inhalt nach in Divina (d. h. Theologisches) und Humaniora (Weltliches). Wie weit indessen und seit wann in dem Ausdruck der spezifische Sinn des 'Edelmenschlichen,' 'Personlich-Freien' lebt aus dem Gedankenreich des Panaitios-Scipio-Cicero . . . bleibt zu untersuchen." (Konrad Burdach, *Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus* [Berlin: Gehr. Paetel, 1920], p. 199.)
4. On Erasmus see J. Huizinga, "Erasmus über Vaterland und Nationen," *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Basel: Braus-Riggenbach, 1936), pp. 34-49, and the concluding pages of *The Education of a Christian Prince*, transl. Lester K. Born (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 254-257. See also *Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Hajo Holborn (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1933); Rudolf Pfeiffer, *Humanitas Erasmi* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1931); Ferdinand Geldner, *Die Staatsauffassung und Fürstenlehre des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Berlin: Ebering, 1930); and Hedwig Hintze, "Der nationale und humanitäre Gedanke in der Renaissance," *Euphorion*, vol. XXX (1929), pp. 112-137. Erasmus thought that a unitarian monarchy like that proposed by Dante would be ideal, but that under existing conditions the best approximation would be "moderata imperia, christianis foederibus inter se connexa." Erasmus stressed

many times the fact that the earth is the common fatherland of all men, but he loved France above all, her deep-seated devotion to learning, her refined ways of life, her spirit of concord and harmony. Montaigne held similar views. A cosmopolitan through and through, he loved Paris not because it was French, but because it was the unique city. The following passage is characteristic of his Renaissance attitude and independence of spirit:

"Je ne veulx pas oublier cecy, Que ie ne me mutine iamais tant contre la France, que ie ne regarde Paris de bon œil: elle a mon cœur dez mon enfance; et m'en est advenu, comme des choses excellentes; plus i'ay vue, depuis, d'autres villes belles, plus la beauté de cette cy peult et gaigne sur mon affection; ie l'aime par elle mesme, et plus en son estre seul, que rechargée de pompe estrangiere; ie l'aime tendrement, iusques à ses verrues et à ses taches: ie ne suis François que par cette grande cité, grande en peuples, grande en felicité de son assiette; mais surtout grande et incomparable en variété, et diversitez de commoditez, la gloire de la France, et l'un des plus nobles ornements du monde. Dieu en chasse long nos divisions! Entiere et unie, ie la treuve deffendue de toute aultre violence: ie l'advise, que de tous les partis, le pire sera celui qui la mettra en discord; et ne crains pour elle, qu'elle mesme; et crains pour elle, autant certes que pour aultre piece de cet estat. Tant qu'elle durera, ie n'auray faulte de retraicte où rendre mes abbois, suffisante à me faire perdre le regret de tout'aultre retraicte.

"Non parce que Socrates l'a dict, mais parce qu'en verité c'est mon humeur, et à l'aventure non sans quelque excez, l'estime tous les hommes mes compatriotes; et embrasse un Polonois comme un François, postposant cette liaison nationale à l'universelle et commune. Je ne suis gueres fœu de la douceur d'un air naturel. les cognoissances toutes neufves et toutes miennes me semblent bien valoir ces aultres communes et fortuites cognoissances du voisinage; les amitez pures de nostre acquest emportent ordinairement celles ausquelles la communication du climat, ou du sang, nous joignent. Nature nous a mis au monde libres et desliés; nous nous emprisonnons en certains destroits, comme les roys de Perse, qui s'obligeoient de ne boire iamais aultre eau que celle du fleuve de Choaspez, renonceoient, par sottise, à leur droict d'usage en toutes les aultres eaux, et asseichoient, pour leur regard, tout le reste du monde. Ce que Socrates feit sur sa fin, d'estimer une sentence d'exil pire qu'une sentence de mort contre soy, ie ne seray, à mon advis, iamais ny si cassé, ny si estroictement habitué en mon pais, que ie le feisse: ces vies celestes ont assez d'images que l'embrasse par estimation plus que par affection; et en ont aussi de si eslevees et extraordinaires, que, par estimation mesme, ie ne les puis embrasser, d'autant que ie ne les puis concevoir: cette humeur feut bein tendre à un homme qui iugeoit le monde sa ville; il est vrai qu'il desdaignoit les peregrinations, et n'avoit gueres mis le pied hors le territoire d'Attique. Quoy? qu'il plaignoit l'argent de ses amis a desengager sa vie; et qu'il refusa de sortir de prison par l'entremise d'aultruy, pour ne desobeir aux loix en un temps qu'elles estoient d'ailleurs si fort corrompues. Ces exemples sont de la premiere espece pour moy; de la seconde, sont d'autres que ie pourrais trouver en ce mesme personnage: plusieurs de ces rares exemples surpassent la force de mon action, mais aucuns surpassent encores la force de mon iugement." (Montaigne, *Essais*, livre III, chap. 9 (Paris: Hachette, 1860), pp. 618, 619.)

5. On the historiography of the Renaissance see Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1936), pp. 9-136.
6. Corio compared the capture of Milan by the French to the conquest of the Lombards by Charlemagne. He saw Charlemagne as a forerunner of Charles VIII, who also wished to subject Italy to French domination. Only he had

done it in a more prudent way, for he knew "quanto fusse implacabile la naturale e continua inimicitia ch'era tra il nome italiano e francese; . . . temeva ancora la rebellione di populi, li quali molestamente supportano la Gallica superbia, per ilchè più volte il loro fine è stato sanguinolente, in tal forma che Italia s'è attribuito essere stata di continuo la sepultura de' Galli." (Eduard Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 46.)

7. The other great Florentine historian, Francesco Guicciardini, was devoid even of Florentine patriotism. See Fueter, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 76. Machiavelli was called by Burckhardt "ein Patriot im strengsten Sinne des Wortes" (*Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, 2nd ed. [Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1863], p. 69). On Machiavelli see Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 63, Pasquale Villari, *The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli*, new ed., transl. Linda Villari, 2 vols. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892); and H. Butterfield, *The Statecraft of Machiavelli* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1940). A complete bibliography on Machiavelli is contained in Achille Norsa, *Il Principio della forza nel pensiero politico di Niccolò Machiavelli, seguito da un contributo bibliografico* (Milan: Hoepli, 1936). Norsa regards Machiavelli as the first Italian nationalist; but he overlooks entirely the twofold meaning of the word *patria*, which most frequently meant the Florentine state and only occasionally the united Italy. Norsa regards the principle of force as the starting point and end in the system of political philosophy developed by Machiavelli.

Machiavelli, however, was an adherent of republics, of constitutions based upon liberty. His *Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio* are based on a realistic appreciation of the value of liberty and of the superiority of republics over monarchies or tyrannies. Like patriots of the eighteenth century, he emphasized the fact that the commonweal is observed nowhere except in republics. "E facil cosa è conoscere donde nasca ne' popoli questa affezione del vivere libero, perchè si vede per esperienza, le città non avere mai ampliato nè di dominio nè di ricchezza, se non mentre son state in libertà. E veramente meravigliosa cosa è a considerare, a quanta grandezza venne Atene per spazio di cento anni, poichè la si liberò dalla tirannide di Pisistrato. Ma sopra tutto meravigliosissima cosa è a considerare, a quanta grandezza venne Roma, poichè la si liberò da' suoi Re. La ragione è facile ad intendere, perchè non il bene particolare, ma il bene comune è quello che fa grandi le città. E senza dubbio, questo bene comune non è osservato se non nelle repubbliche." (*Op. cit.*, bk. II, chap. 2 [Florence: Le Monnier, 1901], p. 142.) See also the remarkable chap. 10 of bk. I, which lauds the founders of a republic or of a just kingdom and vituperates the founders of a tyranny. "Nientedimeno, dipoi, quasi tutti, ingannati da un falso bene e da una falsa gloria, si lasciano andare, o volontariamente o ignorantemente, ne' gradi di coloro che meritano più biasmo che laude; e potendo fare, con perpetuo loro onore, o una repubblica o un regno, si volgono alla tirannide: nè si avveggon per questo partito quanta fama, quanta gloria, quanto onore, sicurtà, quiete, con soddisfazione d'animo, e fuggono; e in quanta infamia, vituperio, biasimo, pericolo e inquietudine incorrono. Ed è impossibile che quelli che in stato privato vivono in una repubblica, o che per fortuna o virtù ne diventano principi, se leggessino l'istorie, e delle memorie delle antiche cose facessero capitale, che non volessero quelli tali privati, vivere nella loro patria piuttosto Scipioni che Cesari. . . . Nè sia alcuno che si inganni per la gloria di Cesare, sentendolo, massime, celebrare dagli scrittori: perchè questi che lo laudano, sono corrotti dalla fortuna sua, e spauriti dalla lunghezza dello imperio, il quale reggendosi sotto quel nome, non permetteva che gli scrittori parlassero liberamente di lui. Ma chi vuole conoscere quello che gli scrittori liberi ne direbbono, vegga quello che dicono di Catalina. E tanto è più detestabile Cesare, quanto più è da

biasimare quello che ha fatto, che quello che ha voluto fare un male. . . . Consideri ancora quello ch'è diventato principe in una repubblica, quante laudi, poichè Roma fu diventata principe in una repubblica, quante laudi, poichè Roma fu diventata imperio, meritavano più quelli imperadori che vissero sotto le leggi e come principi buoni, che quelli che vissero al contrario: e vedrà come a Tito, Nerva, Traiano, Adriano, Antonino e Marco, non erano necessari i soldati pretoriani nè la moltitudine delle legioni a difenderli, perchè i costumi loro, la benivolenza del Popolo, lo amore del Senato gli difendeva." (*Ibid.*, pp. 35 f.) This book, replete with the realistic wisdom of the statesman and the political thinker, contains the remarkable plea for democracy which asserts that the people are wiser and more constant than a prince and rejects the contrary opinion with the words: "Ma la oppinione contra ai popoli nasce perchè de' popoli ciascuno dice male senza paura e liberamente, ancora mentre che regnano de' principi si parla sempre con mille paure e mille rispetti." Bk. I, chap. 58, *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Machiavelli's attitude towards the Roman Church is expressed in bk. I, chap. 12, of his *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius*, where he says: "Since some are of the opinion that the welfare of Italy depends upon the Church of Rome, I desire to put forward certain arguments . . . against that view, and shall adduce two very strong ones, which, to my mind, admit of no answer. The first is, that, through the ill example of the Roman Court, the country has lost all religious feeling and devoutness, a loss which draws after it infinite mischiefs and disorders. . . . To the Church therefore, and to the priests, we Italians owe this first debt, that through them we have become wicked and irreligious. And a still greater debt we owe them for what is the immediate cause of our ruin, namely, that by the Church our country is kept divided. . . . The Church is the sole cause why Italy . . . is subject to no one king or commonwealth." (*Discourses*, transl. Ninian Hill Thomson [London: Kegan Paul, 1883].) Machiavelli's views on the corruption of Italy can be found in the *Discourses*, bk. I, chaps. 17, 18; his insistence upon not considering moral issues when the existence of a country is at stake, in bk. III, chap. 41, which is entitled "That Our Country Is to Be Defended by Honor or Dishonor: and in Either Way Is Well Defended."

8. George Saintsbury in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. XI, p. 122. Michelet, *op. cit.*, p. 367, says of Rabelais that because of him "la langue française apparut dans une grandeur qu'elle n'a jamais eue ni avant ni après. On l'a dit justement: ce que Dante avait fait pour l'Italien, Rabelais l'a fait pour notre langue."
9. See Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris: Hachette, 1911), vol. V, pp. 143, 165. See also A. Renaudet, *Préface et Humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie, 1494-1517* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1916); and William Harrison Woodward, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1906).
10. As late as 1572 Ronsard started his famous *Franciade* with the generally accepted legend of the descent of the French kings from Francion, the son of Hector of Troy:

Muse, enten-moy des sommets de Parnasse,
Guide ma langue et me chante la race
Des rois françois yssus de Francion
Enfant d'Hector, Troyen de nation, . . .
De ce Troyen conte-moy les travaux,
Guerres, desseings, et combien sur les eaux

Il a de fois (en despit de Neptune
Et de Junon) surmonté la fortune
Et sur la terre eschappe des peris,
Ains que bastir les grands murs de Paris.

11. When the Peace Treaty of Madrid in 1526 ceded Burgundy to Charles V, the Estates protested against their separation from France. Francis I in the ensuing controversy uttered the words: "Il est fondé en droit qu'on ne peut nulles villes ou provinces contre la volonté des habitants et sujets transferer en autre, sinon par leur consentement expres." But no conclusion should be drawn from isolated remarks like these which are in contradiction to the whole policy of Francis I and his time. The same applies to the speech of Henry IV in 1601 to the representatives of his new subjects of Bresse and Gex. "Il était raisonnable que puisque vous parlez naturellement français, vous fussiez sujets à un roy de France. Je veux bien que la langue espagnole demeure à l'Espagnol, l'allemande à l'Allemand, mais toute la française doit être à moi."

According to Henry Hauser, *Le Principe des nationalités: Ses origines historiques* (Paris Alcan, 1916), the word "patriot" was first used in its modern sense in 1578 in a pamphlet published in Flanders, "Lettre d'un bon patriot aux bons patriots"—a meaning which the word regained only in the eighteenth century. François Froumentau used the word in his *Le Secret des Finances* in 1580 in the meaning of "friend of the people," as it was later frequently used in 1789.

Among the isolated patriots of the second half of the sixteenth century should be mentioned Guillaume du Vair, François de la Noue, the authors of the famous *Satire Menippée*, Loys Le Roy and Michel l'Hôpital. See also Robert Garnier, "Hymne de la Monarchie" (1567), which ends:

Que d'un cœur indomtable il guide ses phalanges
Jusque aux derniers sablons des rivages étranges.
Que de ce bord icy jusques au bord indoys,
Il face bourgonner la gloire des François,
Laissant de race en race aux siens assugétie
De ce terrestre rond l'habitable partie

Robert Garnier, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Lucien Pinvert (Paris Garnier Frères, 1923), vol. II, p. 422.

On the cosmopolitan, and at the same time differentiating spirit of the French Renaissance, see Geoffroy Atkinson, *Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance française* (Paris E. Droz, 1935). On Bodinus see A. Garosci, *Jean Bodin Politica e diritto nel Rinascimento francese* (Milan A. Corticelli, 1934), and Elisabeth Feist, *Weltbild und Staatsidee bei Jean Bodin* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1930).

12. The theory that supreme obedience is due to the king emerged only slowly in the sixteenth century out of the confusing maze of medieval and feudal loyalties, local rights, and privileges. The new conception of the nation-state which centered around the king comprised the supreme and even exclusive right of the king to legislate, to dispense justice, to impose taxation, and to make war. When Charles du Moulin wrote in his *Commentarii in Consuetudines Parisienses* (1539) that "omnes subditi magis sunt clientes et homines Regis, quam cuiusvis alterius, etiam proprii domini," he stated a new principle. The vassals of the feudal lords, he said, were not obliged to follow their lords in private warfare, but only "in bello publico pro servitio regis et communi bono totius reipub. Franciae." But in 1614 Pierre de L'Hommeau could state in his *Les Maximes generales du droit françois*: "En France il appartient au Roy

- seul à faire loix, edicts, et ordonnances, et quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem; et quand le Roy de France fait des edits il peut dire, sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas car la Loy ne depend que du seul Prince souverain." See William Farr Church, *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth Century France* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1941), pp. 190 ff., 334.
13. On German nationalism at the end of the Middle Ages see Hermann Zeydel, *The Holy Roman Empire in German Literature* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1918); Cl. Lugowski, "Volkstum und Dichtung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Bildung*, 1936, Heft 12; Joachim Walzer, *Nationale Strömungen in Deutschland am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Weida i. Thür.: Thomas & Hubert, 1929); Adolf Diehl, "Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CLVI (1937), pp. 457-484; Joachim Wagner, "Aeusserungen des deutschen Nationalgefühls am Ausgang des Mittelalters," *Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft*, vol. IX, pp. 390 ff.; Albert Werninghoff, "Der Begriff Deutsche Nation in Urkunden des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, vol. XI (1908), pp. 184 ff.; Emil Meynen, *Deutschland und Deutsches Reich. Sprachgebrauch und Begriffswesenheit des Wortes Deutschland* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1935); Walther Müller, "Deutsches Volk und deutsches Land im späteren Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des nationalen Namens," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXXXII (1925), pp. 450-465. On German nationalism in general at the beginning of modern times see Paul Joachimsen, *Der deutsche Staatsgedanke von seinen Anfängen bis auf Leibniz und Friedrich den Grossen: Dokumente zur Entwicklung* (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1921).
 14. Well known are the passages in Luther's *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estates*, transl. C. A. Buchheim in the *Harvard Classics*, vol. XXXVI (New York: Collier, 1910): "I do not see many good manners that have ever come into a land through commerce" (p. 348), and "All I know is that it were much more godly to encourage agriculture and lessen commerce" (p. 349).
 15. "Das Luthertum ist dem Absolutismus politisch förderlich, im übrigen aber wesentlich konservativ und politisch apathisch," whereby it "den privilegierten Ständen und ihrem Herrschaftsbezirk die gleiche Stellung als gottverordnete Obrigkeit zuweist und ihnen den Anspruch auf leidenden Gehorsam zuerkennt" Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der modernen Welt*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1924), p. 57. See also Georg Jäger, "Die politischen Ideen Luthers und ihr Einfluss auf die innere Entwicklung Preussens," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. CXIII (1903), pp. 210-275; Gerhard Ritter, "Die Ausprägung deutscher und westeuropäischer Geistesart im konfessionellen Zeitalter," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXLIX (1933-34), pp. 240-252; Eduard Heimann, "The Great Gulf Between Germany and the West," *Christendom*, vol. V, no. 3 (Summer, 1940), pp. 332 ff.; Harris Harbison, "Will Versus Reason: The Dilemma of the Reformation in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Bible and Religion*, vol. IX, pp. 203-216 (Nov., 1941). Cf. also: "Luther's soul was a battleground between the primitive Christian and the primitive German, and the latter generally remained in possession of the field" (Alfred Cobban, *The Crisis of Civilization* [London: Cape, 1941], p. 207).
 16. Calvin, *Institutiones*, bk. IV, chap. 20, sec. 32. Luther, *Weimarer Ausgabe. Tischreden*, vol. I, No. 932.
 17. Martin Bucer quoted by Ernest Barker, "The Reformation and Nationality," *Modern Churchman*, vol. XXII (1932), p. 339. For Calvin, Christ was no "novus legislator" but a "fidus interpres." See Hans Baron, *Calvinus Staatsauffassung und das konfessionelle Zeitalter* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1924),

especially p. 67; and Robert Henry Murray, *The Political Consequences of the Reformation Studies in Sixteenth Century Political Thought* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1926). On Calvin generally see Carew Hunt, *Calvin* (London: Centenary Press, 1933); Renato Freschi, *Giovanni Calvino* (Milan: A. Corticelli, 1934).

Calvin extended his opposition to a universal monarchy also to the Sacerdotium: "Verum sit sane, ut volunt, bonum atque utile, orbem totum monarchia una continere (quod est tamen absurdissimum, sed ita sit), non tamen propterea concedam, id ipsum in ecclesiae gubernatore valere" (*Institutio*, bk. IV, chap. 6, sec. 9; *Corpus Reformatorum*, XXX, 817). The leading theorists of the Counter-Reformation adhered to the monarchical unity of the Church, but abandoned the secular unity of the Imperium and recognized the multitude of independent states. Suarez wrote in his *Defensio Fidei* (bk. III, chap. 5, sec. 11): "At congregatio Ecclesiae licet fit unum corpus spirituale seu mysticum Christi, et in hoc genere habeat fidei, baptismatis, et capitis unitatem, non tamen est unita in ratione unius politicae congregationis, sed in se continet varia regna et respublicas, quae in politico genere nullam inter se habent unitatem."

18. Albert Werninghoff, *Nationalkirchliche Bestrebungen im Mittelalter* (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen, herausgegeben von Ulrich Stutz, Heft LXI) (Stuttgart, 1910), pp. 106 f.
19. On humanist historiography see Eduard Fueter, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-200. Fueter stresses the fact that historiography in Germany remained on the medieval level even during the humanist period, and that historical criticism was less developed there than in any other country: "Es lag nahe, dass die deutschen Humanisten das, was ihnen an Originalität fehlte, durch nationales Pathos und Polemik gegen ihre Lehrmeister zu ersetzen suchten. . . . Die deutschen Humanisten wussten es nur zu gut, dass ihre italienischen Standesgenossen mit ihrer Verachtung der ausländischen Bildung im Grunde recht hatten. Aber sie durften dies vor der Öffentlichkeit nicht zugeben. Sie konnten ihr böses Gewissen nicht anders als durch forciertes Selbstlob, durch künstliche Übertreibungen betäuben." Some of the historical writings of German humanists are now easily accessible in Emil von Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner im Kampf um die ältere Geschichte des Elsass* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1926); Conradus Celtis Protucius, *Quatuor Libri Amorum secundum latera Germaniae, etc.*, ed. Felicitas Pindter (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934); *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, ed. Hans Rupprich (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1934); Johannes Aventinus, *Bayerische Chronik*, ed. Georg Leidinger (Jena: Diederichs, 1926). Of other works see especially Paul Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus*, Part I (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1910), and "Tacitus im deutschen Humanismus," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc.*, vol. XIV (1911), pp. 700 ff., and "Der Humanismus und die Entwicklung des deutschen Geistes," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift, etc.*, vol. VIII (1930), pp. 419 ff.; Ernst Voss, "Two Alsatian Patriots of the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of English and German Philology*, vol. XX (1921), pp. 502-512; Josef Knepper, *Nationaler Gedanke und Kaiseridee bei den elsässischen Humanisten* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1898); Gerhard Ritter, "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung des deutschen Humanismus," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXXVII (1923), pp. 393 ff.; Ulrich Paul, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Nationalbewusstseins im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation* (Historische Studien, Heft 298) (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1936), which establish the great influence of Italian writers on the German humanists. Werner Kaegi in a review of the book (*Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXXII [1920], p. 137) rightly points out that "Nationalbewusstsein ist nicht alles, was Interesse für die eigene Vergangenheit heisst. Vieles, was bei Paul registriert

wird, ist in Wirklichkeit nicht nationales, sondern territorial-staatliches, landschaftliches Bewusstsein. . . . Anderes, wie die Erinnerung an die germanische Vorzeit, ist an sich nicht nationales, sondern allgemein historisches Bewusstsein. . . . Die wahre Sachlage spürt der Verfasser selbst, wenn er auf Seite 115 sagt: Ein rein nationales, oder dem deutschen Volke und Vaterland zugewandtes Denken gab es damals nicht." See also L. Sponagel, *Konrad Celtes und das deutsche Nationalbewusstsein* (Bühl, Baden: Konkordie, 1939—Heidelberg thesis), Adalbert Horawitz, "Nationale Geschichtsschreibung im 16. Jahrhunderte," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. XXV (1871), pp. 66-101; Walther Köhler, "Der deutsche Reichsgedanke bei den Humanisten und Luther," *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft*, vol. XIII (1937), no. 2, pp. 101-117; Hans Baron, "Zur Frage des Ursprungs des deutschen Humanismus und seiner religiösen Reformbestrebungen," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXXXII (1925), pp. 413 ff. Joseph Schlecht, "Zur Geschichte des erwachenden deutschen Bewusstseins," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XIX (1898), pp. 351-358, cites an interesting example of national feeling among the Italian and German humanists. The universalist and imperialist character of German humanist nationalism is well characterized by Richard Scholz, "Krisis und Wandlungen des Reichsgedankens am Ausgang des Mittelalters," *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft*, vol. XIII (1937), no. 1, p. 39 "Das deutsche Volk, das adeligste der Welt, von Gott auserwählt zur Würde des Imperiums, das Kaisertum von überirdischem Glanz umstrahlt, bestimmt zur Erlösung der Menschheit von Unfrieden und Sünde, darum notwendig die Verdeutschung der gesamten Welt, auch der romanischen Völker, unter der Oberhoheit des deutschen Kaisers, das sind die ausschweifenden, überschwänglichen Phantasien, die hier, an der Schwelle der Neuzeit, sich an die Reichsidee heften. . . . In Luther verdichtete sich für viele die Hoffnung auf die Zukunft der Reichen. Luther selbst war erfüllt von dem Reichsgedanken in all seiner mittelalterlichen Erhabenheit. . . . Ein protestantisches Kaisertum hätte die Einheit der abendländischen Christenheit unter deutscher Führung erhalten sollen. . . . dann wären die Hoffnungen und Wünsche der deutschen Imperialisten erfüllt worden."

One of these fantastic writings by an unknown Alsatian humanist, a contemporary of Emperor Maximilian I, is characterized by A. Doren, "Wunschräume und Wunschzeiten," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1924-1925* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1925), p. 160, note 3. "Die chiliastischen Hoffnungen auf einen die Erlösung bringenden Kaiser Friedrich, wie sie damals gerade am Oberrhein lebendig waren, verbinden sich bei dem einstweilen noch nicht identifizierten Verfasser mit den nationalen Tendenzen humanistischer Kreise, denen er offenbar nahegestanden hat, in höchst eigenartiger Weise zu einer alle Grenzen überspringenden, gerade aus der völligen Zerrüttung der Gegenwartszustände ihre Kraft gewinnenden Hoffnungslosigkeit von hinreissender Gewalt. Dass alle grossen Männer von Adam an, dass Henoch z. B. eben so wie Alexander der Grosse Deutsche gewesen, dass das Deutsche die Ursprache war, die von Japhet nach Europa verpflanzt wurde, dass die Amazonen von den Sachsen herkommen, dass es in Asien und Afrika deutsch-sprechende Völker gäbe, steht ihm eben so fest wie der Beruf der Deutschen zur künftigen Herrschaft über die Welt."

"So sehen wir denn auch den deutschen Humanismus, kaum dass er zu eigenem Bewusstsein erstarkt ist, auf ganz anderen Wegen als den italienischen. Er findet weder eine autonome Persönlichkeit vor, an deren Umgrenzung durch eine neue Sitte er zu arbeiten hätte, noch einen autonomen Staat, der von ihm seine theoretische Rechtfertigung verlangte. Statt dessen sucht er zunächst eine Rechtfertigung des hierarchischen Imperiums, in das der deutsche

Staat immer noch eingebaut war, und auf der Suche nach einer solchen stösst er auf den Begriff des Volkstums. Man muss ein so phantastisches Buch, wie die 'Germaniae exegesis' des Franciscus Irenicus von 1518, ansehen, um diese humanistische Romantik in ihrem Hochfluge und in ihrer Verstiegtheit zugleich zu beobachten, oder auch die genialischen, aber aus demselben Geiste stammenden Entwürfe Aventins. Eine doppelte Tendenz wird hier sichtbar: das deutsche Imperium mit seinen durch Maximilian so eigenartig neu belebten universalen Bestrebungen soll seine Begründung in der Nachfolgeschaft der Germanen der Völkerwanderung finden, die sich die Welt unterworfen haben, und das deutsche Individuum soll sich in dem germanischen Menschen der Urzeit spiegeln, wie er aus dem neu gefundenen Bericht des Tacitus hervorsah." Paul Joachimsen, "Zur Psychologie des deutschen Staatsgedankens," *Die Dioskuren*, vol. I (Munich, Meyer & Jessen 1922) p. 116 f.

20. Of the large literature on Luther's political opinions the following will be found particularly useful: Friedrich Meinecke, "Luther über christliches Gemeinwesen und christlichen Staat," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXXI (1920), pp. 1-22, Günther Holstein, *Luther und die Deutsche Staatsidee* (Recht und Staat in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 45) (Tübingen, Mohr, 1926), Gerhard Ritter, *Luther, Gestalt und Symbol*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1928), Georg Lenz, "Luthers Staatslehre und die Gegenwart," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, vol. LXXXV (1928), no. L; Theodor Pauls, *Luthers Auffassung von Staat und Volk* (Bonner Staatswissenschaftliche Untersuchungen, XII) (Bonn: K. Schroeder, 1925). See also Heinrich Boehmer, *Luther and the Reformation in the Light of Modern Research*, transl. E. S. G. Potter (London: G. Bell, 1930), on the importance of Luther's Bible translation, Konrad Buidach, *Die nationale Aneignung der Bibel und die Anfänge der germanischen Philologie* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1924), on Luther and Lutheranism, Ernst Troeltsch, "Luther, der Protestantismus und die moderne Welt," *Gesammelte Schriften* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925), vol. IV, pp. 202 ff. See also F. D. Borkenau, "On Lutheranism," *Horizon*, Sept. 1944, pp. 162-176.
21. Gerhard Ritter rightly said that Luther's Reformation was born "in einer Sphäre weltenfern von aller Politik und allen nationalen Leidenschaften, weit jenseits aller irdischen Sorgen und Strebungen." Paul Joachimsen, *Vom deutschen Volk zum deutschen Staat*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1920), pp. 29 ff., agrees with Rudolf Sohm that Luther cannot be explained by the development of German national consciousness: "in ihm erreicht vielmehr ein recht eigentlich kirchliches Problem seine Spitze, das Problem des Mönchtums mit seiner Frage: Wie kann ich es machen, dass ich nur Gott diene?" Luther made a few isolated nationalistic remarks, as when he wrote in a letter of November 1, 1521, "Germanis meis natus sum, quibus et serviam," or when he said in his address to the aldermen of the German towns in 1524, "Sondern meyne es von herezen trewlich mit euch und ganzten deutschen Land, da hyn nuch Gott verordenet hat." But Luther was free of any German national consciousness. "Wir dürfen uns nicht scheuen es auszusprechen: Luthers Ureigenstes, Luthers Werk im höchsten Sinne, das was er gewollt und geleistet hat, hat mit dem Deutschtum direkt nichts zu tun. Luthers Werk ist im Dienste der Religion, im Dienste der einzelnen Menschenseele, und damit im Dienste der Menschheit vollbracht. All das, was wir vorhin im Anschluss an Treitschke uns als Leistungen Luthers für die deutsche Nation vor Augen führten, sind Wirkungen, nicht das Werk." (P. Rasseov, "Luthers deutsche Kraft," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. CLXXIV [1918], p. 308.)

German nationalism interpreted Luther, of course, in the light of its own later development. The official attitude of the Bismarckian Empire was voiced in the famous speech "Luther und die deutsche Nation" which Treitschke delivered

at the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birthday in 1883. He glorified Luther as the pioneer of the modern Protestant national power-state Prussia. For the National Socialist interpretation of Luther, see Otto Scheel, *Evangelium, Kirche und Volk bei Luther* (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Jg. LI, no. 2) (Leipzig, 1934); Hans Leisegang, *Luther als deutscher Christ* (Berlin: Junker & Dohnhaupt, 1934), and Arno Deutemoser, *Luther, Staat und Glaube* (Jena: Diederichs, 1937): "Luthers unbedingte Bejahung des Staates . . . erwächst aus seinem Glauben. Man muss Luthers Glauben kennen, um seinen Staat zu verstehen, der auf dem Gesetz der Macht beruht." Otto Scheel, "Der Volksgedanke bei Luther," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CLXI, no. 3 (1940), pp. 477-497, regards Luther as a fighter not only against Rome but also against Judaism, which are now identified: "Im Katholizismus hat das Judentum einen mächtigen geistigen Sieg über Völker und Zeiten errungen. Erst Luthers reformatorische Entdeckung brachte den erfolgreichen Gegenstoß." (p. 485.) According to this article, Luther opened the modern era because he recognized that "Gottesdienst auch Volksdienst sei" (p. 486), and that language and nation were a "Schöpfungswirklichkeit" (p. 489). This interpretation sees in Luther the forerunner of later Prussian and German power-politics: "Was F. C. v. Moser als einen Quell von Deutschlands Unglück ansah und Herder als einen 'entsetzlichen Druck der Menschheit' empfand, ein stehendes Heer im Frieden, war Luther ein Gegenstand der Sehnsucht. . . . Deutschland ist also dem Reformator als politische Grösse lebendig geworden, die in den Grenzen ihres Lebensraumes durch geschlossene Führung und gewissenhaften Einsatz der physischen Kräfte und Güter von Raum und Volk ihre Sicherheit begründen, ihre Zukunft schaffen und in der Aufgabe stehen soll, alle geistigen und sittlichen Kräfte anzuspannen, auf dass das deutsche Land und Volk seine 'Gestalt' finde." But Luther foresaw not only the nineteenth century; he foresaw also Hitler. "Das sind die ausserhalb der Regel stehenden Helden, die von Gott gerufen werden, das morsch Gewordene niederzureissen und neues Recht zu schaffen. . . . Den von Gott 'Berufenen,' den Helden, hat er das Recht sowohl wie die Pflicht zugesprochen, 'herauszubrechen,' sobald Gott sie ruft und Helden zu sein ihnen gebietet. Dann sollen sie das Alte und Kranke auch gewaltsam, auch gegen das bestehende Recht und Regiment niederzureissen dürfen und eine neue, bessere Gerechtigkeit aufrichten."

22. The Reformation introduced Polish as a literary language instead of Latin. The newly awakened interest in religion and in sermons also induced many Catholics to use the Polish language. In 1543 Nicholas Rey of Naglowice (1505-1569), a Calvinist, began to publish poetry in Polish, soon followed by the prose of Stanislaw Orzechowski. In 1553 the first Polish Protestant translation of the whole Bible was published in Brześć. The greatest writer of Poland's age of Renaissance, Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584), translated the *Psalms* into Polish verse. On the influence of the Bible and of Judaism on him see Ch. Wolf Steckel, *Jan Kochanowski und das Judentum* (Breslau, 1937). See the English translation of Kochanowski's *Poems*, by George R. Noyes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928). During the Counter-Reformation Jakob Wujek translated the Bible into Polish (1597), the most used Bible translation even today in Poland. The late sixteenth century saw an isolated Polish patriot, Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), a court preacher to King Sigismund III. Especially famous are his *Kazania Sejmowe*—eight sermons preached before the Diet in 1597, in which he appealed to the patriotism of the Poles, praising the country as a common mother. A. Berga published them in a French translation, *Les Sermons politiques du P. Skarga, S.J.* (Paris: Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1916), and proved that they were written after the failure of the Diet of 1597 to deal in a patriotic spirit with the dangerous situation into which the Turkish threat

had put the Polish state. Of the eight sermons—which in their whole diction remind one of an Old Testament prophet who predicts the fall of his people as a result of their iniquities—the most important is the second, which deals with the love of the fatherland. This second sermon also states at its beginning the theme of the following sermons. All deal with the sickness of the Polish body politic: “La première maladie est le défaut général d’amour pour l’État et l’avidité des familles; la seconde, les discordes et les divisions intérieures; la troisième, les atteintes portées à la religion catholique et l’introduction parmi nous de l’hérésie pestilentielle; la quatrième, l’affaiblissement de la dignité et de l’autorité du roi; la cinquième, les lois injustes, la sixième, les crimes et les péchés publics qui se sont élevés contre Dieu et qui appellent la vengeance divine” (p. 64). His patriotism is well characterized by the following passages (pp. 67–69, 73, 83): “Ayez pitié de cette Patrie, votre Jérusalem, c’est-à-dire de cette Couronne et de cet État, et dites du fond du cœur avec David. ‘Si jamais je t’oublie, ô ma chère patrie, ma Jérusalem, que je perde le souvenir de ma droite! Que ma langue se dessèche dans ma bouche si je ne me souviens plus de toi, et si je ne te mets à la tête de toutes mes joies.’ O le magnifique serment, qui doit vous lier, de n’avoir rien de plus cher ni qui vous réjouisse davantage que la prospérité de votre Jérusalem, c’est-à-dire de votre État et de votre patrie. . . . Comment pourriez-vous ne pas chérir et honorer cette très douce mère qui vous a engendrés, nourris, enrichis, élevés si haut? Dieu ordonne d’honorer les mères: maudit soit celui qui contriste la sienne! Mais quelle est la première et la plus méritante des mères, sinon cette patrie, de qui vous tenez votre nom et tout ce que vous possédez, cette patrie qui est le berceau de toutes les mères et de toutes les familles et le trésor renfermant tous vos biens. . . . Le très cher vaisseau de la patrie nous porte tous et nous y avons tout ce que nous possédons. Si ce vaisseau va mal, si nous n’en bouchons les fissures, si nous n’en épuisons l’eau, si nous ne faisons efforts pour le maintenir à flot, et si, pour sa sécurité, nous ne négligeons pas tout ce qui est à nous, il coulera à fond et nous périrons nous-mêmes avec lui. Dans ce vaisseau, vous avez fils, enfants, femmes, titres, trésors, et tout ce que vous aimez. Il renferme en lui autant d’âmes qu’en contient le royaume avec ses provinces. Ne les laissez pas s’engloutir, et ayez pitié de votre sang, de votre peuple, de vos frères. Puisque vous les avez pris sous votre direction et votre tutelle, mettez à leur service non seulement votre avoir, mais votre propre vie, car non seulement nous sommes tenus de ne pas épargner nos biens en faveur de nos frères et de l’État, mais nous devons même mourir pour eux. . . . En définitive, personne n’attend une récompense pour s’être fait du bien à soi-même, puisque par là même on est largement récompensé. Or celui qui sert sa patrie se rend service à lui-même; car, comme il a été dit, tout son bien est renfermé dans cette patrie”. . . . The third sermon, which deals with the necessity of civic concord and unity, continues the patriotic tone of the second sermon. In a moving way which brought to Skarga the popular title of *proroczyňa*, “a little prophet,” he painted the picture of a Poland ruined by discord (p. 93): “Votre langue, la langue de ce royaume, le seul resté libre parmi les grands royaumes slaves, vous la perdrez et avec elle votre peuple. Même les débris de ce peuple si ancien et si largement épanoui par le monde, vous les perdrez et, comme il est arrivé à d’autres, vous serez absorbés par un peuple étranger qui vous hait.” But Skarga’s appeals were of no avail. Poland lacked the spirit of patriotism or nationalism, which did not appear before the end of the eighteenth century. See A. Berga, *Pierre Skarga: Étude sur la Pologne du XVI^e siècle et le protestantisme polonais* (Paris: Société Française d’Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1916).

To give only a few examples of how the Reformation promoted the development of vernaculars into literary languages, it should be pointed out that the

oldest documents printed in many languages date from that period. The oldest printed Lithuanian book is a translation of Luther's catechism by a Protestant pastor, Martinus Moswidius, in 1547. A Catholic canon, Michael Dauksza, translated in 1599 a devotional book of the Polish Jesuit Jakob Wujek into Lithuanian and demanded in his Polish introduction that the Lithuanian language be accorded the same literary rights as Polish, Latin, or others. The first book printed in Latvian was a translation of Luther's catechism printed in Königsberg in 1586 at the expense of Gotthard Kettler, the Duke of Prussia—one of the many instances in which, for religious purposes, the authorities, though belonging to another national group, fostered the linguistic development of subject nationalities. Among the Slovenes, Primus Truber translated the New Testament into Slovenian in 1583, and two years later Adam Bohorič published in Wittenberg the first grammar of the Slovenian language, "Arcticae horulae." As in other countries, the Counter-Reformation continued in Slovenia to cultivate the vernacular. A Jesuit, B. Kašić or Cassius, published in Rome in 1604 "Institutionum linguae Illyricae libri duo." See Murko, "Die Bedeutung der Reformation und Gegenreformation für das geistige Leben der Südslawen," *Slavia* (Prague, 1915, 1927) IV, 3-4, V, 1-4; V. Jagić, "Die Serbo-Croatischen Übersetzungen der Bibel im ganzen oder einzelnen Teile derselben," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXXIV (1912, 1913), 497-532. On the influence of translations of the Bible into Bulgarian, undertaken with the help of British and American Protestant missionary societies, even in the nineteenth century, see James F. Clark, *Bible Societies: American Missionaries and the National Revival of Bulgaria*, Harvard Ph.D. thesis, 1937.

The first printed book in Romansh (or Ladin) was a translation of the catechism by a Protestant Jachiam Bifran of Samaden in 1552. He also published the New Testament in 1560, the source of the literary Romansh language. While Bifran used the lower Engadinian dialect, Durich Chiampell published in 1562 a psalter and spiritual songs in the upper or Surselvan dialect. In the words of a present day Romansh poet, Peider Lansel, Bifran and Chiampell have found "the way for our Romansh prayer, teaching, fight, shout and laughter." See Karl J. Luechi, "Die ältesten Ladinischen Drucke," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1926, pp. 56-63.

23. On Hutten see Hajo Holborn, *Ulrich von Hutten and the German Reformation*, transl. Roland H. Bainton (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1937). It contains a complete bibliography. The famous book by David Friedrich Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*, new ed. Otto Clemen (Leipzig: Insel, 1914), remains important as the liberal nationalist interpretation of Hutten. Hutten's works were edited under the title *Ulrichi Hutteni equitis Germani opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia* by Eduard Böcking (7 vols., Leipzig, 1859-1862; 2 supplementary vols. 1864, 1870). Of recent writings on Hutten see Fritz Walser, *Die politische Entwicklung Ulrichs von Hutten während der Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1928); Werner Kaegi, "Hutten und Erasmus: Ihre Freundschaft und ihr Streit," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, vol. XXII (1924-25), pp. 200-278, 461-514; Helmut Röhr, *Ulrich von Hutten und das Werden des deutschen Nationalbewusstseins* (Hamburg: Paul Evert, 1936); Delio Cantimori, "Ulrico von Hutten e i rapporti tra Rinascimento e Riforma," *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* (classe di lettere e filosofia) vol. XXX, no. 2 (Pisa, 1930).
24. Hajo Holborn, *op. cit.*, p. 75. Rudolf Haym appraised Hutten: "Seinen politischen Ideen fehlte es eben so sehr an Klarheit wie an Konsequenz" (*Gesammelte Aufsätze* [Berlin: Weidmann, 1903], p. 47). Fritz Walser's appraisal (*op. cit.*, p. 121) seems better: "In Huttens Mahnungen, Anklagen, Beschwörungen liegt etwas Eintöniges; wenige Gedanken und Empfindungen

wiederholen sich immer wieder Aber ihre Eindringlichkeit wurde dadurch nicht gemindert, ein Gefühl, dieses aber in elementarer Stärke, sollte in den Zeitgenossen wachgerufen werden." Herder dedicated to Hutten the following inscription for a grave "Hier liegt der Sprecher für die Deutsche Nation, Freiheit und Wahrheit, der für sie mehr als Sprecher seyn sollte" (*Werke*, ed. Suphan, vol. XVI, p. 197)

25. Hutten's *Dialoge on Arnimius* was translated into German by David Friedrich Strauss and published in *Gespräche von Ulrich von Hutten* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1860), pp. 390-412.

26. See *Opera*, vol. I, p. 330, ll. 13 ff., and vol. III, p. 513, ll. 1174 ff. The following quotation is from *Opera*, vol. II, pp. 42 f. "Nam quid mali ita Germania meruit, ut tecum, non pro te peccat? duc nos in manifestum potius periculum, duc in ferrum, duc in ignes, cunctae in nos nationes conspirent, omnes ruant populi, omnium impetamur armis, ut in periculo virtutem experiri potius liceat quam sic demisse, sic non viriliter, sine armis et caede foeminarum more succumbamus et serviamus Spes fuit Romanum te a nobis iugum ablatum, istam pontificum tyrannidem demoliturum." See also vol. II, p. 55 and vol. I, p. 451, v. 22 f.

"Was bei den andern Rhetorik und Poetik blieb, ward bei ihm Wille und Schicksal" (Friedrich Gundolf, *Hutten, Klopstock, Arndt: Drei Reden* [Heidelberg: Winter, 1924], p. 6).

It is interesting that Renaissance and Reformation produced in Germany an especially strong anti-Semitism. "Anti-Semitism was popular in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the Emperor Maximilian had not the courage to quench the firebrand while yet there was time" (Hajo Holborn, *op. cit.*, p. 53). Martin Luther was first favorably inclined towards the Jews. In 1523, when he tried to convert them, he treated the anti-Semites as "grobe Eselsköpfe", but in 1543 he published two pamphlets, "Von den Juden und ihren Lügen," and "Vom Schem hamphoras," which rank equally with the worst anti-Semitic literature. He demanded the expulsion of the Jews, the burning of the synagogues, the destruction of their houses, confiscation of their Holy Scriptures, and the prohibition of their prayers. He was a great hater, and, once his hope of converting the Jews failed, he hated them with fanatical hatred knowing no bounds. It is characteristic that in one of his sermons he opposed their return to Palestine, whereas on another occasion he asked, "Why do they moan about their captivity? We should love to get rid of them and to return them to Jerusalem, whence no one ever asked them to come here" Luther also declined to accept any Rabbinical exegesis for the interpretation of the Bible or of the Jewish religion and customs. See Reinhold Lewin, *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden* (Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche, no. 10) (Berlin, 1911).

27. Luther believed in a universal Christianity without a centralizing visible head. A characteristic passage written by him in 1520 (*Works*, Weimar ed., vol. VI, p. 292) reads: "Hor sich doch das Romisch reych lange zeyt, und vil andere reych in der welt, on ein eynges heubt auff's best regiret! wie regiren irtz die Aydgenossen? Item in weltlichem regiment ist kein eyniger uberher, szo wir doch alle ein menschlich geschlecht von einem vatter Adam kommen sein. Das kungreich von Franckreich hot seinen kunig, Ungern seinen, Polen, Denen, und ein iglich seynen eygen, und seyn doch alle ein volck des weltlichen stands in der Christenheit on ein eynges heubt und zerfallen drumb die selben reych nit."

Christianity in its spiritual as well as its political aspects remained for Luther a universal association; but the emphasis was shifted from the centralizing

organization to each individual. As he made clear in his "On the War against the Turks" (1529) (*Works*, vol. XXX, 2, pp. 111 ff.), the imperial dignity remained of importance as a protection against the Pope and the Turks, a representation of Christian unity, but without any real power over the states and territories. Luther "realised that the supremacy of the Pope and of the Catholic Emperor could be overthrown only by the German princes and he knew that at least some of them would embrace Protestantism, not because they thought it was theologically right but because it provided a means of stabilising their political power. . . . No other political principle was more firmly rooted in Luther's thought than that of absolute obedience to authority. This doctrine . . . derived its validity for modern Germany from the specifically Protestant conception of authority. . . . It is obvious that a political philosophy which was centered around the concept of absolute subjection to the ruler did little to educate the subjects to profitable criticism and it is very difficult to find even the slightest trace of liberalism in it." (Reinhold Aris, *History of Political Thought in Germany from 1789 to 1815* [London: Allen & Unwin, 1936], pp. 297, 296.) See also the material quoted in note 15 to this chapter and note 4 to chapter VII.

28. See Erhard Breitner, *Maximilian I. Der Traum von der Weltmonarchie* (Bremen: Schönmeyer, 1939) and Glenn Elwood Waas, *The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941). On Charles V see Karl Brandt, *Karl V: Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1937). See also Andr. Walther, "Die deutsche Frage im Ausgang des Mittelalters," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. CLII (1913), pp. 109-116.
29. On the Leonese imperial title see Dr. Hermann Häfner, "Die leonesischen Hegemonie Bestrebungen und Kaisertitel," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, ed. H. Finke, III (Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1931), pp. 337-384; and "Die spanische Kaiseridee im Mittelalter," *Ibero-amerikanisches Archiv*, vol. IV (Berlin, 1932-1933), pp. 247-261.
30. "The Cid would have been a barbarian had he not responded to Moslem influence at Valencia by becoming steeped in Arabic literature. Similarly, the two principal reconquests of the eleventh century—Sicily recovered by the Norman princes, and Toledo by the Castilian king—became active centers for the diffusion of Moslem culture. Roger II resembled an Oriental emir both in the privacy of his palace at Palermo (which he transformed into a harem) and in his public appearances under a state canopy after the manner of the Fatimite caliphs or in the chair at meetings of his academy, in which Christians vied in learning with Moslems. It was at this time, too, that Archbishop Raymond of Toledo began the translation of a large number of Arabic works, assisted by an Englishman, a Dalmatian, an Italian, and other foreigners who had come to drink at the well of Moslem learning." (Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *The Cid and His Spain*, transl. Harold Sunderland [London: John Murray, 1934], p. 453.) "Medieval Spain had been the most tolerant land in Europe. There, Christian, Mohammedan and Jew had lived side by side in peace and, sometimes, in the closest friendship. Christian had fought Christian in alliance with Mohammedan. The proudest Christian families in Spain had intermarried with Jews; and Hebrew blood flowed in the veins of the greatest prelates in the land." (R. Trevor Davies, *The Golden Century of Spain, 1501-1621* [London: Macmillan, 1937], p. 11.) And Menéndez Pidal says (*op. cit.*, p. 456.) "After the Cid, upon whom the vanquished Moors showered blessings, and Alphonso, 'Emperor of the Two Religions,' there came kings, like St. Ferdinand, who claimed to be 'Kings of the Three Religions' . . . for, in the words of Don Juan Manuel, 'Jesus Christ never ordered anyone who refused

to follow him to be killed or persecuted, for he would have no unwilling disciple."

31. Martin A. S. Hume, *The Spanish People: Their Origin, Growth and Influence* (London: Heinemann, 1901), p. 303. On the idea of racial purity in Spain see Guido Kisch, "Nationalism and Race in Medieval Law," *Seminar* (Annual issue of *The Jurist*), vol. I (1943), and Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (New York: Macmillan, 1906), vol. I, Bk. I, chap. 3, "The Jews and the Conversos," and vol. II, Bk. IV, chap. 4, "Limpieza"; José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal*, 3 vols. (Madrid: T. Fortanet, 1875-1876); Fritz Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, Part I, Urkunden und Regesten, vol. I, Aragonien und Navarra (Berlin Verlag der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1929), vol. II, Kastilien (Berlin. Schocken Verlag, 1937). The "racial" legislation of the *Sentencia-Estatuto* of 1449, which was adopted in Toledo to exclude New Christians from public offices, was issued against the opposition of the famous Lope de Barrientos, Bishop of Cuenca, and was condemned by Pope Nicholas V in a bull of Sept. 24, 1449, declaring that all the faithful were one. The Pope commissioned the Archbishops of Toledo and Seville to excommunicate all who sought to invalidate the laws which admitted converts to all privileges of Christians. He repeated the bull in 1451, but the movement for purity of blood spread. A number of disabilities were imposed: for instance, in 1481 the guild of stonemasons in Toledo forbade its members to teach their art to Conversos. When Torquemada founded the Convent of St. Thomas Aquinas at Avila, he was so apprehensive of the Conversos whom he had persecuted that he applied to Alexander VI in 1496 for a decree forbidding the reception of anyone directly or indirectly descended from Jews.
32. Roger Bigelow Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New* (New York: Macmillan, 1918), vol. II, p. 74.
33. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 87.
34. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 167.
35. Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Luis de León: A Study of the Spanish Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 29, 34. The faithfulness with which, after their expulsion, the Spanish Jews clung to the Castilian language (which their descendants are still speaking today in many parts of the former Ottoman Empire where they found refuge) is paralleled by the fidelity which the Jews, expelled from the Rhineland in the thirteenth century and received in Poland, maintained towards the Middle High German dialect which they still continue to speak today as Yiddish.
A similar national literary awakening occurred at the same time in Portugal, where Lisbon had become the great emporium of European trade with the East, and where great humanists like João de Barros and Damião de Goes had given a new impetus to the Portuguese language. In these Catholic countries the impetus did not emanate from a translation of the Bible into the vernacular—not from the Reformation, but from Humanism. From 1580 to 1640 the Portuguese had to fight against the influence of the Castilian; therefore they put a high value upon the Portuguese language. Antonio Ferreira (1527-1563) demanded in his *Carta a Pero de Andrade Caminha* that Caminha stop writing Spanish. Camoëns stressed the close affinity of Portuguese and Latin. Through Camoëns' works Portuguese became one of the leading literary languages, a language spoken not only in Europe but in Africa and Asia, so that João de Barros (1496-1579) could proudly exclaim: "Aquele linguagem portuguesa que em Europa é estimada, em Africa e Asia por amor, armas e leis tão amada e espantosa, por justo titulo lhe pertence a monarquia do mar e os tributos dos infelizes da terra."
36. Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

37. R. Trevor-Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 260. The Spaniards, who preferred an idle life in "indescribable poverty and squalor" to hard work which would make them lose caste, were considered as barbarians by foreigners as early as the sixteenth century. Trevor-Davies quotes, p. 71, note 2, from a manuscript (British Museum, Egerton MS. 2056, fol. 246) the following from the year 1558: ". . . á nosotros por no tener esta yndustria ellos y otras naciones lo lleban y nos tienen por barbaros y nos tratan en todo muy peor que á Indios."
38. On the Spanish attitude towards Indians, and on Spanish international law in general see J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1940); Lewis Hanko, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. XXX, pp. 65-102 (2 Apr., 1937); John van Horne, "The Attitude Toward the Enemy in Sixteenth Century Spanish Narrative Poetry," *Romanic Review*, vol. XVI (1925), pp. 341-361; James Brown Scott, *The Spanish Origin of International Law: Francisco de Vitoria and His Law of Nations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934). Juan Ginéz Sepúlveda, who in 1542 wrote his *Democrates Alter, sive de Justis Belli Causis apud Indos*, pleading for a full-fledged imperialist attitude, declared that the special rights of Spain in the New World were based on their superiority. "Has igitur gentes tam incultas . . . dubitabimus ab optimo, pio, justissimoque Rege . . . et ab humanissima et omni virtutum genere praestante natione, jure optimo fuisse in ditionem redactas?" (quoted by Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 39)
39. The high hopes which the Spanish monarchy raised at the time as a basis for an *imperium mundi* can be seen from *De Monarchia Hispanica*, which Tommaso Campanella wrote in 1598, and which was first published in a German translation in 1620. He expressed there an enthusiastic hope for the reunion of mankind in a universal spiritual and political unity. He was not only anti-Protestant but also opposed to the continuation of independent kingdoms. He was a fervent anti-Machiavellian and an adherent of the house of Habsburg. The Spanish king, the *rex Catholicus mundi*, had to operate for the unification of the world under the Pope, but Campanella wished to see a Habsburg as Pope and proposed also a Habsburg as king of Poland. He wished to include America in this unity, and therefore demanded that the Indians be treated as brethren. His vision for the future of America was startling. He proposed that in case the Turks should conquer Europe the seat of the Imperium and of the Sacerdotium should be transferred to America. He understood that the Spanish monarchy could fulfill its mission only by becoming a great civilizing force, and mixing and assimilating diverse races like the monarchy of Alexander the Great or the Roman Empire. He proposed even transplanting Indians to Spain and training them there as peasants and artisans. Campanella himself lived to see his hopes in the Spanish monarchy come to naught. In his *Le Monarchie delle nazioni* in 1638 he analyzed clearly the reasons for the decadence of Spain, and regarded the France of Richelieu as the coming leading power. He hoped France would liberate Italy, especially his native Naples, and cede it to the Pope in exchange for Avignon. See Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsrason in der neueren Geschichte*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1929), pp. 131-146; and Werner Fritzmeier, *Christenheit und Europa: Zur Geschichte des europäischen Gemeinschaftsgefühls von Dante bis Leibniz* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1931), pp. 78-84.
40. Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, *The History of English Patriotism* (London: John Lane, 1913), vol. I, p. 78. The first beginnings of a struggle against the denationalizing tendencies of Church and State in England are discussed in Oliver H. Richardson, *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III and Its Culmination in the Barons' War* (New York: Macmillan, 1897). A forerunner

of the new age was John Wycliffe, who translated the Bible into English and demanded the introduction of Divine Service in English. "Wycliffe was the only man of his age who saw deeply into the needs of the present and the possibilities of the future, and his life has had an incalculable effect on the religion of England, and through religion on politics and society" (George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe* [London: Longmans 1925], p. 169). On the other hand, R. W. Chambers, *On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and His School* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1932), emphasized strongly the Renaissance of English prose in the fifteenth century, pp. cx ff., based upon the unbroken continuity of English religious prose. He pleaded also for the recognition of an early English nationalism in the tenth and eleventh centuries, pp. lviu-lxvi, lxiii, especially p. lxxviii: "The ideal of a united island of Britain grows in strength from Edward the Elder to Edward the Confessor." See also R. M. Wilson "English and French in England 1100-1300," *History* (London, March 1943) xxviii, 107, pp. 37-60.

41. Albert Frederick Pollard, *Henry VIII* (London: Longmans, 1930). Lewis Einstein, *Tudor Ideals* (New York: Harcourt, 1921), p. 14, says of Henry VIII that "his kingdom was his property, entire and absolute. He provided for his own death by conferring the government of England on the executors of his will and making a trust of the realm." Farné Wingfield-Stratford (*op. cit.*, p. 148) says of the reign of Henry VIII: "The note of confidence and joy is but faintly heard, though it is the habit of some historians to talk vaguely of a revival of national pride under Henry VIII." His attitude towards the Church corresponded to the Renaissance tendency of the subordination of the Church to the State. As far as there was a national historiography in England at the time of Henry VIII, it limited itself to his praise, according to ancient models. He was spoken of as a Roman hero and was made to speak like a Roman patriot. Some interest in the past of England was awakened, but less than in other countries. A book like Thomas Becon's (1512-1567) *The new polleceye of warre, wherem is declared not only how y mooste cruell Tyrant the great Turke maye be overcome, but also all other enemies of the Christian publique weale, lately devoyed by Theodore Basille* (London, 1542) was much more religious than patriotic in spite of pride in England. There are a few expressions of typical Renaissance patriotism such as that of John Pynet, Bishop of Winchester (1514?-1556): "Men ought to have more respect to their country than to their prince, to the commonwealth than to any one person. For the country and the commonwealth is a degree above the king." But this Renaissance spirit penetrated only slowly into England. The first Renaissance historiographer in England, an Italian, Polydor Vergil, whom King Henry VII commissioned in 1507 to write a history of England, was struck (as were other observers) by the fact that the English were little touched by the Renaissance spirit and were still deeply immersed in medieval piety. In the first book of his *Anglicae Historiae* he said, "Nulla est hodie natio, quae omnia, quae ad divinum cultum pertineant, sanctius diligentiusque observet." A passage by John Aylmer (1521-1594), who became Bishop of London in 1576, may be quoted as an example of a violent dislike of the French entirely in the style of the later Middle Ages. While an exile in Switzerland in 1559 he wrote an answer to John Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (1558), under the title *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects, etc.*, published anonymously in Strasbourg. There he asked with regard to the French: "Are they Giaunts, are they conquerours, or monarks of the world? No good Englishe men they be effeminate Frenchmen: Stoute in bragge, but nothing in dede. . . . They be your slaves and tributaries." They are in fear of the English, he said, "and it is no marvaile, for we have thorow Gods help

- ever had the better of them. . . . When durst these meacockes mete us in the field? or if they did: went they not weepyng awaye? . . . We have a fewfe hunting termes and pedlars French in the lousye lawe, brought in by the Normanes, yet remayning. But the language and customes bee Englyshe and Saxonyshe." (Quoted in C. H. McIlwain, *Constitutionalism and the Changing World* [New York: Macmillan, 1939], pp. 5 f.) On Aylmer see Thomas McCrie, *Life of John Knox* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, n.d.), pp. 144-147, 427 f.
42. *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (London, 1885), vol. I, p. 287. The poem is dedicated to John Florio on the occasion of his translation of Montaigne's Essays.
 43. Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, ed. L. Alston (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1906), p. 62. On p. 48 there is an evaluation of the importance of Parliament, whose members "consult and shew what is good and necessarie for the common wealth, and to consult together, and upon mature deliberation everie bill or lawe being thrise reade and disputed upon in either house, the other two parties first each a part, and after the Prince himself in presence of both parties doeth consent unto and alloweth." On Elizabethan patriotism see E. C. Wilson, *England's Eliza* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1939), ch. III; R. V. Lindabury, *A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1931).
 44. Samuel Daniel in his *Musophilus*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 255; Shakespeare, *Richard II*, Act II, Sc. I, ll. 42-49; *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), vol. II, p. 205. See also p. 210: "The lyuing God is onely the Englysh God, wher he hath placed peace, which bryngeth all plentie, annoynted a Virgin Queene," and on p. 211: "This peace hath the Lorde continued with great and vnspeakeable goodnesse amonge his chosen people of England." But for Lyly the center of England was not the people but the Queen: "A fortunate England that hath such a queene, ungratefull if thou praye not for hir, wicked if thou do not love hir, miserable if thou lose hir" (p. 208). There are few instances in Elizabethan literature where the English are compared to the chosen people, as in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1578), vol. I, bk. V, chap. 3 (6 vols., London, 1807, vol. I, p. 558): "So that in this British people, God (according to his accustomed manner) as it were present Israele, tried them from time to time;" in Thomas Cooper, "An Admonition to the Church and People of England" (1589) (*The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works*, No. 15, ed. Edward Arber [Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1895], p. 9): "It hath pleased God now a long time most plentifully to powre downe upon vs his manifold and great benefits . . . and that more is . . . by the continuall preaching of the Gospell hath called vs vnto Him (as before time he called his chosen people of the Iewes by his Prophets)"; and in Richard Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Bk. VIII, ed. Raymond Aaron Houk (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), p. 166: "Our estate is according to the pattern of God's own ancient elect people, which people was not part of them the commonwealth, and part of them the Church of God, but the selfsame people whole and entire were both under one chief Governor, on whose supreme authority they did all depend." See also a few passages in *Liturgical Services: Liturgies and occasional forms of prayer set forth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. William Keatinge Clay (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1847). On Elizabethan imperialism see Edwin A. Greenlaw, "Spenser and British Imperialism," *Modern Philology*, vol. IX, pp. 347-370.
 45. "Among the infallible signs of the growing prosperity was the increased intercourse with the continent and the number of alien artificers and merchants who thought it worth while to settle in London. . . . It was natural for ignorant men to argue that if an English workman was starving it was because a Frenchman,

an Italian or a Fleming had stolen his work. The foreigner was alternately accused of following the easy occupation of an artisan instead of laboring at the plough or the cart, and of cheating the king's subjects by the fraudulent measures and debased quality of his wares." (H. A. L. Fisher, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII* (vol. V of *The Political History of England*, ed. W. Hunt and R. L. Poole) (London: Longmans, 1906), pp. 215 ff. In 1517 Dr. Beale, a canon of St. Mary's Spital, incited his audience to violence by preaching that God had given the land to Englishmen as a perpetual inheritance, and that the increase in poverty was due to aliens. But even in 1540 one-third of the London population consisted of alien artisans

46. "Imperialist tendencies can be noticed in England . . . only at a later date than in other modern nations" (Friedrich Brie, *Imperialistische Strömungen in der englischen Literatur*, 2nd ed. [Halle-Saale: Niemeyer, 1928] p. 7). English interest in the sea was first expressed in the fourteenth century for the coastal waters, especially the Channel. Edward III (1327-1377) was called *dominus maris et transmarini passagii*. The *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* (1436) (ed. Sir George Warner [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926], p. 42, ll. 813 ff., 858 ff., 944 ff.) first emphasized the importance of sea control, especially of Calais:

And chefully kepe sharply the narowe see
Betwene Dover and Caleise, and as thus
That foes passe not wythout godewyll of us,
And they abyde oure daunger in the lengthe,
What for oure costis and Caleise in oure strengthe. . .

So shulde he be lorde of the see aboute,
To kepe ennyes fro wythune and wythoute,
And to be holde thorough Cristianyte
Master and lorde environ of the see,
For all lyvinge men suche a prince to drede, . . .

And thus conclude I by auctorite
Of cronicle that environ the see
Shulde bene oures subjecte unto the kynge,
And he be lorde therof for ony thyng,
For grete worship and for profite also,
And to defende his lorde fro every foo.

47. In 1592 Gabriel Harvey challenged the English poets to write an English national epos emulating Homer and glorifying the naval victory over the Spaniards.
48. I am greatly indebted for some of the following material to my former colleague Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Professor of English Literature at Columbia University, and to Dr. Grant McColley, formerly research consultant at the Smith College Library, for bibliographical information.
49. Bacon's *Advancement of Learning and the New Atlantis* (World's Classics—Oxford University Press, 1906), pp. 265 and 35, Book I, V, i. The middle-class connection is well emphasized in the first Book, II, 5, p. 16: "Only learned men love business as an action according to nature, as agreeable to health of mind as exercise is to health of body, taking pleasure in the action itself."
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That foes passe not wythout godewyll of us,
And they abyde oure daunger in the lengthe,
What for oure costis and Calesse in oure strengthe. . . .

So shulde he be lorde of the see aboute,
To kepe ennyes fro wythine and wythoute,
And to be holde thorough Cristiane
Master and lorde environ of the see,
For all lyvinge men suche a prince to drede, . . .

And thus conclude I by auctorite
Of cronicle that environ the see
Shulde bene oures subjecte unto the kynge,
And he be lorde therof for ony thyng,
For grete worship and for profite also,
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expressed in the Introduction. "And thus as I haue endeououred to shew the mercy and providence of God in generall to whole mankind, especiallie for our soules health and saluation; so here making bolde to write vnto your Maiestie, I could doe no lesse, than take some notice of the temporall blessings, wherewith God hath blessed vs aboue other people. This blessing especially consists in government, whereby we receiue the fruites of peace, of plentie, of happines, and liue securely vnder the protection of our Princes; this blessing seemes to bee proper to this nation, proper to this present age wherein wee liue: for I will not speake how in former times, this our Land was distracted with small principalities and gouernements; when it should seeme the greatest part lay waste in borders and confines, when the strength was diuided within it selfe; I will onely beginne with the last age of our forefathers." Sig. A 5.

The book by Godfrey Goodman (who later became Bishop of Gloucester) was republished in 1629 under the title *The Fall of Adam from Paradise proved by Natural Reason and the grounds of Philosophy*.

The verses by John Donne are from *Poems*, ed. Herbert J. C. Grierson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), vol. I, pp. 232, 236. See also pp. 237 f.:

And new Philosophy calls all in doubt,
The Element of fire is quite put out,
The Sun is lost, and th'earth, and no mans wit
Can well direct him where to looke for it.
And freely men confesse that this world's spent,

That this worlds generall sicknesse doth not lie.
In any humour, or one certaine part;
But as thou sawest it rotten at the heart,
Thou seest a Hectique feaver hath got hold
Of the whole substance, not to be contrould,
And that thou hast but one way, not t'admit
The worlds infection, to be none of it.

- See also Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614), Pt. I, Bk. I, chap. 5, sec. 5.
51. George Hakewill, *An apologie or declaration of the power and providence of God in the government of the world consisting in an examination and censure of the common error touching natures perpetuall and universal decay, divided into foure bookes* (Oxford, 1630).

The most important critical essays mirroring the attitude towards ancient and modern national standards in literature near the end of the sixteenth century are Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetry* (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith—[Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904], vol. I, pp. 150-207); Sir John Harington, "A Preface, or rather a Brieffe Apologie of Poetrie, and of the Author and Translator," prefixed to his transl. of *Orlando Furioso* (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 194-211); Samuel Daniel, *A Defence of Rhyne* (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 356-384). The new emphasis upon English national peculiarity and even superiority in comparison with French or classical standards was expressed in the second half of the seventeenth century in Sir Robert Howard, "Preface to Four New Plays" and "Preface to the Great Favourite, or the Duke of Lerma" (*Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. E. Spingarn [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908], vol. II, pp. 97-111), and Sir William Temple, "An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning" (*Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 32-72). Its strongest expression is found in John Dryden: "Indeed, there is a vast difference betwixt arguing like Perrault, in behalf of the French poets, against Homer and Virgil, and betwixt giving the English poets their undoubted due,

of exelling Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles. For if we, or our greater fathers, have not yet brought the drama to an absolute perfection, yet at least we have carried it much further than those ancient Greeks. . . . Our authors as far surpass them in Genius, as our soldiers excel theirs in courage." (John Dryden, *Works*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, rev. George Saintsbury [Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882-93], vol. XII, pp. 59 f.) In his *Of Dramatick Poesie* (ed. T. S. Eliot [London, 1928], p. 53) Neander strongly defended the superiority of English drama as compared with the French theater. "We have borrow'd nothing from them; our Plots are weav'd in English Loomes." A little later follows a defense of Shakespeare as "the man who of all Modern, and perhaps Ancient Poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul."

See also George Morey Miller, *The Historical Point of View in English Literary Criticism from 1570 to 1770* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1913).

52. Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London for the improving of natural knowledge*, 3rd ed. (London, 1722). Thomas Sprat, later Bishop of Rochester, helped to found the Royal Society, which started in meetings held after 1645 by followers of Bacon, in London and Oxford. It took more definite shape in 1660, received its charter in 1662, and began to publish its *Philosophical Transactions* in 1665.

The quotations are from pt. II, sec. VI, pp. 63-65, and sec. XX, pp. 113-115. Bishop Sprat also considered as among the merits of the Royal Society its aversion to flowery language. "They have exacted from all their Members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; . . . a native Easiness" (p. 113).

53. John Dryden, *Works*, vol. I, p. 63.
54. "So kurze Zeit dieses grandiose Gebilde dauerte, seine weltgeschichtlichen Wirkungen sind ausserordentlich. . . . Hier wurzelt die alte liberale Theorie von der Unantastbarkeit des persönlich-inneren Lebens durch den Staat, welche dann nur weiter auch auf mehr äusserliche Dinge ausgedehnt wurde. . . . [Die] englische Revolution hat mit ihrer religiösen Wucht der modernen Freiheit die Bahn bereitet. Doch ist das nicht eigentlich das Werk des Protestantismus, sondern ein Werk des neubelebten und mit dem radikalisierten Calvinismus verschmolzenen Täuferturns und des Spiritualismus, die damit eine verspätete Genugtuung erhielten für die masslosen Leiden, die diese Religion der Duldung und der Gewissensüberzeugung von allen Konfessionen im 16. Jahrhundert hatte erfahren müssen." (Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der modernen Welt*, 3rd ed. [Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1924], p. 63. See also G. P. Gooch, *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd ed. [Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927].)
55. Ernest Barker, *Oliver Cromwell and the English People* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1937), pp. 82 f. An effort characteristic of present German historiography to find a racial consciousness in the English Revolution has been made by Erwin Hölze, "Volks- und Rassenbewusstsein in der englischen Revolution," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CLIII, no. 1, but he has pointed out only very few indications of doubtful importance. See also Georg Lenz, *Demokratie und Diktatur in der englischen Revolution 1640-1660* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1933). One of the pamphlets against the Normans was John Hare, *Saint Edward's Ghost or Antinormanism* (1647), soon followed by another pamphlet, *Plam English to our Wilful Bearers of Normanism*, which complained that the first pamphlet had not been noticed at all. Hare pleaded for the law of nature and the necessities of the *salus populi*, as against the right of conquest of the Normans.
56. J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People* (New York: Harper, 1884), p. 455. William Tyndale, the most famous translator of the English Bible in the sixteenth century, stressed the deep similarity between Hebrew and

English, feeling that they were more related than English and Latin, or even English and Greek. "The manner of speaking [in Hebrew and English] is both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word" A. S. Cook, *The Bible and English Prose Style* [Boston: Ginn & Co., 1892], p. xi; see also Marjorie Hope Nicolson, "Milton and the Bible," in *The Bible and Its Literary Associations*, ed. Margaret B. Crook (New York: Abingdon, 1937), pp. 278-307.

57. Edmund Waller, *Poems*, ed. G. Thorn Drury, new ed. (New York: Scribner's, 1901), vol. II, p. 11: "A Panegyric to my Lord Protector, of the Present Greatness, and Joint Interest of His Highness and This Nation."
58. Sir Herbert J. C. Grierson, *Milton and Wordsworth: Poets and Prophets* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. vii.
59. *Milton's Prose*, ed. Malcolm W. Wallace (Oxford Univ. Press, 1925), p. xi.
60. John Milton, *Prose Works*, (London: Bell, 1884-1889), vol. II, p. 126, vol. III, p. 353.
61. *Milton's Prose*, p. 318. See also p. 276: "For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance should ever arise in the Commonwealth, that let no man in this World expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained, that wise men look for." Milton pointed out (p. 285) that the censor used the word *imprimatur* because "our English, the language of men ever famous, and foremost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enough to spell such a dictatory presumption in English."
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 331, 333, 326.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-315.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 356. Evaluated passages in the Old Testament style were frequent with Milton. See John Milton, *Works*, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931), vol. III, pt. I, pp. 78 f., 147 f. The following passage sounds entirely Cromwellian: "For he being equally near to his whole creation of Mankind, and of free power to turn his . . . fatherly regard to what Region or Kingdom he pleases, hath yet ever had this island under the special indulgent eye of his Providence." A significant passage shows the spiritual character of Milton's nationalism: "Nor is it distance of place that makes enmity, but enmity that makes distance. He therefore that keeps peace with me, near or remote, of whatsoever Nation, is to me as far as all civil and human offices an Englishman and a neighbour; but if an Englishman forgetting all Laws, human, civil and religious, offend against life and liberty, to him offended and to the Law in his behalf, though born in the same womb, he is no better than a Turk, a Saracen, a Heathen." (*Milton's Prose*, pp. 341 f.)
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 376, 378. "For who is there, who does not identify the honour of his country with his own? What can conduce more to the beauty or glory of one's country, than the recovery, not only of its civil but of its religious liberty?" (P. 375.) "For it is of no little consequence, by what principles you are governed, either in acquiring liberty, or in retaining it when acquired. And unless that liberty which is of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor take away, shall have taken deep root in your minds and hearts, there will not long be wanting one who will snatch from you by treachery what you have acquired by arms. . . . If your peace and your liberty be a state of warfare, if war be the summit of your praise, you will, believe me, soon find peace the most adverse to your interests." (P. 403.)

In his *Defensio Secunda* Milton mentioned the fact that "Greece herself, Attic Athens herself, as if coming to life again, expressed their applauses through their own Philaras, one of their noblest." Philaras was one of the earliest forerunners of Greek nationalism. Born in Athens at the end of the sixteenth

century, he lived most of his life in Italy and Paris. He appealed to Milton and to the Commonwealth to help Greece regain her national liberty. (See David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* [London: Macmillan, 1887], vol. IV, p. 443.) Milton's reply of June, 1652, is preserved to us: "But were there in me such a power of pleading that I could rouse our armies and fleets for the deliverance of Greece . . . from her Ottoman oppressor—to which mighty act you seem almost to implore our aid—truly there is nothing which it would be more or sooner in my desire to do. . . . There is, however, something else to be tried, and in my judgment far the most important namely that someone should, if possible, arouse and rekindle in the minds of the Greeks, by the relation of that old story, the old Greek valor itself, the old industry, the old patience of labor. Could someone do that . . . then I am confident, neither would the Greeks be wanting to themselves, nor any other nation wanting to the Greeks." (John Milton, *Works* [New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1936], vol. XII, pp. 54-59.) A later letter from Milton to Philaras, dated Sept. 28, 1654 (*Ibid.*, pp. 64-71), does not touch on political questions.

66. "Because [Milton] took so comprehensive a view of well-being, to him the revolution seemed a single movement. . . . He felt the unity of national life. . . . It was a throwing off of tutelage, an assuming of the rights of manhood upon the part of the nation, and it seemed to him natural that this should involve a repudiation of authoritative teaching as well as the resistance to material and civil restraints. . . . The same comprehensive view led him to recognize those other interests—unorganized as yet, and almost unnamed—of literature and education as equally essential to the national life, and as equally concerned in a revolution which threw the national life into new forms." (Sir John Robert Seeley, *Lectures and Essays* [London: Macmillan, 1895], p. 112.) Hilaire Belloc in his *Milton* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1935), p. 22, saw Milton as leading "the new religion of patriotism . . . , the transference to the English image of that feeling which hitherto had attached to Princes and before them to what had been the common religion of Christendom." See also G. Wilson Knight, *Chariot of Wrath: The Message of John Milton to Democracy at War* (London: Faber, 1942); Gertrude Hardeland, *Miltons Anschauungen von Staat, Kirche, Toleranz* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1934); H. Poppers, *Der religiöse Ursprung des modernen englischen Freiheits- und Staatsideals. Die Geschichtsgestaltung des Independentismus* (Prague: Taussig & Taussig, 1936); Karl Völker, *Die religiöse Wurzel des englischen Imperialismus* (Tübingen; J. C. B. Mohr, 1924); Don M. Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1941); Jesse F. Mack, "The Evolution of Milton's Political Thinking," *Sewanee Review*, vol. XX (1922), pp. 193-205.

The importance of the seventeenth century for English history was clearly understood by Macaulay and by Dollinger. Of Milton, Macaulay wrote: "He lived at one of the most memorable eras in the history of mankind, at the very crisis of the great conflict between Oromasdes and Arimanes, liberty and despotism, reason and prejudice. That great battle was fought for no single generation, for no single land. The destinies of the human race were staked on the same case with the freedom of the English people. Then were first proclaimed those mighty principles which have since worked their way into the depths of the American forests, which have aroused Greece from the slavery and degradation of two thousand years, and which, from one end of Europe to the other, have kindled an unquenchable fire in the hearts of the oppressed, and loosed the knees of the oppressors with an unwonted fear." (Macaulay, *Critical, Historical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 6 vols. in 3 [New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1860], vol. I, p. 233.) Dollinger characterized Cromwell: "Er hat, zuerst unter den

Mächtigen, ein religiöses Princip aufgestellt und, so weit sein Arm reichte, zur Geltung gebracht, welches, im Gegensatz gegen die grossen historischen Kirchen . . . Kern und Stoff zu einer abgesonderten Religion in sich trug — das Princip der Gewissensfreiheit, der Verwerfung alles religiösen Zwanges. . . . Es war damals von weittragender Bedeutung, dass der Beherrscher eines mächtigen Reiches diese neue Lehre verkündete, die dann noch fast anderthalb Jahrhunderte brauchte, bis sie in der öffentlichen Meinung so erstarkte, dass auch ihre noch immer zahlreichen Gegner sich vor ihr beugen müssen." (Ignaz von Dollinger, *Akademische Vorträge* [Munich: C. H. Beck, 1891], vol. III, pp. 55 f.) And about the importance of that period for the rise of English nationalism a modern English historian wrote: "In the England of the seventeenth century, the conscious, deliberate resolve to be itself, to be the master of its fate takes complete possession of the nation" (J. A. Cramb, *The Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain* [London: John Murray, 1915], pp. 8 f.).

67. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History* (London: Longmans, 1902), pp. 114, 116. Cromwell was "the incarnation—perhaps the greatest we have had—of the genius of English nonconformity, which is a peculiar and (may even be said) the cardinal factor in the general development of English politics and English national life" (Ernest Barker, *Oliver Cromwell and the English People*, p. 28). See also Hermann Oncken, *Cromwell: Vier Essays über die Führung einer Nation* (Berlin: Grote, 1935); Helmuth Kittel, *Oliver Cromwell: Seine Religion und seine Sendung* (Berlin: Gruyter, 1928); Arnold Oskar Meyer, "Cromwell," in his *Deutsche und Engländer*, (Munich: Beck, 1937), pp. 225-252.
68. Charles Firth, *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England* (London: Putnam, 1925), pp. 440, 443. The third quotation from Cromwell is from *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with elucidations by Thomas Carlyle*, ed. Sophia C. Lomas (3 vols., London: Methuen, 1904), which has an excellent introduction on Carlyle by C. F. Firth, vol. I, pp. xvi-lil. A new work in 4 vols. based on that of Mrs. Lomas is now in course of publication: *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. Wilbur Cortez Abbott (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, vol. I, 1937; vol. II, 1939). See E. S. de Beer, "Some Recent Works on Oliver Cromwell," *History*, vol. XXIII, pp. 120-134 (Sept., 1938). Important source material on the rise of Puritanism is to be found in William Haller (ed.), *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution, 1638-1647* (3 vols., New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), and his *The Rise of Puritanism; Or, the Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press, 1570-1643* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1938). See also A. S. P. Woodhouse (ed.), *Puritanism and Liberty, being the Army Debates (1647-1649)* (London: Dent, 1938); W. Fraser Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1932); W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (4 vols., Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1932-1940); Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1943).
69. Lomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 509; vol. III, pp. 30 f.; vol. II, p. 358. See also vol. I, p. 187, where he speaks of "true English hearts and zealous affections toward the general weal of our Mother Country," and vol. III, pp. 172 f.: "We are apt to boast sometimes that we are Englishmen: and truly it is no shame to us that we are so; but it is a motive to us to do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of this Nation, and the interest of it."
70. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 404 f. A similar sentiment was expressed at the talking of Bristol in 1645. "All this is none other than the work of God. . . . These galant men,

. . . its their joy that they are instruments to God's glory, and their country's good." (Vol. I, pp. 217 f.)

71. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 290 ff., 340 f.; vol. III, pp. 11-13. Among many other passages see his letter to Pembroke (vol. I, p. 321, also pp. 511 f.) "Sir, what can be said to these things? Is it an arm of flesh that does these things? Is it the wisdom, and counsel, or strength of men? It is the Lord only. . . . Sir, you see the work is done by divine leading. . . . If it will not yet be received that these are seals of God's approbation of your great change of Government—which indeed was no more yours than these victories and successes are ours—yet let them with us say, that both are the righteous judgments and mighty works of God." Or his letter from his campaign in Ireland in 1650 (vol. II, p. 52): "The Lord is pleased still to vouchsafe us His presence and to prosper His own work in our hands; which to us is the more eminent because truly we are a company of poor, weak and worthless creatures. Truly our work is neither from our own brains nor from our courage and strength, but we follow the Lord who goeth before, and gather what he scattereth, that so all may appear to be from him." Similarly in a letter from Scotland in 1651 (vol. II, pp. 224 ff.): "I am not yet able to give you an exact account of the great things the Lord hath wrought for this Commonwealth and for His people. . . . The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. . . . I am bold humbly to beg, that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honour who hath wrought so great salvation, and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen nation; but that fear of the Lord even for His mercies, may keep an authority and a people so prospered and blessed, and witnessed unto, humble and faithful." In a letter from Cork on Dec. 31, 1649, about the arrangement for the administration of justice in Ireland, Cromwell wrote. "That a Divine Presence hath gone along with us in the late great transactions in this nation, I believe most good men are sensible of, and thankful to God for. . . . To us who are employed as instruments in this work the contentment that appears is, that we are doing our Master's work; that we have His presence and blessing with us,—and that we live in hope to see Him cause wars to cease, and bringing in that Kingdom of glory and peace which He hath promised."
72. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 21. In this Declaration to the People of Ireland, Cromwell drew a wrong picture of the history of Ireland, painting it as an idyllic and peaceful cohabitation of Irishmen and Englishmen until wicked priests instigated and deluded the Irish. He was sincere in his ignorance of history, and this explains his cruelties. Mrs. Lomas remarks (p. 9 n.): "Not only was Cromwell not behind the other men of his day but he and they were all immeasurably in advance of their predecessors of a generation or two before; as may be seen by studying the letters of the rulers of Ireland at the end of Elizabeth's reign; with their triumphant relations of the 'good killings' not only of men, but of women and little children; their cold-blooded proposals for subduing the country by absolute starvation; their utter callousness in fact, as regards the sufferings or the lives of the Irish people." It is absurd to compare contemporary aggressive imperialism with past deeds of British imperialism: the changed circumstances, the progress in our reaction to oppression and in our knowledge of history and social conditions have to be taken into account. Besides, Cromwell's imperialism had a liberal and liberating call; fascist imperialism today rejects all liberating and humanizing efforts.
73. This "Hebraic nationalism" (Ernest Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 27) was not only characteristic of the origins of English nationalism in Cromwell's time; it colored all the sermons of the period. "The Old Testament had done more than supply them with texts. It had colored their thinking. Like the medieval commentator,

the preacher and listener found in the words of the Bible a wealth of implication. The names of Moses, Asa, Ezra, and Zerubbabel had a significance almost mystic to [Stephen] Marshall and his contemporaries. The comparison of the task of the Commons to the rebuilding of the temple by the Israelites, which is found in many of the sermons, suggested that which would have been almost treasonable had the comparison been carried to its logical conclusion. And indeed it was the more significant because of what was implied. In Marshall's sermon on the work of Josiah, his audience did not need to hear the wrongs of England rehearsed in detail: the 'provocations' of Manasseh only too clearly referred to the arbitrary rule of Charles I and Strafford and Laud. Just as to the Christian Socialist of the nineteenth century the Bible was 'the history of the People's cause,' so to the preachers before the Long Parliament it was the history of Puritanism. The Old Testament especially seemed to rehearse the trials of the righteous as they strove to maintain their integrity against persecution and the wiles of their enemies." (Ethyn Williams Kirby, "Sermons Before the Commons, 1640-42," *American Historical Review*, vol. XLIV, p. 545 [Apr., 1939].) Many of the independent sects showed Judaizing tendencies; practically all of them expected the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth in connection with the readmission of the Jews to England, or with their return to Palestine, or with their baptism. Henry Archer in his sermon of 1642, "The Personal Reign of Christ upon Earth," set 1656 as the date for the conversion of the Jews and 1700 for the coming of Christ. Another divine, John Owen, preached a sermon before the House of Commons on Oct. 13, 1652, stressing the fact that the Turk and the Pope had to be overthrown and the Jews brought back to their own before the kingdom of God could be established. "There were also differences of opinion as to the exact part the Jews were to play in setting up the kingdom, but it was to be an important one, and therefore they were to be favored, and admitted to England" (Louise Fargo Brown, *The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England During the Interregnum* [Washington: American Historical Association, 1912], p. 24). Cromwell himself favored the Jews and their resettlement in England (whence they had been expelled in 1290). His motives in favoring the Jews were characteristically twofold, his hope for the fulfillment of Messianic prophecy and his wish for Jewish commercial support. The leading Jewish scholar, Manasseh ben Israel, published in 1650 his *Esperança de Israel*, first in Spanish and then in a Latin translation with a prefatory epistle to the Parliament of England. For text and history see *Manasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*, ed. Lucien Wolf (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1901). See also Cecil Roth, *Life of Manasseh ben Israel* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934); Nathan Osterman, "The Controversy over the Proposed Readmission of the Jews to England (1655)," *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. III (1941), pp. 301-328; A. Stern, "Manasseh ben Israel et Cromwell," *Revue des études juives*, vol. V (1882), pp. 96-111. In 1657 a nephew of Manasseh was admitted to the Royal Exchange as a duly licensed broker of the City of London, without taking the usual oaths involving faith in Christianity (*The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. V, p. 169).

William Blake summed up the essence of early English nationalism when in his poem "Milton" he made the spirit of the poet returned to earth swear:

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

An even stronger Old Testament spirit permeates his poem "Jerusalem," also written in 1804

And thus the Voice Divine went forth upon the rocks of Albion
I elected Albion for my glory: I gave to him the Nations
Of the whole Earth; He was the angel of my Presence, and all
The sons of God were Albion's sons, and Jerusalem was my joy. . . .
Return o Albion, let Jerusalem overspread all Nations
As in the times of old. . . .

This influence was strong in Wordsworth, and can be traced today in poems like Kipling's "Recessional," Robert Bridges' "Hymn in the Time of War and Tumults," and in Alfred Noyes' "Drake."

The great Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679), a Calvinist and in some ways comparable to Milton, wrote a "Vergelijkinge van de verlossinge der Kinderen Israël met de vrijwordinge der Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provincien."

74. The British imperial feeling of Cromwell's days was expressed in works like James Harrington's *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (London, 1656), dedicated to Cromwell, in which the figure of the lawgiver Olphaus Megaletor represented Cromwell. Another work of this type was *The English American, his Travail by Sea and Land—or a New Survey of the West India's*, published in 1648 by Thomas Gage, a former Catholic priest who had lived in Central America and later had become converted to Protestantism.

Your well built ships, companions of the Sunn,
As they were chariots to his fiery beams,
Which oft the earths circumference have runn,
And now lie moord in Severn, Trent, and Themis,
Shall plow the ocean with their gilded stems,
And in their hollow bottoms you convey,
To lands inrich'd with gold, with pearls and gems,
But above all, where many thousands stay,
Of wronged Indians, whom you shall set free,
From Spanish yoke, and Romes Idolatry.

A similar sentiment was expressed by Cromwell in his letter to the English Admiral at Jamaica, at the end of Oct., 1655, in the midst of the war against the Spaniards. "The Lord Himself hath a controversy with your Enemies, even with that Roman Babylon, of which the Spaniard is the great underproper. In that respect you fight the Lord's battles; and in this the Scriptures are most plain. . . . Only the Covenant-fear of the Lord be upon you." (Lomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 471.) In a letter of Apr. 28, 1656, Cromwell drew the attention of his generals to the desirability of the occupation of the town and castle of Gibraltar in the fight against Spain (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 489).

Cromwell's attitude to the Empire is discernible in Lord Rosebery's inaugural address as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, on Nov. 16, 1900. "How marvelous it all is. . . . Human, and not wholly human—for the most heedless and the most cynical must see the finger of the Divine. . . . Do we not hail in this less the energy and fortune of a race than the supreme direction of the Almighty? Shall we not, while we adore the blessings, acknowledge the responsibility?" A standard text (Hugh E. Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy* [London, Methuen, 1897], p. 496) claimed that "behind the mistakes and failures of individuals and generations there grows upon us, if we study the history, the sense of an unseen superintending Providence controlling the development of the Anglo-Saxon race." Its religious foundations preserved British

imperialism from falling into the self-adulation and *hybris* of modern fascist imperialism. Kipling's "Recessional," written in 1897 at the height of British imperialism, sounded in Old Testament words the warning to humility and the emphasis upon moral restraint, inherent in the Christian and liberal character of British imperialism.

75. Friedrich Brie, *Die Nationalliteratur Schottlands von den Anfängen bis zur Renaissance* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1937), claims that Scotland from 1286 to the Reformation was the first European nation not only to defend its independence but to make the idea of national liberty the common spiritual possession of the people. But although the great Scotch poems—from John Barbour's "Bruce" (c. 1375), a glorification of the national hero Robert Bruce who died in 1329, on down to "Wallace" (1483)—show an increasing patriotic feeling, nevertheless in "Bruce" it is still so weak that many of the most competent critics disregard it completely. The spirit of the Bruce is the glorification of liberty.

A! fredome is a noble thing!
 Fredome mayss man to haiff liking;
 Fredome all solace to man giffis,
 He levys at ess that frely levys!

(*The Bruce*, Bk. I, 225-228)

A similar feeling of hostility against England filled Andrew of Wyntoun's "Orygynalle Chronykel of Scotland," written at the beginning of the fifteenth century. But generally prose in Scotland was written in Latin and only poetry in the "vulgar tounge."

Brie stressed that while in fifteenth century England the cosmopolitan knightly attitude still prevailed and the heroes fought not for patriotic motives but for "chivalrye and loyalte," the Scotch epics and chronicles of that time had a patriotic ring unknown elsewhere. In spite of that we find nationalism of practically no importance in Scotland during these centuries. The country was torn by factions and rivalry among its aristocracy, who showed a complete lack of loyalty to the fatherland, frequently changed their allegiance, and often made common cause with England against Scotland. Many Scotch envisaged the end of the long conflict between the two kingdoms in the form of a union by marriage. The first modern Scotch history published, John Major's *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae* (Paris, 1521), pleaded for such a union. The first real expression of Scotch nationalism, even then an isolated literary fact, is to be found in the sixteenth century, in *The Complaynt of Scotlande wyth ane Exortatione to the Thre Estats to be vigilante in the Dessens of their Public veil*, ed. James A. H. Murray (London: Early English Text Society, 1872). *The Complaynt* was probably written in 1549, and the main part of the book is an adaptation of Alain Chartier's "Le Quadrilogue Invecitif" to the Scotch crisis. See William A. Neilson, "The Original of the Complaynt of Scotlande," *Journal of Germanic Philology*, vol. I, No. 4 (Bloomington, Ind., 1897), pp. 411-430, which shows the close political and cultural tie between France and Scotland. In both poems Dame France or Scotia exhorted her three sons, the estates, to unite against the foreigner, the "auld enemy of Ingland." The passage from Chartier quoted above in our text, "Ce vous puis ie mettre an deuant, que apres le lien de foy Catholique, nature vous a deuant toute autre chose obligez au commun salut du pays de vostre nativité," is rendered in *The Complaynt*, "Allace, quhy remember ye nocht that natur hes oblist you til auance the salute ande deffens of your public veil." The ensuing patriotic passage from Chartier has been fully translated in *The Complaynt*: "Encore dis-ie que pou doit priser la naissance, et moins desirer la continuation de sa vie, qui

passee ses iours ainsi que fait homme nay pour soy seulement, sans fructifier à la commune utilité, et comme celuy qui extaint sa memoire avecques sa vie. Helas! tant est es entiers couraiges prouchaine, et si inseparablement enracinee l'amour naturelle du pays, que le corps tend à y retourner de toutes parts comme en son propre lieu: le cuer y est donné, comme à celle habitation qui plus luy est agreable, la vie et la santé y croissent et amendent, l'omme y quiert sa seurte son refuge, le repos de sa vieillesse, et sa derniere sepulture."

It is curious to note that such Scotch nationalism as existed was found in the lowlands, where the Scotch "language" was a northern dialect of early English. Those highlanders who used the Gaelic language, living on islands or in lonely mountain valleys, knew more the loyalty to the clan than to the state. Gaelic literature consisted solely of poetry orally transmitted. The first printed book in Gaelic was Knox's *Liturgy*, translated by Bishop Carswell of the Isles in 1567. In his Epistle to the Reader, Carswell vehemently deprecated the occupation with old Gaelic songs instead of with the word of God. On Gaelic poetry see *The Book of Highland Verse*, ed. Dugald Mitchell (London: Nutt, 1912).

The sixteenth century ended not only Gaelic but also Scotch poetry and literature, for there was no place for them in the theocracy set up by John Knox. With the accession of James VI to the throne of England the Scotch educated classes began to speak and write only in English. A revival of Scotch literature came only with Allen Ramsey and Robert Burns in the eighteenth century. See T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature* (London: Nutt, 1898).

76. "Seeing then to the offensiveness of man's nature one to another, there is added a right of every man to every thing, whereby one man invadeth with right, and another with right resisteth; and men live thereby in perpetual diffidence, and study how to preoccupate each other; the estate of men in this natural liberty is the estate of war. For war is nothing else but that time wherein the will and intention of contending by force is either by words or actions sufficiently declared, and the time which is not war is PEACE." (Thomas Hobbes, *The Elements of Law Natural and Politic*, ed. Ferdinand Tönnies [Cambridge Univ. Press, 1928], Pt. I, chap. 14, pp. 55 f.)
77. H. R. Fox Bourne, *The Life of John Locke* (New York: Harper, 1876), vol. I, pp. 174, 191. His "Epistola de Tolerantia" was first printed anonymously in Holland in the spring of 1689, giving "Papola" as the author's name—the initials standing for *Pacis Amico, Persecutionis Osore, Iohanne Lockio Anglo*. See also Richard I. Aaron, *John Locke* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1937). "The great exponent and embodiment of the age of enlightenment was John Locke, and John Locke is America's philosopher par excellence—the most widely read and the most influential. He was a son of a Puritan reared as a Puritan. . . . The Declaration of Independence could have been extracted almost literally from his 'Second Treatise of Civil Government.'" (Ralph Barton Perry, *Shall Not Perish from the Earth* [New York: Vanguard Press, 1940], p. 41.)
78. Holland was in her "golden age" after having secured definite independence from Spain. She was the only country which could compare with Great Britain in regard to the rise of the middle classes and liberalism.
79. "There is what I should call Etatism, as well as nationalism, in our English Reformation, and in the beginnings there is more Etatism than nationalism, though there was always some nationalism there. In other words the English Church began as a State Church rather than a national Church; but in the course of time the position was gradually changed and inverted. I should say that it became a national Church . . . in 1660." (Ernest Barker, "The Reformation and Nationality," *Modern Churchman*, vol. XXII (1932), p. 340.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Werner Fritzmeier, *Christenheit und Europa: Zur Geschichte des europäischen Gemeinschaftsgefühls von Dante bis zu Leibniz* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1931), pp. 91-117. Jacques de Cassan, *La Recherche des droicts du Roy et de la couronne de France sur les royaumes, duchez, comtés, villes et pais occupés par les princes étrangers* (Paris, 1632), is a typical work. Cassan was a very widely read author in his time. He wrote also a history of the Gallic kings from the time of the Flood to the coming of the Merovingians. His *Recherche*, which was reprinted in Rouen in 1633 and in Paris in 1646, created a furor abroad. But in his thought he did not go far beyond Pierre Dubois. For him Rome was still "le théâtre universel de la Chrestienté." France for him was called to the hegemony over Christianity because it was the most Christian nation, and because its position had been announced in the Bible. The lilies used to decorate the columns of the Temple of Solomon indicated the French king as the *advocatus ecclesiae* and therefore as the first prince of Christianity.
2. On the secularization of policy in the seventeenth century see Carl Conrad Eckhardt, *The Papacy and World Affairs as Reflected in the Secularization of Politics* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1937).
3. The standard work on the reason of state is Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1929). See the review by Carl Joachim Friedrich in *American Political Science Review*, XXV (1931), pp. 1064-1069.
4. On Richelieu's politics see *Testament politique d'Armand du Plessis, Cardinal duc de Richelieu*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie de Le Breton, 1764); *Lettres, instructions diplomatiques et papiers d'état du Cardinal de Richelieu*, ed. M. Avenel (8 vols., Paris, 1853-78); Carl J. Burckhardt, *Richelieu: Der Aufstieg zur Macht* (Munich: Georg D. W. Callwey, 1935); Wilhelm Mommsen, "Richelieu als Staatsman," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXXVII (1923), pp. 210-242. Richelieu regarded French victories as necessary "pour reduir les auteurs des troubles de la Chrestienté à consentir à son repos" *Lettres*, VII, 814 [May 6, 1640] see also IV, 423). Christianity takes precedence before one's own country (*Ibid.*, V, 501). On the economic policies of Richelieu, see F. C. Palm, *The Economic Policies of Richelieu* (Champaign: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1922).
5. Burckhardt (*op. cit.*, p. 451) regards Richelieu as a statesman who consciously prepared the coming of the future nationally conscious states, and (pp. 130 ff.) thinks Richelieu had a vision of the coming age of nationalism in his exile in Avignon in 1618. Whether Richelieu really had any vision of a coming world of nationalism is most doubtful; he and his age did no more than lay the first foundations upon which nationalism could grow up, many years later. The age of Richelieu's *éminence grise*, Father Joseph, who as a new Peter the Hermit concentrated all his thoughts on arousing Europe to a crusade against the Turk, the age of Pierre de Bérulle and of Bossuet, and even during the later seventeenth century, the time of Fénelon and of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was a Catholic and religious age, not nationalistic. All its thinkers

and statesmen, including Richelieu, stressed the universal and the general, not the particular and parochial.

6. See Wilhelm Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 232 ff.

7. Meinecke (*op. cit.*, p. 188): "dass jeder Staat vom Egoismus des eigenen Nutzens und Vorteils getrieben werde und rücksichtslos alle anderen Motive schweigen lasse, wobei aber zugleich stillschweigend als wesentliche Voraussetzung gilt, dass die *ragione di stato* immer nur den wohlverstandenen, den rationalen, von blossen Instinkten der Gier gereinigten Vorteil bedeute."

8. See the excellent book by Koppel S. Pinson, *Pietism As a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1934). He stresses the fact that the enthusiasm and the feeling of community engendered by Pietism prepared the soil in Germany for the rise of romantic nationalism and its latest vulgarization, National Socialism, with its emphasis upon the mystical union fusing all members of the group together.

The same transformation of religion through enlightenment and rationalism on the one hand, and through a mystical intensification and personalization on the other, at the approach of the age of nationalism, is found also in Judaism, in Islam, and in Hinduism. In Judaism in the second half of the eighteenth century, with the break-up of the purely religious medieval form of communal life, we find the two opposite and nevertheless related movements: the rationalistic Enlightenment, represented by the rising upper middle class of the large cities, and Hassidism, a mystical pietist movement with definite democratic and lower-class emphasis, originating in the villages of Eastern Europe. On the importance of these two religious attitudes for the rise of modern Jewish nationalism, see my *L'Humanisme juif* (Paris: Rieder, 1931), pp. 9-17, and my *Martin Buber. Sein Werk und seine Zeit* (Hellerau: Hegner, 1930).

Similar religious renaissance movements, partly of a rationalist and partly of a more mystically personalized character, preceded the rise of modern nationalism within Islam and Hinduism. See my *A History of Nationalism in the East* (London: Routledge, 1929), chaps. II and IV.

9. See G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz, "Die geistesgeschichtlichen Grundlagen der anglo-amerikanischen Weltsuprematie: II, Die Wurzeln der Demokratie," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, vol. LVIII (1927), pp. 60 ff. In this article (p. 108), the author regards as a final goal of democracy "Welt-demokratie (die Menschheit als ein vom Gemeingest aller Völker getragener Verband) untermauert durch Weltwirtschaft und Weltgesinnung."

10. See Carl L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1932).

11. Descartes, *Œuvres*, ed. C. Adam and P. Tannery (Paris, 1897-1910), vol. X, pp. 515, 496. See Hugo Friedrich, *Descartes und der französische Geist* (Leipzig: Meiner, 1937), and the review of the book by Hans Barth in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, July 25, 1937; also Ernst Cassirer, *Descartes' Lehre, Persönlichkeit, Wirkung* (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1939); Gustave Lanson, "L'Influence de la philosophie cartésienne sur la littérature française" (1895), in his *Études d'histoire littéraire* (Paris: H. Champion, 1929); and as an interesting example of German anti-Cartesianism, see Franz Böhm, *Anticartesianismus: Deutsche Philosophie im Widerstand* (Leipzig: Meiner, 1938).

12. Janssacq, *La Véritable Clef de la langue française* (Ratzebourg, 1697), quoted in Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900* (Paris: Colin, 1917), vol. V, p. 137.

13. Erhard Preissig, *Der Völkergedanke: Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung über das französische Schrifttum der Frühklassik, Klassik und Frübaufklärung* (Brünn: Rohrer, 1931), contains rich material on the cosmopolitanism of

- French authors of that time. Crucé's *Le Nouveau Cynée* was edited with English translation under the title *The New Cyneas* by Thomas Willing Balch (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1909). See also the same author's *Émérie Crucé* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1900). Some of Crucé's plans were far ahead of his age and showed a deep insight into coming developments, "What a pleasure it would be to see men go freely here and there, and to hold intercourse with one another, without any scruples of country, ceremonies or other such diversities, as if the earth were as she really is, a dwelling-place common to all!" He pleaded for absolute religious tolerance. The order of precedence which he suggested for the meetings at Venice showed clearly his world-wide understanding and the absence of any French chauvinism. First came the Pope, in part out of respect to Ancient Rome; second, the Sultan of the Turks, because of the majesty, power, and happiness of his empire and also on account of the memory of the Eastern Empire; then the Christian Emperor (the Habsburg prince); fourth, the King of France, followed by the King of Spain, the King of Persia, the King of China, Prester John, the Prince of Tartary, the Grand Duke of Muscovy, the Kings of Great Britain, of Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Japan, Morocco, etc. The Pope should approach the Christian princes, the King of France the Mohammedan rulers, with this proposal. Crucé sought "a peace, which is not patched up, not for three days, but which is voluntary, equitable, and permanent, a peace which gives to each one what belongs to him, privilege to the citizen, hospitality to the foreigner, and to all indifferently the liberty of travel and trading." On these forerunners of international organization see also Christian L. Lange, *Histoire de l'Internationalisme*, vol. I, *Jusqu'à la paix de Westphalie* (Christiania: Institut Nobel norvégien, 1919), and Elizabeth V. Souleyman, *The Vision of World Peace in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century France* (New York: Putnam, 1940).
14. Hugo Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis libri tres*, transl. Francis W. Kelsey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), Introduction, 23.
 15. Grotius pleaded, for instance (*Ibid.*, Introduction, 14), for the recognition of the oneness of mankind by referring to the Bible. "Historia sacra . . . nos docet ab iisdem primis parentibus ortos homines omnes, ita ut . . . dici recte possit, . . . cognationem inter nos a natura constituta; cui consequens sit, hominem homini insidiare nefas esse." But for Grotius (*Ibid.*, bk. I, chap. 1, 48) Hebraic law was not binding as it was for the Puritans. For him it was a law of divine origin, but peculiar to a single people. With all his immense respect for and his frequent references to Aristotle, he nevertheless showed the new independence of the rationalists, even in relation to Aristotle: "Our purpose is to make much account of Aristotle, but reserving in regard to him the same liberty which he, in his devotion to truth, allowed himself with respect to his teachers" (*Ibid.*, Introduction, 45).
 16. *Ibid.*, bk. I, chap. 1, 40; Introduction, 27.
 17. *Ibid.*, bk. III, chap. 25, 1. In the same chapter, Grotius said: "Aristotle himself more than once condemns those nations which made warlike pursuits, as it were, the end and aim. Violence is characteristic of wild beasts, and violence is most manifest in war, wherefore the more diligently efforts should be put forth that it be tempered with humanity, lest by imitating wild beasts too much we forget to be human." In a note to the Introduction, Grotius pointed to the Spartans as an example of a nation for whom international law and universal reciprocity were meaningless. "In their conception of honor the Lacedaemonians assigned the first place to the advantage of their country; they neither know nor learn any other kind of right than that which they think will advance the interests of Sparta." (Plutarch, *Agessilas*, XXXVII, 617, D.) "In relation with one another" the Spartans "are more strict in their practice of

virtue. But with respect to others, he will state the fact in word who will say that in their view what is agreeable is honorable, what is advantageous is just." (Thucydides, V, 105.)

18. See Hans Barth, "Nachwirkungen des Naturrechts," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 6, 1938; Erik Wolf, *Grotius*, Pufendorf, Thomasius (Tübingen: Mohr, 1927), Ernst Cassirer, "Vom Wesen und Werden des Naturrechts," *Zeitschrift für Rechtsphilosophie*, vol. VI (1932), No. 1; Ernst Troeltsch, "The Ideas of Natural Law and Humanity in World Politics," in Otto Gierke, *Natural Law and the Theory of Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1934), vol. I, pp. 201-222. See also Ernest Barker's introduction to this vol., pp. xlv-lxxvii.

19. The new conception of the *humana civilitas* based upon reason and natural law found its philosophical expression in Kant's *Die Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht* and in his *Zum ewigen Frieden*. Julius Kaerst in his *Weltgeschichte: Antike und deutsches Volkstum* (Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1925), said (pp. 15, 22), apropos of the impact of the ecumenical idea on the first thousand years of European history after the downfall of the Roman Empire "Wir können uns die Macht, mit der die Idee der Oekumene als der letzten und höchsten Instanz irdisch-menschlicher Kulturgestaltung sich der Phantasie und dem Gemüt der damaligen Menschen einprägte, die innere Kraft, die sie in dem folgenden Jahrtausend bewahrt hat, kaum stark und gross genug vorstellen. . . . So ist der Einheitsgedanke ein geradezu grundlegendes Element in dem Kulturerbe, das die Alten den folgenden Geschlechtern übermitteln haben. Je universaler eine menschliche Gemeinschaftsbildung ist, desto näher kommt sie dem Vorbild aller wahrhaften menschlichen Kultur, dem vernünftigen Weltgesetze, desto höher ist somit ihr Kulturwert. Überall da, wo wir in der Folgezeit eine unmittelbare Anknüpfung menschlicher Lebensordnungen an die umfassende Ordnung der allgemeinen Welt finden, dürfen wir von vornherein einen entschiedenen Einfluss antiker Anschauung vermuten."

Even John Locke in his *Two Treatises of Government* (bk. II, chap. 9, 128), regarded the existence of separate and independent states as conditioned by man's evil nature and as a lesser and less desirable state than one world society. By the law of nature, he said, "common to them all, he and all the rest of mankind are one community, make up one society distinct from all other creatures, and were it not for the corruptness and viciousness of degenerate men, there would be no need of any other, no necessity that men should separate from this great and natural community, and associate into lesser combinations." As against the universal society, Locke called the national or parochial states "a private or particular political society."

20. "Aber die Grundlage des modernen Individualismus ist doch nicht in erster Linie die Renaissance. Es ist vielmehr die christliche Idee selbst von der Bestimmung des Menschen zur vollendeten Persönlichkeit durch den Aufschwung zu Gott als der Quelle alles persönlichen Lebens und der Welt zugleich, welcher Aufschwung ebendamt ein Ergriffen- und Gebildetwerden durch den göttlichen Geist ist. Es ist die hierin enthaltene Metaphysik des absoluten Personalismus, die unsere ganze Welt mittelbar oder unmittelbar durchdringt, und die dem Gedanken der Freiheit, der Persönlichkeit, des autonomen Selbst einen metaphysischen Untergrund gibt, der auch da nachwirkt, wo er bestritten und geleugnet wird. Diese Seelenverfassung hat das Christentum und der israelitische Prophetismus begründet. Das Christentum hat dann den Platonismus und den Stoizismus in sich hineingezogen und mit sich verschmolzen. Es hat die absterbende Antike zusammengefasst und erneuert, indem es als ihr letztes Erzeugnis den göttlichen Staat, die Kirche,

das Weltreich der in Gott gegründeten und geeinigten Persönlichkeiten hervorbrachte." (Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der modernen Welt*, 3rd ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1924), p. 21.)

21. See Ernst Cassirer, *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1932); Paul Hazard, *La Crise de la conscience européenne, 1680-1715* (2 vols., Paris: Boivin, 1935); Bernhard Groethuysen, *Die Entstehung der bürgerlichen Welt- und Lebensanschauung in Frankreich* (2 vols., Halle: Niemeyer, 1927-30).
22. Bossuet, "Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture Sainte," bk. III, art. II, prop. 1, *Œuvres choisies*, (Paris: Hachette, 1900), vol. II, p. 39.
23. "La majesté est l'image de la grandeur de Dieu dans le prince." (*Ibid.*, bk. V, art. IV, prop. 1, p. 113. See also bk II, art. II, Conclusion, p. 38.)
24. Bossuet, *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture Sainte*, bk. VI, art. I, props. 1, 2 (Paris: Pierre Cot, 1709), pp. 248, 249.

Compare the classical expressions of Stuart absolutism in the speech of James I at the opening of Parliament, Mar. 19, 1604, on the union of England and Scotland: "Hath not God first united these two kingdoms, both in language and religion and similitude of manners? Yea, hath he not made us all in one island? . . . What God hath conjoined then, let no man separate. I am the husband and all the whole isle is my lawful wife: I am the head and it is my body: I am the shepherd and it is my flock. . . ." (*Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, ed. G. W. Prothero [3rd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906], pp. 282-283.) And similarly in his speech before Parliament, Mar. 21, 1610: ". . . The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth: for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods. . . ."

"I conclude then this point touching the power of kings with this axiom of divinity, That as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, . . . so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power. But just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God, I will not be content that my power be disputed upon; but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws. . . ." (*Ibid.*, pp. 293 f. See also pp. 400 f., quoted from *Works of James I*, ed. 1616, pp. 556, 202.)

25. "Réponse de Louis XV au Parlement de Paris, le 3 mars, 1766, dans un Lit de Justice," quoted in H. Taine, *Les Origines de la France contemporaine: l'ancien régime*, (14th ed., Paris: Hachette, 1885), p. 16.
26. Charles Woolsey Cole, *Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1939), vol. I, p. 25.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 344 ff.
28. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 551; vol. I, p. 416. Prof. Cole makes it clear that "Colbert is not to be thought of as a bourgeois in high office, but as a representative of that age-old class, the courtier, and of that new class that was gradually growing up as the duties of the national state multiplied, the civil servant. As such, the motives and basic ideas that moved Colbert were not even remotely business considerations of any sort. They were loyalty to the king and to the monarchy." (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 333. See also vol. II, p. 554.) See also Eli F. Heckscher, "Mercantilism," in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, and his *Mercantilism*, transl. Mendel Shapiro (2 vols., London: Allen & Unwin, 1935). Heckscher (*Mercantilism*, vol. II, p. 14) thinks that "the expressions 'nationalism' and 'national considerations' are inaptly foisted on mercantilism. There is something in the expression 'nationalism' which is later than mercantilism." In the valuable study by Edgar S. Furniss, *The Position of the Laborer in a System of Nation-*

alism (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920), the expression "nationalism" is used in the general sense. See also Philip W. Buck, *The Politics of Mercantilism* (New York: Holt, 1942).

29. Life in Holland, where many French writers and students went as teachers and as officers, not only was enriched by these contacts with France, but reacted upon French civilization by setting the example of a free country with all the values of liberty. See Gustave Cohen, *Ecrivains français en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1920). Descartes wrote from Amsterdam to Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac, "Quel autre pays où l'on puisse jouir d'une liberté si entière?" Balzac himself, the future author of *Le Prince*, delivered in Holland at the age of twenty a speech on the Netherlands, which is reprinted, *op. cit.*, pp. 713 ff., praising the spirit of independence of the Dutch, of whom he said "Un peuple est libre pourvu qu'il ne veuille plus servir. . . Ils donnent un exemple mémorable à tous les peuples de ce qu'ils peuvent contre leurs souverains." Periodicals published in the Netherlands carried on in French their political struggles, were widely read throughout Europe, and contributed to the diffusion of the French language.
30. Voiture, *Œuvres*, (new ed., Paris: Charpentier, 1855), vol. I, pp. 272 ff. Similarly, we find in the second half of the seventeenth century some isolated remarks like "Il n'y a point de patrie dans le despotisme, d'autres choses y suppléent, l'intérêt, la gloire, le service du prince." (Jean La Bruyère, *Les caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle*, chap. 10, "Du souverain ou de la république," in *Œuvres* (Paris: A. Belin, 1820), p. 126.
31. "Und wer heute dieser, morgen jener Staatsraison diene, der diene im letzten Grunde,—das wurde von Pufendorf nicht gesagt, aber wohl von ihm empfunden,—der Weltvernunft, die es so wollte, dass die Interessen der Staaten sich hinieden zerspalteten, die es aber verlangte, dass jeder seine volle Pflicht an seiner Stelle tue und einen Wechsel der Stelle dabei deswegen nicht missbilligen konnte, weil jeder Fürsten- und Staatsdienst dem andern innerlich gleichwertig war." (Meinecke, *op. cit.*, p. 299.)
32. See Robert Michels in *Verhandlungen des Zweiten Deutschen Soziologentages* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1913), p. 151.
33. See Yves de la Brière in *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Compte Rendu, 1930, 2^e Semestre* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan), Séance du 31 mai, 1930, pp. 335 ff. Sully in his *Grand dessein de République chrétienne et d'États-Unis d'Europe*, which he attributed to Henry IV, advised that in case of the union of different territories the customs and languages of the territories should be taken into consideration.
34. "Les Marseillois sont idolâtres de leur langage; il y a cinquante ou soixante ans, qu'on y entendoit le François à peu près comme le haut allemand, on l'entend mieux à présent, et même on le parle, et ceux qui s'en mêlent le parlent fort correctement; cependant un Prédicateur bien au-dessous des plus médiocres qui prêche en Provençal, effacera à coup sûr les plus éloquents qui prêcheront en François. . . Avec l'amour de leur Langue, ils ont conservés l'idée de leur ancienne liberté, et ne se disent jamais François, mais Marseillois, et ils on attaché à cette qualité une idée si flatteuse, que pour toutes choses vous ne les obligeriez pas de s'avouer François." (J. B. Labat, *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie* [5 vols., Paris, 1730], vol. II, pp. 31-33, quoted in Ferdinand Brunot, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 45. There, on pp. 92, 104, 111 ff., see also examples of the effort under Louis XIV to introduce French as the common language in France.)
35. "Diese volkliche Buntheit hat aber erst im 19. Jahrhundert eine politische Bedeutung angenommen. Bis dahin herrschte die vornationalistische Zeit, in

der es eine nationale Frage im heutigen Sinn nicht gab. Es war die Zeit des Absolutismus, in der alle Landeskinder in gleicher Weise nicht Subjekte, sondern Objekte der Herrschaft waren. Ein Kampf der Völker im und um den Staat war ausgeschlossen. Es gab nur den Monarchen und die Untertanen, ohne Unterschied ihrer Sprache. Und das Band, das sich um alle schlang, war das der Liebe zum Herrscher, der von Gottes Gnaden herrschte." Karl Braunias, "Oesterreich als Völkerreich," *Oesterreich: Erba und Sendung im deutschen Raum*, ed. Josef Nadler and Heinrich von Srbik (Salzburg: Anton Pustet, 1937), p. 224.

In the Austrian Netherlands Austrian domination increased the preponderance of French, which had been the language of government in Belgium since Burgundian times. The centralization which the enlightened rule of the House of Habsburg introduced helped the spread of French as much as did the general high regard which the Habsburgs, like all German princes of the eighteenth century, felt for French civilization. The lack of German nationalism among the Habsburgs was clearly discernible in their attitude towards the French in the Low Countries. See Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin, 1921), vol. V, p. 324. But the Habsburgs had no intention of suppressing one language or the other; they were entirely indifferent in the question of language, their only interest being the efficiency of administration and the welfare of the population. They did not oppress the Flemish any more than they did the French. Thus two ordinances of Maria Theresa in 1777 and 1778 proclaimed that French and Flemish should be taught equally in the schools.

36. But Fénelon was not a nationalist. In his *Dialogues of the Dead* (the Dialogue between Socrates and Alcibiades), he wrote the famous words, "Un peuple n'est pas moins un membre du genre humain qu'est la société générale, qu'une famille est un membre d'une nation particulière. Chacun doit incomparablement plus au genre humain, qui est la grande patrie, qu'à la patrie particulière dont il est né; il est donc infiniment plus pernicieux de blesser la justice de peuple à peuple, que de la blesser de famille à famille contre sa République. Renoncer au sentiment d'humanité, non seulement c'est manquer de politesse et tomber dans la barbarie, mais c'est l'aveuglement le plus dénaturé des brigands et des sauvages: ce n'est plus être homme, et être anthropophage." A similarly clear expression of the prevailing seventeenth century attitude is reported from Queen Christina of Sweden: "Elle dit que le monde n'est composé que de deux nations; l'une celle des honnêtes gens, l'autre celle des méchants; qu'elle aime la première en détestant l'autre, sans avoir aucun égard aux différents noms, par lesquels on distingue autrement les divers peuples, dont la terre est habitée." Arckenholk, *Mémoires concernant Christine, reine de Suède* (4 vols., Amsterdam, 1751-1760), vol. I, p. 427.
37. See the very good introduction to *French Patriotism in the Nineteenth Century, 1814-1833*, traced in contemporary texts by H. F. Stewart and Paul Desjardins (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923), p. xxv. There, on p. xxiv, a letter is quoted from the Duc de Maine, a son of Louis XIV, written in 1709 to Mme. de Maintenon. "C'est le cœur des François pour leur maître qu'il faut que le Roi fasse revenir. . . . Comme tout ce peuple a cru être sacrifié au désir immodéré qu'avoit son roi d'étendre ses frontières . . . il faut commencer nécessairement par saper cette fausse et détestable idée." Balzac in his *Le Prince* had a vision of a France "nécessaire à toute l'Europe," "mettant des barrières à la violence," "le commun pays des étrangers affligez."
38. *Oeuvres de M. le Chancelier d'Aguesseau* (Paris: Chez les Libraires Associés, 1787), vol. I, pp. 207 ff., 211, 212 ff.: "Lien sacré de l'autorité des Rois et de l'obéissance des Peuples, l'amour de la Patrie doit réunir tous leurs desirs. Mais

cet amour presque naturel à l'homme, cette vertu que nous connoissons par sentiment, que nous louons par raison, que nous devrions suivre même par intérêt, jette-t-elle de profondes racines dans notre cœur? Et ne dirait-on pas que ce soit comme une plante étrangère dans les Monarchies, qui ne croisse heureusement, et qui ne fasse goûter les fruits précieux que dans les Républiques?

"Là chaque Citoyen s'accoutume de bonne heure, et presque en naissant, à regarder la fortune de l'État comme sa fortune particulière. Cette égalité parfaite, et cette espèce de fraternité civile, qui ne fait de tous les Citoyens que comme une seule famille, les intéresse tous également aux biens et aux maux de leur Patrie. . . . L'amour de la Patrie devient une espèce d'amour propre. On s'aime véritablement en aimant la République, et l'on parvient enfin à l'aimer plus que soi-même. . . . Serons-nous donc réduits à chercher l'amour de la Patrie dans les États populaires, et peut-être dans les ruines de l'ancienne Rome? Le salut de l'État est-il donc moins le salut de chaque Citoyen dans les Pays qui ne connoissent qu'un seul Maître? Faudra-t-il y apprendre aux hommes à aimer une Patrie qui leur donne, ou qui leur conserve tout ce qu'ils aiment dans leurs autres biens? Mais en serons-nous surpris? Combien y en a-t-il, qui vivent et qui meurent sans sçavoir même s'il y a une Patrie!"

"Quel étrange spectacle pour le zèle de l'homme public! Un grand Royaume, et point de Patrie; un Peuple nombreux, et presque plus de Citoyens."

"Quelle est donc sa consolation, lorsque par un bonheur singulier, ou plutôt par une sagesse supérieure, il voit se former sous ses yeux un nouvel ordre de gouvernement, et comme une nouvelle Patrie, qui semble porter sur son front le présage certain de la félicité publique. C'est alors que l'amour de la Patrie se rallume dans tous les cœurs; les liens de la société se resserrent, les Citoyens trouvent une Patrie et la Patrie trouve des Citoyens. Chacun commence à sentir que sa fortune particulière dépend de la fortune publique, et ce qui est encore plus consolant, l'intelligence qui nous gouverne n'est pas moins convaincue que le salut du Souverain dépend du salut des Peuples."

39. René-Louis de Voyer, Marquis d'Argenson, born in 1694, a jurist, statesman and admirer of Abbé de Saint-Pierre and his pacifist proposals, wrote in his *Journal* on June 26, 1754: "Les opinions nationales prévalent et peuvent mener loin. L'on observe que jamais l'on n'avait répété les noms de *nation* et d'*état* comme aujourd'hui: ces deux noms ne se prononçaient jamais sous Louis XIV, et l'on n'en avait seulement pas l'idée. L'on n'a jamais été si instruit qu'aujourd'hui des droits de la nation et de la liberté. Moi-même, qui ai toujours médité et puisé des matériaux dans l'étude sur ces matières, j'avais ma conviction et ma conscience tout autrement tournées qu'aujourd'hui."
40. See Jacques Barzun, *The French Race Theories of Its Origins and Their Social and Political Implications Prior to the Revolution* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932), pp. 137-147. Similarly, the anonymous *Soupire de la France Esclave* demanded the reestablishment of the sovereignty of the Estates. The controversy about the racial origins of the French and their political implications filled the eighteenth century. The Abbé Gabriel de Mably used them in his famous *Observations sur l'histoire de France* (1765), to prove that the original government of the Franks was democratic, and that they had given equality to the conquered Gauls. Charlemagne, according to Mably, had taught the people patriotism, the union of all classes for the fatherland in obedience to the laws, in the making of which they participated by public assemblies meeting twice a year. Thus Mably sought in the past of France the example for the republic or democratic monarchy which he wished to see established in France. Voltaire thought all disputes about racial origin unimportant. In his *Commentaire sur l'esprit des lois* (1777), commenting upon

some of Montesquieu's errors, he wrote about the racial theory, which Montesquieu used for constitutional claims based upon the supposed past Germanic liberties. "Nous venons tous de sauvages ignorés. . . . On ne prononce aujourd'hui le nom d'Ostrogoth, de Visigoth, de Hun, de Franc, de Vandale, d'Hérule, de toutes ces hordes qui ont détruit l'empire romain, qu'avec le dégoût et l'horreur qu'inspirent les noms des bêtes sauvages puantes. . . . Mais qui étaient ces Francs que Montesquieu de Bordeaux appelle *nos pères*? C'étaient, comme tous les autres barbares du Nord, des bêtes féroces qui cherchaient de la pâture, un gîte, et quelques vêtemens contre la neige. . . . D'où venaient-ils? Clovis n'en savait rien, ni nous non plus. . . . N'ayant point de villes, ils allaient, quand ils le pouvaient, piller les villes romaines. . . ." Voltaire, *Œuvres* (Paris: P. Pourrat Frères, 1839), vol. XLII, pp. 452 f. Elsewhere, pp. 418 f., he derided Montesquieu's thesis that the English derived their free institutions from the Germans and their life in the forests, as described by Tacitus, by asking why the English Parliament and not the Diet of Ratisbon was found in the German forests.

Germanic racial consciousness of the French aristocracy was analyzed from the National Socialist point of view in a thesis of the University of Kiel, Dorit Drews, *Das fränkisch-germanische Bewusstsein des französischen Adels im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Ebering, 1940).

The interpretation of French history as a racial struggle played a great role in French historiography in the first part of the nineteenth century. Augustin Thierry, even Guizot, went back to it in justification of their liberal tendencies against the *ancien régime*. Henri Martin in his *Histoire de France* wrote a paean to the Gallic race which had struggled hard against the Germanic conquerors, and finally, through Descartes, Voltaire, and the French Revolution, had overcome them. As Camille Jullian put it, "Lorsque brillèrent les chaudes journées de l'été de 1830, les plus enthousiastes se demandèrent si ce soleil de juillet n'éclairait pas la déroute suprême des anciens conquérants, le triomphe, marqué par la Providence, de la race immortelle des Gaulois." The French after 1830 abandoned this racial theory. Michelet (*Histoire de France*, 1869 ed., Preface) pointed out that this racial concept was used as a pretext to justify the past and to continue in the future the hatreds and struggles of present-day antagonism. He rejected completely the determinism of the racial concept: "L'homme est son propre Prométhée." Social and political struggles have not been determined by blood. Fustel de Coulanges (*Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, vol. II, *L'invasion germanique et la fin de l'Empire*, p. 533) has summed up his judgment on French racial theories: "L'opinion qui place au début de notre histoire une grande invasion et qui partage dès lors la population française en deux races inégales, n'a commencé à poindre qu'au XVI^e siècle et a surtout pris crédit au XVIII^e. Elle est née de l'antagonisme des classes, et elle a grandi avec cet antagonisme. Elle pèse encore sur notre société présente: opinion dangereuse, qui a répandu dans les esprits des idées fausses sur la manière dont se constituent les sociétés humaines, et qui a aussi répandu dans les cœurs des sentiments mauvais de rancune et de vengeance. C'est la haine qui l'a engendrée, et elle perpétue la haine." And similar was the judgment of Camille Jullian "L'Ancienneté de l'idée de nation," *Revue politique et littéraire, Revue Bleue*, vol. LI [1913], pp. 65-70, 99-103: "Vous savez bien ce que ce mot de 'race' renferme en lui de dangereux. Il éveille la pensée d'une conformation physique à laquelle nul n'échappe en naissant, d'habitudes matérielles que le corps nous contraint de subir, d'une inéluctable fatalité qui pèse sur les individus et les sociétés. Il justifie les haines, les condamnations, les anéantissemens même. Si vous dites que les noirs

d'Afrique sont une race inférieure, éternellement inférieure, vous êtes bien près de dire que c'est une race maudite, et vous vous résignerez à sa disparition comme à une loi inévitable. Mais si vous dites,—ce que je crois être la vérité,—que les tribus de Soudan, par exemple, représentent la décadence actuelle de nations qui furent puissantes, civilisées, et nullement méchantes, vous émettez l'espoir que ces groupes d'hommes pourront se relever, et vous aiderez à le faire.

"Ce que nous mettons à la place du mot de race, le mot de nation, signifie, non pas matière et fatalité, mais liberté et éducation."

41. *The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper* (21 vols., London, 1810), vol. XI, p. 30. One of many characteristic utterances is found in a letter from the Rev. John Flamsteed, first English Astronomer Royal, to A. Sharp, July 14, 1710: "We [English] are at present under apprehension here, but I doubt not that good Providence that has hitherto watched over and guarded this nation, will still defend us; and turn all to good" (Francis Baily, *An Account of the Revd. John Flamsteed* [London, 1835], p. 277).

On the influence of Locke, see Kenneth MacLean, *John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1936). On the religious influence in England in the eighteenth century, see Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), and John Martin Creed, *Religious Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, illustrated from writers of the period (New York: Macmillan, 1934).

42. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term "patriot" was first used at the end of the seventeenth century for one who supported the rights of the country against the king. In the early eighteenth century, the name itself fell into discredit. Macaulay in his "Essay on Horace Walpole" in 1865 said, in discussing the period of 1744: "The name of patriot had become a byword of derision. Horace Walpole scarcely exaggerated when he said that . . . the most popular declaration which a candidate could use on the hustings was that he had never been and never would be a patriot." The word "patriotic" in the modern sense was first used in 1757; the word "patriotism," in 1726. The word "national," in the sense of peculiar to the people of a particular country, characteristic or distinctive of a nation, was first used in 1625; in the sense of patriotic, in 1711. The word "nationalist" was first used in 1715; "nationality" in the sense of nationalism or national feeling, in 1772; whereas "nationalism" was not used at all until 1836.

Esther Vanhomrigh, Swift's Vanessa, wrote to him on June 23, 1713: "Lord! How much we differ from the ancients, who used to sacrifice everything for the good of their commonwealth; but now our greatest men will at any time give up their country out of a pique, and that for nothing." *Swift's Correspondence* (Ed. by Elrington Ball, London, 1911), vol. II, p. 47. Swift himself wrote:

That, present Times have no Pretense
To Virtue, in the Noblest Sense,
By Greeks and Romans understood,
To perish for our Country's Good.

"Cadenus and Vanessa," *Swift's Poems*, ed. by Harold Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), vol. II, p. 697.

43. Alexander Pope, *Poetical Works*, ed. A. W. Ward (London: Macmillan, 1907), p. 3. In 1706 William Walsh wrote to Pope, "The best of the modern poets in all languages are those that have the nearest copied the ancients."

Pope, in his "Prologue to Mr. Addison's Tragedy of Cato" (*Op. cit.*, p. 93), demanded British plays on the British stage, but

Such Plays alone should win a British ear,
As Cato's self had not disdain'd to hear.

44. The lines are from "The Saving Virtues of a Country," in "Summer," following "Complimentary Address to Britain" (which contains the first two lines quoted) and "Britain's Distinguished Sons," a portrait gallery of prominent Britons. "And Appeal to Scottish Patriotism" in "Autumn" stressed "in soul united as in name" as characteristic of patriotism. Thomson was also the author of the words of "Rule, Britannia!" which were part of a play by him and Mallet, *The Masque of Alfred*, performed for the first time in 1740 in commemoration of the accession of George I. The music was written by Dr. Thomas Arne. With the singing of "God Save the King" at Drury Lane on Sept. 25, 1745, national anthems as a symbol of a new patriotism originated in England. The English anthem was adopted at several German courts, among others in Prussia, where it was first sung in 1796. According to Carl Engel (*An Introduction to the Study of National Music* [London: Longmans, Green, 1896], p. 183) Joseph Haydn, having during his visit to England witnessed the effect of "God Save the King" on public and solemn occasions, resolved, after his return to Vienna, to present his country with a similar composition. The hymn, "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser," with music by Haydn, was performed for the first time at the Emperor's birthday on Feb. 12, 1797. Haydn's music was later used also for the popular German song, "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles," written by Hoffmann von Fallersleben on Aug. 26, 1841. Engel (*op. cit.*, p. 195) cites one example of the effect of popular national anthems, in this case the Hungarian Rákóczy March: "When I hear the Rákóczy," a Hungarian gentleman exclaimed, "I feel as if I must at once go to war to conquer the world. My fingers convulsively twitch to seize a pistol, a sword, a bludgeon, or whatever weapon may be at hand,—I must clutch it and march forward!" See also "Die Soziologie des Nationalhiedes" in Robert Michels, *Der Patriosimus* (Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1929), pp. 181-257; W. H. Cummings, "God Save the King": *The Origin and History of the Music and Words* (New York: H. W. Gray, 1902), and his *Dr. Arne and "Rule Britannia"* (New York: H. W. Gray, 1912); P. A. Scholes, "God Save the King": *Its History and Its Romance* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1943).
45. Daniel Defoe, *Novels and Selected Writings*, Shakespeare Head ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1927), vol. XIV, p. 112; Henry Fielding, *Works* (3rd ed., London: A. Miller, 1766), vol. IX, p. 289. On p. 305 under the date of Dec. 31, 1745, Fielding recorded that a letter had come from Italy with a small present of Bologna sausage and other Italian products. This letter contained an interesting definition of the word "patriot": "Signor Sar, Me be inform, dat you be de Patriat, dat is to say, van parson who take part vor de muny." See generally William Thomas Laprade, *Public Opinion and Politics in Eighteenth Century England to the Fall of Walpole* (New York: Macmillan, 1936).
46. George Berkeley, D.D., *Works*, ed. Alexander Campbell Fraser (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), vol. IV, pp. 333, 337 f.; the poem "Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America" must have been written in 1726, but was first published in 1752. The lines quoted appear on p. 366. Berkeley also wrote "A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations, and For Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity by a college to be Erected in the Summer Islands, Otherwise Called the Isles of Bermuda" (*Ibid.*, pp. 341-364). According to Alexander Campbell Fraser, *Life and Letters of George Berkeley, D.D.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), p. 103, it may have been despair of Great Britain and the old civilization which

directed Berkeley's eye to the West. Berkeley also published in 1750 "Maxims Concerning Patriotism" (*Ibid.*, pp. 551-563). See also John D. Wild, *George Berkeley: A Study of His Life and Philosophy* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1936).

47. Jonathan Swift, *Prose Works*, ed. Temple Scott (London: Bell, 1905), vol. VII, pp. 201-216, especially p. 215.
48. George Savile, 1st Marquess of Halifax, *Complete Works*, ed. Walter Raleigh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), p. 97. "The Character of a Trimmer" was written in 1684 or 1685. As against this nationalism see Defoe's satire, "The True-Born Englishman," written in 1701 in answer to John Tutchin's "For-eigner" (1700). In his Explanatory Preface to a second edition of this satire, Defoe said: "A true Englishman is one that deserves a character, and I have nowhere lessened him, that I know of; but as for a true-born Englishman, I confess I do not understand him. From hence I only infer, that an Englishman, of all men, ought not to despise foreigners as such, and I think the inference is just, since what they are today, we were yesterday, and tomorrow they will be like us." (Daniel Defoe, *Novels and Miscellaneous Works* [London: Bell, 1891], p. 426. See also his *Jure divino: A Satyr in Twelve Books* [London, 1706].) Generally the patriotic poetry of eighteenth century England is of little merit and shows no special emphasis upon English nationalism. See, for instance, Thomas Gray "The Bard" (1757), *Poems* (Everyman's Library), pp. 11-15; Richard Glover's "Admiral Hower's Ghost" (1739), *The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper* (21 vols., London, 1810), vol. XVII, p. 16; Edward Young, "Ode to the Ocean," *Poetical Works* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, n.d.) vol. II, pp. 168 f., 177 f.; Mark Akenside, "A British Philippic, Occasioned by the Insults of the Spaniards and the Present Preparations for War" (1738), *Poetical Works*, ed. George Gilfillan (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1857), pp. 285 ff. More remarkable is Akenside's eleventh Ode, "To the Country Gentlemen of England" (1758) (*Ibid.*, pp. 220-226), in which he exhorted Englishmen not to rely upon the navy, but to be ready to fight for the safety of their island. In 1746 Collins published his "Ode to Liberty" (William Collins, *Poems*, ed. Walter C. Bronson [Boston: Ginn, 1898], pp. 45-50.) Of a different character and of much greater poetical merit are Cowper's poems, among them "Boadicea: An Ode," "Heroism" and "The Modern Patriot," all three published in 1782 (William Cowper, *Complete Poetical Works*, ed. H. S. Milford [London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1907], pp. 310, 325, 300).

A definite patriotic note was sounded by Defoe in his *Review* on August 15, 1710: "Let the public affairs go into what hands they will, whether you like the change or no—your concern for the nation must not lessen, nor must you do anything that may let in a bloody, popish and faithless tyrant upon Europe.—And this is what I call a Public Spirit." The ministers must be supported, in the nation's interest, even if we disagree with them. "So far as they act upon public principles, join with them. The general interest of liberty is a trust among us all in common. He that promotes it, I'll set my hand to help him, let his principles be what they will, for this is the maxim I adhere to, the nation must not be given up."

Sir John Fortescue-Aland (Preface to Sir John Fortescue, *The Difference Between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy, as It More Particularly Regards the English Constitution* [2nd ed., London, 1719], p. xxxiv) praised the English form of government: "Our Scheme of government is, without doubt, the noblest, the most just, and most exact, that perhaps ever was contrived; for it provides for the Security and Happiness of every Individual, tho' ever so inferior, and yet at the same time establishes the Glory of the Prince; it secures

the Liberty of the People, and yet strengthens the Power and Majesty of the King." He insisted (p. xlvii) on the beauty and glories of the Saxon tongue, in which the Saxons had received the Christian religion and had laid the "happy Foundations of our Liberties and our Laws," wrote against the extended use of "Law French" and of French, for it was not "in the Power of that Language, even in its Purity and highest Improvement, to represent a good Masculine English Speech" (pp. liv f.).

Gerald Berkeley Hertz, *British Imperialism in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Constable, 1908), stressed the lack of national or racial feeling in England of that time. Britons across the Atlantic seemed aliens; the conception of a united English or Anglo-Saxon nation, irrespective of administrative boundaries or territorial segregation, was unknown in England. "Similarly no one then held the opinion that the prime value of colonization was the increase of British power," instead of the mere increase of trade. On pp. 60 ff., a discussion of the Jewish situation in England is of interest. Jews born in England possessed all the rights of citizenship except those from which they, like Catholics or Dissenters, were precluded by laws imposing religious tests. Jews born abroad shared naturally the disabilities then imposed upon all aliens. Naturalization was then procured by private Acts of Parliament which required that the persons to be naturalized should have received the Lord's Supper shortly before naturalization. In 1740 this sacramental test was dispensed with in the case of Jews who had lived, or who were going to live, for seven years in the American plantations. In 1753, when the number of Jews in England was estimated at 8,000, of whom only a minority were foreign-born, a bill was introduced which conferred upon Jews the right to be naturalized by Parliament after three years' residence in Great Britain or Ireland. This measure provoked a great amount of agitation, and a number of pamphlets were written on both sides of the question.

49. *Works* (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1841), vol. II, pp. 378 f.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 379 f. Walter Sichel, *Bolingbroke and His Times: The Sequel (1715-1751)* (London: Nisbet, 1902), says (pp. 366, 372): "The good of the people, he urges at a time when what is now a platitude was then a surprise, is the ultimate and true end of government. . . . The ideas which animated Bolingbroke seem to us those of personal independence and national unity." On p. 368, Sichel quotes the concluding words of Pope's copy of an earlier version of *The Patriot King*, which very clearly put forward the foundation of Bolingbroke's ideal in the general ideology of natural law of that time: "It is this picture I presume to draw; and I will venture to say it is no chimerical one; but that it may not be so, I shall draw it on *that* ground on which only it can stand and on which only it can last—the *Reason of Things*, immediately abstracted from the nature of things."

51. That this picture of a Patriot King was an anticipation of reality is shown in Bolingbroke's words: "What I have here said will pass among some for the reveries of a distempered brain, at best for the vain speculations of an idle man who has lost sight of the world, or who had never sagacity enough to discern in government the practicable from the impracticable. Will it not be said, that this is advising a king to rouse a spirit which may turn against himself; . . . to refuse, in short, to be an absolute monarch, when every circumstance invites him to it?" (*Works*, vol. II, p. 388.) Bolingbroke showed from the example of the Dutch how important patriotism and liberty are for national prosperity. "Let any man who has knowledge enough for it, first compare the natural state of Great Britain, and of the United Provinces, and then their artificial state together; that is, let him consider minutely the advantages we have for the situation, extent, and nature of our island, over the inhabitants

of a few salt marshes gained on the sea, and hardly defended from it: and after that, let him consider how nearly these provinces have raised themselves to an equality of wealth and power with the kingdom of Great Britain. From whence arises this difference of improvement? It arises plainly from hence the Dutch have been, from the foundation of their commonwealth, a nation of patriots and merchants. The spirit of that people has not been diverted from these two objects, the defence of their liberty, and the improvement of their trade and commerce." (*Ibid.*, p. 415.) Bolingbroke painted a glowing picture of the state of a patriotic nation, "In his place, concord will appear, brooding peace and prosperity on the happy land, joy sitting in every face, content in every heart; a people unoppressed, undisturbed, unalarmed; busy to improve their private property and the public stock; fleets covering the ocean, bringing home wealth by the returns of industry, carrying assistance or terror abroad by the direction of wisdom, and asserting triumphantly the right and the honor of Great Britain, as far as waters roll and as winds can waft them." (*Ibid.*, p. 429.)

52. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 401.

54. "A Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism" (1736), *Ibid.*, p. 370.

55. *Works*, vol. II, pp. 391 f., 428 f. "Lord Bolingbroke . . . wrote certain discourses in which are to be found some of the clearest deliberations upon patriotism ever written by an Englishman" (John Drinkwater, *Patriotism in Literature* [New York: Holt, 1924], p. 15. Bolingbroke wrote his discourses in exile. On Bolingbroke's nationalism see the important study by Carlton J. H. Hayes, "Bolingbroke: the Philosopher Turned Patriot," *Essays in Intellectual History* (New York: Harper, 1919), pp. 189-206. Also Walter Ludwig, *Lord Bolingbroke und die Aufklärung: Eine Untersuchung seiner Geschichtsauffassung und seiner Staatstheorie* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1928); Paul Baratier, *Lord Bolingbroke: Ses écrits politiques* (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1939); H. N. Fieldhouse, "Bolingbroke and the Idea of Non-Party Government," *History*, vol. XXIII, pp. 41-56 (June, 1938).

56. See J. Churton Collins, *Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau in England* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1908); Norman L. Torrey, *Voltaire and the English Deists* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1930); Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (2nd ed., 2 vols., London: Smith, Elder, 1881).

Examples of the Anglomania in France and of the lack of national feeling can be found in Joseph Texte, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Cosmopolitan Spirit in Literature*, transl. J. W. Matthews (London: Duckworth, 1899). He says on pp. 77 f.: "Our admiration of England was never more lively than in 1748 and 1763, or thereabouts, and during the war with America. During the Seven Years War, it reached fever-heat. In vain did a few patriots raise their voices in denunciation of 'that detestable country, the horrible resort of the savages of Europe, where reason, humanity and nature are unable to make their voices heard.' (*Les Sauvages de l'Europe*, Berlin, 1750. See the *Journal encyclopédique*, 1st June, 1764.) In vain did the press pour forth its pamphlets and satires. We read in a poem issued in 1762: 'Bloodnurtured tigers! Your Lockes and Newtons never taught you such barbarous lessons as these. From them arose our imperishable renown; they have absolved you from a Cromwell's crimes.' (D'Arnauld, *A la Nation*, 1762.) The author of a *Petit catéchisme politique des Anglais, par demandes et par réponses* (1756) endeavours to rouse the national sentiment over the Port Mahon affair. . . . See also the *Adresse à la nation anglaise*, a patriotic poem, by a citizen (Paris, 1757, 12 mo). 'It has been thought permissible,' says the author, in language which is highly significant, 'to tell the truth boldly to a nation which tells it so

- frankly to its own kings,' and *La Différence du patriotisme national chez les Français et chez les Anglais* (by Basset de la Marelle, Paris, 1766) in which the author calls attention very decidedly to the decline of the patriotic sentiment. . . . Immediately after the conclusion of the disastrous peace which deprived France of her fairest colonies, Favart celebrated the union of the two peoples in his *Anglais à Bordeaux*: 'Courage and honour knit nations together, and two peoples equal in virtue and intelligence throw down the barriers their deceits have raised, that they may be for ever friends.' So strangely feeble was the national sentiment that these lines were applauded to the skies, and their author dragged on to the stage and loudly cheered." See also J. Holland Rose, *William Pitt and the National Revival* (London: Bell, 1911), pp. 17 f.
57. Luigi Salvatorelli, *Il Pensiero politico italiano dal 1700 al 1870* (Turin: Einaudi, 1935), p. 6, speaks of "lo spirito di umanità che costituisce la caratteristica fondamentale e l'apporto più glorioso del pensiero settecentesco." See Kingsley Martin, *French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1929); Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism*, transl. R. G. Collingwood (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1927).
 58. Bolingbroke used the argument of a limited celestial monarchy to support his plea for a limited terrestrial monarchy. In his "The Idea of a Patriot King" (*Works*, vol. II, p. 382) he wrote, "God . . . as creator of all systems by which these natures and relations are constituted, . . . prescribed to himself the rule, which he follows as governor of every system of being. In short, with reverence be it spoken, God is a monarch, yet not an arbitrary but a limited monarch, limited by the rule which infinite wisdom prescribes to infinite power . . . it will be ridiculous to affirm, that the idea of human monarchy cannot be preserved, if kings are obliged to govern according to a rule established by the wisdom of a state, that was a state before they were kings, and by the consent of a people that they did not most certainly create."
 59. Meinecke, *op. cit.*, pp. 348 f., shows how Frederick II in his last will tried to educate the members of the dynasty in such a way as to have the whole character of the station rationalized. "Nach aussen soll wohl das alte historische Dekorum der Gesamtdynastie erhalten werden, aber in ihrer internen Struktur wird sie ihrer gemüthlich-traditionellen Zusammenhänge beraubt und in eine Nutzanstalt für den Staat verwandelt. Alles Irrationale, Natürlich-Organische an ihr, was dafür nicht zweckmässig ist, wird nach Möglichkeit zurückgedrängt. Ein lebendiges Gewächs der Geschichte wird rationalisiert,—genau so rationalisiert, wie im Staatssysteme Friedrichs des Grossen das vielfach so irrationale und eigenwüthige Produkt des heimischen Landadels rationalisiert wurde zur Pflanzschule des Offizierkorps, dessen das damalige Heer in dieser und keiner anderen Qualität bedurfte,—wie weiter auch Bürgerstand und Bauernstand rational ausgerichtet und ausgenutzt wurden für die finanziellen und militärischen Staats- und Machtzwecke, Rationalisierung der aus dem Mittelalter her entwickelten sozialen Kräfte für die Zwecke des Staates, das war die Summe seiner inneren Politik."
 60. "Les contemporains qui traversent ces milieux provinciaux constatent, à l'ordinaire, que l'esprit nouveau n'y a pas soufflé . . . Ce n'est pas seulement la piété qui reste ce qu'elle était, c'est toute la vie. Jusqu'à la fin de XVIII^e siècle, on vit très souvent comme avaient vécu les aïeux, d'une vie humble, réglée, sans ambitions, sans curiosité." (Daniel Mornet, *La Pensée française au XVIII^e Siècle* [Paris: Colin, 1936], pp. 169 f.)
 61. *Ibid.*, pp. 106 f.: "L'histoire pénètre partout, l'histoire vraie ou si l'on veut l'esprit historique, le souci de savoir ce que fut exactement le passé. . . . C'est au XVIII^e siècle que très souvent la critique littéraire devient de

l'histoire littéraire et que les jugements sur le goût deviennent l'histoire des goûts. Toute la littérature du moyen âge sort de l'ombre, on s'engoue de la 'chevalerie,' des 'troubadours,' de l'architecture et de la littérature gothiques, de tout ce qui rappelle le 'bon vieux temps' et le 'vieux langage.' . . . On écrit d'ailleurs l'histoire de tout." The sense of national diversity had become wide and general in the eighteenth century, but it was still devoid of any nationalistic implications and based on a cosmopolitan feeling of all-inclusiveness. "Le XVI^e et le XVII^e lisaient des Italiens et des Espagnols parce qu'ils ressemblaient à des Français. Jamais ils n'ont dit: nous les lisons parce qu'ils sont étrangers, pour nous changer de nous-mêmes. Au XVIII^e siècle, au contraire, la curiosité se promène à travers les peuples les plus divers pour le plaisir de la diversité. . . . Au XVIII^e siècle, c'est l'Angleterre, l'Allemagne, la Scandinavie et tous les peuples qui ont écrit quelque chose. Le goût cosmopolite devient une manie. C'est l'anglomanie' et 'l'étrangeromanie.' Le mouvement est tout de suite puissant. Il devient à partir de 1750, irrésistible. . . . De 1750 à la Révolution, on traduit ou adapte plus de cent romans anglais." (*Ibid.*, p. 72.)

62. On the historiography of Enlightenment, see the excellent fourth book in Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (3rd ed., Munich: Oldenbourg, 1936), pp. 334-414, especially the remarkable pages on Voltaire, pp. 349-363.
63. Voltaire, "Pensées sur l'Administration Publique," xiii, *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876), vol. V, pp. 551. Similarly Friedrich Melchior Grimm in a letter of Dec. 15, 1754, discussing the *Dissertations pour être lues la première, sur le vieux mot de patrie; la seconde, sur la nature du peuple*, by Abbé Coyer, who complained that the word "patrie" had fallen into oblivion, remarked, "M. l'Abbé Coyer est fort étonné et fort fâché que nous ne prononcions point le mot *patrie*. Sachez donc, lui dirais-je volontiers, mauvais gré aux orphelins de ne pas prononcer les mots de *père* et *mère*. Nous n'employons pas le mot de *patrie*, parce qu'il n'y en a plus, pour parler avec justesse. Il faut donc continuer à dire que nous servons *le roi* et *l'état*, et non pas la patrie." (Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, ed. M. Tournoux [Paris: Garnier Frères, 1877], vol. II, p. 445.) Highly characteristic also were the articles on *patrie* in the *Encyclopédie* (1765), and in the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* (1771) where the article on *patriotisme* quoted the two typical sentences: "On se plaint que le patriotisme s'éteint en France." "L'anglais est celui des peuples modernes où le patriotisme est le plus en recommandation." See generally A. Aulard, *Le Patriotisme français de la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris: Etienne Chiron, 1921), pp. 44-83.
64. See Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1930), vol. VI, pp. 128 f.
65. *Du contrat social*, bk. I, chap. 6 at the end: "Citoyens, comme participants à l'autorité souveraine—sujets, comme soumis aux lois de l'état."
66. R. Jallifier, *Histoire des Etats Généraux* (Paris: L. Serf, 1885), p. 93. On Althusius, see the introduction by Carl Joachim Friedrich to *Politica Methodice Digesta of Johannes Althusius* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1932).
67. *Œuvres de Turgot et documents le concernant*, ed. Gustave Schelle (Paris: Alcan, 1922), vol. IV, p. 575: "Les droits des hommes réunis en société ne sont pas fondés sur leur histoire, mais sur leur nature." Turgot used this argument to induce the king to change edicts and institutions of the past, because it would not be reasonable to perpetuate establishments made without reason.
68. Voltaire, "Questions sur les miracles," XI^e lettre, *Œuvres complètes* (1785),

- vol. LX, pp. 241 f. He continued, "Remarquez que les nations les plus esclaves ont toujours été celles qui ont été le plus dépourvues de lumières. Adieu, monsieur, je vous recommande la vérité, la liberté, et la vertu, trois seules choses pour lesquelles on doit aimer la vie."
69. Voltaire, "Prix de la Justice et de l'Humanité," art. XI, *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 380 f.
70. On the discussion started by Georg Jellinek, *Die Erklärung der Menschen- und Bürgerrechte* (3rd ed., Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1919), whether the Declaration of the Rights of Man was of Anglo-Saxon or French origin, see Crane Brinton in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. V, pp. 49 ff., and Ernst Cassirer, *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1932), pp. 332 ff. The French philosophy of the eighteenth century "bildete das geistige Zentrum, in dem sich all die mannigfachen Bestrebungen zu einer sittlichen Erneuerung und zu einer politischen und sozialen Reform begegnen, und in dem sie ihre ideale Einheit finden." "Die französische Philosophie des 18. Jahrhunderts hat den Gedanken der unveräusserlichen Recht keineswegs entdeckt; aber sie erst ist es, die diesen Gedanken zu einem wahrhaft sittlichen Evangelium gemacht, die ihn leidenschaftlich ergriffen und enthusiastisch verkundet hat. Und durch diese Form der Verkündigung hat sie ihn erst in das wirkliche politische Leben eingeführt, hat sie ihm jene Stosskraft und jene gewaltige Sprengkraft verliehen, die er in den Tagen der französischen Revolution bewiesen hat."
71. Turgot, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 578-580. On p. 579: "Le premier bien des nations, y est-il dit, est les mœurs; la première base de mœurs est l'instruction prise dès l'enfance sur tous les devoirs de l'homme en société. . . . Un nouveau système d'éducation . . . conduirait à former dans toutes les classes de la société des hommes vertueux et utiles, des âmes justes, des cœurs purs, des citoyens actifs et zélés."
- The quotation from François Quesnay is from Quesnay, *Oeuvres économiques et philosophiques*, ed. Augusto Oncken (Frankfort, 1888), p. 268. Quesnay, a physician by profession, started the physiocratic movement with two articles which he contributed to the *Encyclopédie*, "Fermiers," in 1756, and "Grains," in 1757.
72. Cowper, "The Task," bk. I, ll. 749-753. Cowper pointed out how the urban classes "who know no fatigue but that of idleness, and taste no scenes but such as art contrives" have made "our arch of Empire, steadfast but for you, a mutilated structure, soon to fall."
73. Quoted by Charles Gide in his excellent chapter on the physiocrats and on Adam Smith in Gide and Rist, *Histoire des doctrines économiques* (4th ed., Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1922), p. 12.
74. The physiocrats referred to China as an example where the Emperor, a Son of Heaven, was the representative of the natural moral order. Quesnay referred to it in an article, "Despotisme de la Chine," in the *Ephémérides du citoyen* (1767).
75. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. XXII, p. 179.
76. Adam Smith characterized the physiocratic school in bk. IV, chap. 9: "In representing the wealth of nations as consisting, not in the unconsumable riches of money, but in the consumable goods annually reproduced by the labor of society, and in representing perfect liberty as the only effectual expedient for rendering his annual reproduction the greatest possible, its doctrine seems to be in every respect as just as it is generous and liberal." (*Wealth of Nations*, World's Classics, ed. vol. II, p. 299.) Smith gave the best expression of his conception of the "system of natural liberty" (*Ibid.*, pp. 309). Smith's interest in the lower classes was several times emphasized, as at the beginning of pt. II in chap. 7, bk. IV (*Ibid.*, p. 162), when he praised new

colonies where labor received its liberal reward as compared with older countries where the two superior orders of people "oppress" the inferior ones.

77. See Georges Weulersse, *Le Mouvement Physiocratique en France* (de 1756 à 1770) (2 vols., Paris: Alcan, 1910); Henry Higgs, *The Physiocrats* (London: Macmillan, 1897).
78. See Ferdinand Brunot, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 118 ff. He speaks of a new sentiment of the "coadherence universelle des intérêts humains." The sentiment was new, the word's use still clumsy, and frequently it was necessary to transcribe by lengthy sentences what we can express by words like "international solidarity." Brunot quotes Abbé Baudeau, saying, "La liberté, l'immunité du commerce rendent intéressant pour tous les peuples de la terre le sort de chaque nation particulière, le sort de chacune des classes qui la composent. . . . N'oubliez pas que les peuples mêmes qui ne paraissent pas communiquer immédiatement entre eux, ont néanmoins des relations médiates et de reflet en seconde ou troisième ligne."
79. See B. Groethuysen, "La Pensée de Diderot," *La Grande Revue* (Paris), Nov., 1913, pp. 322-341, especially pp. 337-339.
80. Voltaire's "Le Philosophe ignorant" (1766), *xxv*: "Y-a-t-il une morale?" where he says of the nations, "Ils tirent donc tous les mêmes conséquences du même principe de leur raison développée"; and *xxvi*, "Nature partout la même," which is translated in the text, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1879), vol. V, pp. 78 ff. The humanitarian principle of Voltaire and his time is also stressed in his "Discours en Vers sur l'Homme," where he says in the seventh Discourse:

Les miracles sont bons; mais soulager son frère,
 Mais tirer son ami du sein de la misère,
 Mais à ses ennemis pardonner leurs vertus,
 C'est un plus grand miracle, et qui ne se fait plus.
81. *Pensées et fragments inédits*, ed. Baron Gaston de Montesquieu (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhon, 1899), vol. I, p. 15.
82. Article, "Encyclopédie," *Encyclopédie*, vol. V (1755), p. 647.
83. Turgot, *op. cit.*, vol. V. (1923), p. 534.
85. Noah Webster (*Sketches of American Policy* [Hartford, 1785], p. 24) doubted the accuracy of "the great Montesquieu's" statement that virtue is the foundation of republics. "I must deny that such a general principle ever did or ever can exist in human society." He believed that honor and virtue could be found equally in republics and monarchies. He then regarded an equal distribution of landed property as the most secure foundation of republican freedom. On the influence of Montesquieu, see Elie Carcassonne, *Montesquieu et le problème de la constitution française au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1927); F. T. H. Fletcher, *Montesquieu and English Politics, 1750-1800* (New York: Longmans, 1940); H. Knust, *Montesquieu und die Verfassungen der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1922); Paul Merrill Spurlin, *Montesquieu in America, 1760-1801* (Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1940).
86. *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie*, reprinted from the 1763 ed. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1929), pp. 113, 114.
87. Nicolas Gedoy, *Œuvres diverses* (1745), p. 31. Abbé Gabriel François Coyer, in his *Plan d'éducation*, said: "The French language tends to become, like Latin, a universal language, and it is the French who oppose it" (Brunot, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 126). François Pierre Gillet expressed in his "Discours sur les génies de la langue française," at the beginning of the eighteenth century, his love for the vernacular. "Ainsi en ay-je conçu une très haute idée: et sans crainte de passer pour un homme frappé de la maladie du Pais; si je ne dis pas qu'elle l'emporte sur toutes les Langues mortes, ou vivantes, qui ont le

plus de reputation; je diray du moins que sans avoir la plupart de leurs defauts, elle a presque toutes leurs perfections." See also Hans Leube, *Der Jesuitenorden und die Anfänge nationaler Kultur in Frankreich* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1935).

88. Brunot, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 60 f.
89. Condorcet, *Œuvres complètes* (21 vols., Brunswick and Paris, 1910), vol. XII, p. 165, in the "Second lettre d'un citoyen des États-Unis à un Français."
90. Brunot, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 181.
91. See Eugène Hatin, *Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique française* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1866). There existed also a journal, *Espagne littéraire*, founded in 1774, and in 1778 Fuel de Méricourt published a *Journal anglais, italien et français, dramatique, lyrique, et politique*, which was written in the three languages. A relatively large number of periodicals was devoted to Anglo-French relations, of which the most important was the *Courier de l'Europe, gazette anglo-française*, published from 1776 to 1792 in London and in Boulogne, which devoted also a great deal of attention to the English colonies in North America, to the American War of Independence, and to subsequent events. On the other hand, there were printed a *Journal du citoyen* in the Hague in 1754 and *Le Citoyen français* in London in 1765.
92. Frederick the Great, *Œuvres*, ed. l'Académie de Berlin (31 vols., Berlin: Imprimerie royale, 1846-57), vol. XVIII, p. 56.
93. *Ibid.*, vol. XXV, p. 49. See also vol. X, p. 150:

La raison ne doit point détruire l'homme en nous.
 Quand le cœur s'attendrit, l'esprit en est plus doux.
94. Transl. as *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* by Henry Fusseli (London, 1765). Besides the great edition of Winckelmann, *Samtliche Werke*, ed. Joseph Eiselein (12 vols., Donaueschingen: Verlag deutscher Klassiker, 1825-29), the *Gedanken* have been republished in *Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. Hermann Uhde-Bernays (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, n.d.). The famous passage on "edle Einfalt und stille Grösse" is there on p. 38. See Karl Justi, *Winckelmann: Sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Zeitgenossen* (3rd ed., 3 vols., Leipzig: E. C. W. Vogel, 1923); Erich Aron, *Die deutsche Erweckung des Griechentums durch Winckelmann und Herder* (Heidelberg: N. Kampmann, 1929); Charlotte Ephraim, *Wandel des Griechenbildes im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: Winckelmann, Lessing, Herder* (Bern-Leipzig: P. Haupt, 1936); E. M. Butler, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1935).
95. "Aller Uebelstand des Körpers wurde behutsam vermieden, und da Alcibiades in seiner Jugend die Flöte nicht blasen lernen wollte, weil sie das Gesicht verstellte, so folgten die jungen Athenienser seinem Beispiele. . . . Es ist auch bekannt, wie sorgfältig die Griechen waren, schöne Kinder zu zeugen. Die schönste Nacktheit der Körper zeigte sich hier." (Winckelmann, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, pp. 22, 25.)
96. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
97. See Pierre Trahard, *Les Maîtres de la sensibilité française au 18^e siècle, 1715-1789* (4 vols., Paris: Boivin 1931-1933); D. Mornet, *Le Romantisme en France au 18^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1912); Gustave Lanson, *Nivelle de la Chaussée et la comédie larmoyante* (Paris: Hachette, 1887); Maurice Souriau, *Histoire du romanisme en France* (3 vols. Paris: Spes, 1927); Fernand Baldensperger, "Romantique, ses analogues et ses équivalents: tableau synoptique de 1650 à 1810," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. XIX (1937), pp. 13-105; "Romanticism: A Symposium," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. LV, no. 1 (Mar., 1940), pp. 1-60; Daniel Mornet, *Le Sentiment de la nature en France de J.-J. Rousseau à*

- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (Paris: Hachette, 1907); V. de Laprade, *Le Sentiment de la nature chez les modernes* (Paris: Didier, 1867); Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1941); Clifford Lee Hornaday, *Nature in the German Novel of the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1940); Arthur O. Lovejoy, "The First Gothic Revival and the Return to Nature," *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XLVIII (1932), No. 7, pp. 419-446; Lois Whitney, *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934).
98. On the many translations of Young into French after 1769, see Joseph Texte, *Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Cosmopolitan Spirit in Literature*, pp. 302 ff.
99. The curiosity in foreign countries has been attested by the many many-volumed collections like the *Histoire générale des voyages ou nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre qui ont été publiées jusqu'à présent dans les différentes langues de toutes les nations*, of which Abbé Prévost was the collaborator. See also Geoffrey Atkinson, *Les Relations de voyages du XVII^e siècle et l'évolution des idées* (Paris: E. Champion, 1924); Ray William Frantz, *English Travellers and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732* (Lincoln, Nebr., Univ. of Nebr. Press, 1934); Gilbert Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e siècle et au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1913). The American example of forming an entirely new government, apparently breaking with tradition and precedent, inspired the faith of the French revolutionaries in the possibility of forming a new rational government as the result of deliberation and free discussion. As Condorcet said (*op. cit.*, vol. XIII, p. 208): "C'est par les heureux effets de cette discussion qu'on a vu, il y a peu d'années, les citoyens de l'Amérique forcés, en rompant leurs liens avec l'Angleterre, de briser en un jour tous les ressorts de leur gouvernement, s'en créer de nouveaux au milieu des troubles de la guerre, et étonner, par la sagesse de leurs lois, des nations les plus éclairées de l'ancien hémisphère."
100. *Du Contrat Social*, bk. II, chap. 7, ed. Georges Beaulavon (3rd ed., Paris: Rieder, 1922), p. 183. Thence Rousseau's demands for a civic religion (bk. IV, chap. 7), the meaning of which he expressed very well in a passage which was then left out of bk. II, chap. 7: "Quant au concours de la religion dans l'établissement civil, on voit aussi qu'il n'est pas moins utile de pouvoir donner au lien moral une force intérieure qui pénètre jusqu'à l'âme et soit toujours indépendante des biens, des maux, de la vie même et de tous les événements humains" (*Ibid.*, p. 325). See also Franz Pahlmann, *Mensch und Staat bei Rousseau* (Berlin: Eberling, 1939).
101. If not otherwise stated, the texts of Rousseau are quoted from *The Political Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, ed. C. E. Vaughan (2 vols., Cambridge Univ. Press, 1915). See, on Rousseau, Otto Vossler, *Der Nationalgedanke von Rousseau bis Ranke* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1937), an interesting attempt to interpret Rousseau as a forerunner of the National Socialist conception of nationalism; Alexandre Choulguine, "Les Origines de l'esprit national moderne et Jean-Jacques Rousseau," *Annals de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, vol. XXVI (Geneva: A. Julien, 1917), pp. 9-283; J. Windenberger, *Essai sur le système de politique étrangère de J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris: Picard, 1899); Alfred Cobban, *Rousseau and the Modern State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1934); Franz Haymann, *Weltbürgertum und Vaterlandsliebe in der Staatslehre Rousseaus und Fichtes* (Berlin: Pan-Verlag Rolf Heise, 1924); Richard Fester, *Rousseau und die deutsche Geschichtsphilosophie* (Stuttgart: Göschen, 1890); Georg Gurwitsch, "Kant und Fichte als Rousseau-Interpreten," *Kant-Studien*, vol. XXVII (Berlin, 1922), pp. 138-164; Siegfried Marck, "Grundbegriffe der Rousseauschen Staatsphilosophie," *Ibid.*, pp. 165-178; Ernst Cassirer, "Das

- Problem Jean-Jacques Rousseau," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. XLI (1932), pp. 177-213, 479-513. Generally seen Henri Sée, *L'Évolution de la pensée politique en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Giard: 1925); Harald Höffding, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et sa philosophie* (Paris: Alcan, 1912); Albert Schinz, *La Pensée de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (2 vols., Northampton, Mass. Smith College Fiftieth Anniversary Publications, 1929). Among recent writings on the influence of Rousseau are: Paul-L. Léon, "L'Évolution de l'idée de la souveraineté avant Rousseau," *Archives de philosophie du droit et de sociologie juridique*, 7^e année (1937), Nos. 3-4, "La Notion de souveraineté dans la doctrine de Rousseau," *Ibid.*, 8^e année (1938), Nos. 1-2, and "Études critiques: Rousseau et les fondements de l'État moderne," *Ibid.*, 4^e année (1934), pp. 197-237; Joaquín Xirau Paulau, *Rousseau y las ideas políticas modernas* (Madrid: Reuss, 1923); David Williams, "The Influence of Rousseau on Political Opinion, 1760-1795," *English Historical Review*, vol. XLVIII, No. 191 (July, 1933), pp. 414-430; Henry V. S. Ogden, "The Antithesis of Nature and Art, and Rousseau's Rejection of the Theory of Natural Rights," *American Political Science Review*, Aug., 1938, pp. 643-654; Richard B. Sewall, "Rousseau's Second Discourse in England from 1755 to 1762," *Philological Quarterly*, vol. XVII, No. 2 (Apr., 1938), pp. 99-114, James H. Warner, "A Bibliography of Eighteenth Century English Editions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, with Notes on the Early Diffusion of his Writings," *Philological Quarterly*, vol. XIII, No. 3 (July, 1934), pp. 225-247; J. R. Spell, *Rousseau in the Spanish World Before 1833* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1938); Angel del Rio, "Algunas Notas sobre Rousseau en España," *Hispania California*, Feb. 19, 1936, pp. 105-116; J. R. Spell, "Rousseau in Spanish America," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. XV, No. 2 (May, 1935), pp. 260-267; Albert Schinz, *État présent des travaux sur J.-J. Rousseau* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1941).
102. Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: P. Pourrat Frères, 1836), vol. XI, p. 515.
 103. *Social Contract*, b. III, chap. 3. See also chap. 1. "Comme nulle évènements peuvent changer les rapports d'un peuple, non seulement différents gouvernements peuvent être bons à divers peuples, mais au même peuple en différents temps."
 104. "La religion naturelle est unique, éternelle, et immuable en tous pays; . . . elle est le fondement de toutes les lois politiques et de toute la morale civile" (*Political Writings*, vol. II, p. 297, no. 3). "Si la loi naturelle n'était édictée que dans la raison humaine, elle serait peu capable de diriger la plupart de nos actions. Mais elle est encore gravée dans le cœur de l'homme en caractères ineffaçables; et c'est là qu'elle lui parle plus fortement que tous les préceptes des philosophes." (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 294.)
 105. In his *Emile*, *Œuvres* (Paris: Hachette, 1905), vol. II, p. 9.
 106. See Eugène Ritter, "La famille et la jeunesse de J.-J. Rousseau," *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, vol. XVI (Geneva: A. Jullien, 1925), p. 48. There also (p. 50): "L'orgueil national qui enflait le cœur des Genevois était fondé avant tout sur le fait qu'ils étaient un peuple souverain dans un état libre." On the political implications of the Calvinist reform in Geneva, Henri Fazy wrote (*Les Constitutions de la république de Genève* [1890], p. 42): "Les patriotes genevois qui ont fait la Réforme n'étaient pas de grands théologiens, ni des fidèles bien fervents, ils embrassèrent la Réforme dans le but essentiel de consolider et d'affirmer l'œuvre de liberté qu'ils avaient entreprise. L'Église romaine était à leurs yeux l'auxiliaire, l'alliée de la maison de Savoie, tandis qu'ils envisageaient la Réforme comme un point d'appui pour la liberté." And Eugène Choisy summed up the political importance of the Reformation for Geneva in a short sentence (*Esquisse de l'histoire religieuse de Genève* [1928] p. 16): "La Réforme évangélique va donc devenir l'œuvre nationale

de l'indépendance et de la liberté." (Quoted in *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, vol. XXVI, p. 61.)

107. *Political Writings*, vol. I, p. 250.
108. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 252. I do not know whether the Dreyfusards remembered this passage. Rousseau reemphasized his opinion on the following page. "Les Romains se distinguèrent au-dessus de tous les peuples de la terre par les égards du Gouvernement pour les particuliers, et par son attention scrupuleuse à respecter les droits inviolables de tous les membres de l'État. Il n'y avait rien de si sacré que la vie des simples citoyens."
109. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 257. Two pages later Rousseau wrote in the tradition of Locke "Il est certain que le droit de propriété est le plus sacré de tous les droits des citoyens, et plus important, à certains égards, que la liberté même: . . . parce que la propriété est le vrai fondement de la société civile, et la vrai garant des engagements des citoyens."
110. *Œuvres complètes* (ed. Paris, 1836), vol. II, pp. 210 ff.
111. *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 262 (*Confessions*, bk. IV). Vol. IX, pp. 194 ff. (*La Nouvelle Héloïse*, pt. IV, Letter 6), contains a moving declaration of his love for Switzerland, strangely reminiscent of a similar declaration by Petrarch (see note 45 to Chapter II): "Plus j'approchais de la Suisse, plus je me sentais ému. L'instant où des hauteurs de Jura je découvris le lac de Genève fut un instant d'extase et de ravissement. La vue de mon pays, de ce pays si chéri, où des torrents de plaisirs avaient inondé mon cœur, l'air des Alpes si salubre et si pur, le doux air de la patrie, plus suave que les parfums de l'Orient, cette terre riche et fertile, ce paysage unique, le plus beau dont l'œil humain fut jamais frappé, ce séjour charmant auquel je n'avais rien trouvé d'égal dans le tour du monde . . . tout cela me jetait dans des transports que je ne puis décrire, et semblait me rendre à la fois la jouissance de ma vie entière."
112. *Les Confessions de J.-J. Rousseau*, ed. Ad. van Bever (Paris: Crès, 1914), vol. II, p. 297.
113. *Correspondance générale de J.-J. Rousseau*, ed. Théophile Dufour (Paris: Colin, 1924 ff.), vol. IV, p. 211. See also *Political Writings*, vol. II, p. 204. On Mar. 1, 1764, Rousseau wrote to Pictet: "Mais où est-elle, cette patrie? Existe-t-elle encore? Votre lettre décide cette question. Ce ne sont ni les murs, ni les hommes qui font la patrie; ce sont les lois, les mœurs, les coutumes, le gouvernement, la constitution, la manière d'être qui résulte de tout cela. La patrie est dans les relations de l'état à ses membres: quand ces relations changent ou s'aneantissent, la patrie s'évanouit. Ainsi, monsieur, pleurons la nôtre; elle a péri, et son simulacre, qui reste encore, ne sert plus qu'à la déshonorer."
114. *Œuvres complètes* (ed. Paris, 1836), vol. II, p. 3. In the *Lettre à M. d'Alembert* he said also, "Tout ce qui est mal en morale est mal encore en politique."
115. Letter to Coindet, Apr. 27, 1765, *Correspondance générale*, vol. XIII, p. 265. In a letter to pastor Usteri of Zurich he wrote on Apr. 3, 1763 (*Political Writings*, vol. II, p. 166): "L'esprit patriotique est un esprit exclusif qui nous fait regarder comme étranger et presque comme ennemi tout autre que nos concitoyens. Tel était l'esprit de Sparte et de Rome. L'esprit du Christianisme au contraire nous fait regarder tous les hommes comme nos frères, comme les enfants de Dieu. La charité chrétienne ne permet pas de faire une différence odieuse entre le compatriote et l'étranger; elle n'est bonne à faire ni des républicains ni des guerriers, mais seulement des chrétiens et des hommes; son zèle ardent embrasse indifféremment tout le genre humain. Il est donc vrai que le Christianisme est, par sa sainteté même, contraire à l'esprit social particulier."
116. *De Cive*, V, 9. There also: "Unus quisque eorum unumquique ceterorum se pacto obligat."

117. *Social Contract*, bk. I, chap. 8.
118. *Ibid.*, bk. II, chap. 11. Already in the Preface to *Narcisse* Rousseau insisted upon equality in the ideal state: "Dans un état bien constitué, tous les citoyens sont si bien égaux, que nul ne peut être préféré aux autres comme le plus savant ni même comme le plus habile, mais tout au plus comme le meilleur; encore cette dernière distinction est-elle souvent dangereuse; car elle fait des fourbes et des hypocrites" (*Œuvres complètes*, [ed. Paris, 1836], vol. XI, p. 197).
119. "Thus I have said already, but it is worth while to repeat it" (*Social Contract*, bk. II, chap. 7). "Le peuple soumis aux lois en doit être l'auteur; il n'appartient qu'à ceux qui s'associent de régler les conditions de la société" (*Ibid.*, bk. II, chap. 6).
120. *Political Writings*, vol. II, p. 145. See also *Social Contract*, bk. II, chap. 7.
121. *Du contrat social*, bk. III, chap. 9 (ed. Beaulavon, p. 254). Compare also the emphasis which Rousseau always put on liberty, as in his note to the same chapter (pp. 255 f.): "Quand tout reste écrasé sous le joug, c'est alors que tout dépérit, c'est alors que les chefs, les détruisant à leur aise, *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*. . . . Un peu d'agitation donne du ressort aux âmes, et ce qui fait vraiment prospérer l'espèce est moins la paix que la liberté." And similarly in his *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne* (*Political Writings*, vol. II, p. 455): "La police est bonne, mais la liberté vaut mieux." In a fragment of an undated letter (*Correspondance générale*, vol. XX, p. 346) Rousseau wrote: "La liberté publique est le bien le plus précieux; et tout homme a le droit, au nom de la patrie, de l'arracher des mains de l'usurpateur, la vengeance de ce crime capital appartient à chaque individu; apprenez ces vérités à tous les hommes, qu'elles descendent jusque dans les derniers ordres des citoyens."
122. G. Streckeisen-Moulton, *Œuvres et correspondances inédites de J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris, 1861), p. 141.
123. Rousseau's Spartanism is well expressed in the *Social Contract*, bk. III, chap. 15: "C'est le tracis du commerce et des arts, c'est l'avidité du gain, c'est la mollesse et l'amour des commodités, qui changent les services personnels en argent. On cède une partie de son profit pour l'augmenter à son aise. Donnez de l'argent, et bientôt vous aurez des fers. . . . Mieux l'Etat est constitué, plus les affaires publiques l'emportent sur les privées dans l'esprit des citoyens." It was because Rousseau did not find in his century men of this kind that he turned in *Emile* to the task of educating true men, while of the products of the then current education he said: "Ce sera un de ces hommes de nos jours, un François, un Anglois, un bourgeois, ce ne sera rien" (*Œuvres complètes* [ed. Paris, 1836], vol. III, p. 25). In that sense *Emile* does not contradict the *Social Contract* but supplements it. The ideals in both are the same, a true community of truly free men, something which Rousseau could not find in his time, and which in its absolutization cannot exist. The fact that he did not find any political communities around him corresponding to the ideal picture of a society based upon the social contract explains the cryptic passage in *Emile* (*Ibid.*, p. 26): "L'institution publique n'existe plus, et ne peut plus exister, parce qu'où il n'y a plus de patrie, il ne peut plus y avoir de citoyens. Ces deux mots *patrie* et *citoyen* doivent être effacés des langues modernes. J'en sais bien la raison, mais je ne veux pas la dire." There is a very characteristic passage in his *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne* (*Political Writings*, vol. II, p. 507): "L'indifférence des modernes sur tous les objets moraux . . ."
124. Goethe defined this meaning of Rousseau's general will, though he reinterpreted it in a characteristically antidemocratic and thus anti-Rousseau way,

when he coined for it a new word, "folkhood": "Wir brauchen in unserer Sprache ein Wort, das, wie Kindheit sich zu Kind verhält, so das Verhältnis Volkheit zum Volke ausdrückt. Der Erzieher muss die Kindheit hören, nicht das Kind; der Gesetzgeber und Regent die Volkheit, nicht das Volk. Jene spricht immer dasselbe aus, ist vernünftig, beständig, rein und wahr; dieses weiss niemals für lauter Wollen, was es will. Und in diesem Sinne soll und kann das Gesetz der allgemein ausgesprochene Wille der Volkheit sein, ein Wille, den die Menge niemals ausspricht, den aber der Verständige vernimmt, und den der Vernünftige zu befriedigen weiss und der Gute gern befriedigt." (*Wiener Ausgabe*, vol. XLII, p. 194. It dates probably from 1829, and is one of the many passages originally destined for *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* but not included in it.)

125. First draft, bk. I, chap. 5 (*Political Writings*, vol. I, p. 462). Also: "La société civile . . . n'est point dans la nature" (*Du contrat social*, bk. III, chap. 15 [ed. Beaulavon, p. 274]).
126. *Du contrat social*, bk. III, chap. 15 (ed. Beaulavon, p. 272). Beaulavon adds in a note the remark that in feudal times "le mot homme indiquait une relation de dépendance et de vassalité; on était l'homme de quelqu'un. D'où le sens du mot homage."
127. *Lettre à M. d'Alembert, Œuvres complètes* (ed. Paris, 1836), vol. II, p. 181.
128. "Il suit de là que l'État devrait se borner à une seule ville, tout au plus." (*Political Writings*, vol. I, p. 38, n. 1.)
129. Sébastien Mercier, *De J.-J. Rousseau considéré comme l'un des premiers auteurs de la Révolution* (Paris, 1791), quoted in *Political Writings*, vol. II, p. 15, n. 3. On the influence of the *Social Contract*, see *Du contrat social* (ed. Beaulavon), pp. 77-103.
130. *Political Writings*, vol. II, pp. 512, 427 f., 492.
131. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 445, 356.
132. See for instance Rousseau's remarks about Peter the Great in the *Social Contract*, bk. II, chap. 8 (ed. Beaulavon, p. 191).
133. *Political Writings*, vol. II, p. 319.
134. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 432.
135. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 350.
136. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 317.
137. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 311, 313.
138. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 315, 317, 352.
139. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 353. In his Preface to *Narcisse* Rousseau stressed his opposition to civilization and intercourse: "Il y a, parmi les hommes, mille sources de corruption; et, quoique les sciences soient peut-être la plus abondante et la plus rapide, il s'en faut bien que ce soit la seule. . . . Tout ce qui facilite la communication entre les diverses nations porte aux unes, non les vertus des autres, mais leurs crimes, et altère chez toutes les mœurs qui sont propres à leur climat et à la constitution de leur gouvernement." (*Œuvres complètes* [ed. Paris, 1836], vol. XI, p. 196).
140. *Political Writings*, vol. II, pp. 337, 338, 351.
141. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 442. See also note 128 above and the *Social Contract*, bk. III, chap. 15 at the end.
142. *Political Writings*, vol. II, pp. 427, 429, 431, 434, 435, 437 ff. Rousseau attributed the moral disintegration of the century to the lack of national education and national institutions. "Il n'y a plus aujourd'hui de Français, d'Allemands, d'Espagnols, d'Anglais même, quoiqu'on en dise; il n'y a que des Européens. Tous ont les mêmes goûts, les mêmes passions, parce qu'aucun n'a reçu de formes nationales par une institution particulière. Tous, dans les mêmes circonstances, feront les mêmes choses. . . . Que leur importe à quel maître ils

obéissent, de quel État ils suivent les lois? Pourvu qu'ils trouvent de l'argent à voler et des femmes à corrompre, ils sont partout dans leur pays." (*Ibid.*, p. 432.)

143. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 502, 486, 488.

144. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 512, 490.

145. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 365. See Rousseau, *L'État de guerre* and *Projet de paix perpétuelle*, ed. Shirley G. Patterson (New York: Putnam, 1920).

146. *Political Writings*, vol. I, pp. 374 ff.

147. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 389 ff.

148. Kant's *Zum ewigen Frieden* should be read together with his *Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht*, his essay *Ueber den Gemeinspruch: Das mag in der Theorie richtig sein, taugt aber nicht für die Praxis*, and the final part of the *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Rechtslehre*. Kant gave, in the "Anmerkung" to his *Mutmaßlicher Anfang der Menschengeschichte* (1786), one of the best interpretations of Rousseau's work. See Immanuel Kant, *Werke* (Leipzig: Moden u. Baumann, 1838), vol. III, pp. 348 ff.

149. Rousseau had already written in a letter to Voltaire on Aug. 18, 1756: "Il y a, je l'avoue, une sorte de profession de foi que les lois peuvent imposer; mais, hors les principes de la morale et du droit naturel, elle doit être purement négative, parce qu'il peut exister des religions qui attaquent les fondements de la société qu'il faut commencer par exterminer ces religions pour assurer la paix de l'état. De ces dogmes à proscrire, l'intolérance est sans difficulté le plus horrible; mais il faut la prendre à sa source; car les fanatiques les plus sanguinaires changent de langage selon la fortune, et ne prêchent que patience et douceur quand ils ne sont pas les plus forts. Ainsi j'appelle intolérant par principe tout homme qui s'imagine qu'on ne peut être homme de bien sans croire tout ce qu'il croit, et damne impitoyablement ceux qui ne pensent point comme lui. . . . Je voudrais donc qu'on eût dans chaque état un code moral, ou une espèce de profession de foi civile qui contiendrait positivement les maximes sociales que chacun seroit tenu d'admettre, et négativement les maximes intolérantes qu'on seroit tenu de rejeter, non comme impies, mais comme séditions. Ainsi toute religion qui pourroit s'accorder avec le code seroit admise; toute religion qui ne s'accorderoit pas seroit proscrire, et chacun seroit libre de n'en avoir point d'autre que le code même." (*Œuvres complètes* [ed. Paris, 1836], vol. XX, pp. 330, 331.)

150. See the passage *Du contrat social*, ed. Beaulavon, p. 325, n. 1, quoted above in Note 101.

151. Rousseau said of the Turkish government: "Généralement il y règne, avec biens moins de lumières et de finesse, plus de droiture et de bon sens. On a du moins avec elle cet avantage de plus qu'avec les Puissances chrétiennes, qu'elle aime à remplir ses engagements et respecte ordinairement les traités." *Political Writings*, vol. II, p. 511.

152. *Du contrat social*, ed. Beaulavon, p. 338.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 334. Rousseau said of such a people that it is in a natural state of war with all others, which is very harmful to its own security. In the draft of the *Social Contract* Rousseau wrote: "Il faut penser comme moi pour être sauvé. Voilà le dogme affreux qui dévore la terre. Vous n'aurez jamais assez fait pour la paix publique si vous n'ôtez de la cité ce dogme infernal. Quiconque ne le trouve pas exécutable ne peut être ni chrétien, ni citoyen, ni homme: c'est un monstre qu'il faut immoler au repos du genre humain." (*Ibid.*, p. 343, n. 1.) See also Walter Eckstein, "Rousseau and Spinoza," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. V (1944), pp. 259-291.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Report of the Intendant of Alsace, Aug. 20, 1757, quoted in Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, vol. VI, p. 134.
2. See Louis Réau, *L'Europe française au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1939).
3. Montesquieu, quoted in Guglielmo Ferrero, *Réconstruction: Talleyrand à Vienne, 1814-1815* (Paris: Plon, 1940), p. 38.
4. Salomon Gessner, *Daphnis* (*Sämtliche Schriften* [Vienna: B. Ph. Bauer, 1813], vol. I, pp. 181, 183, 185 f.). Gessner's drama *Erast*, which was praised years later by Pestalozzi for its power to spread philanthropy and the taste for the simple and natural, was a protest against the "inhumanity" and "hard-heartedness" of his father, who represented the existing order. See *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 205 ff., especially Sc. V with Simon's monologue, pp. 218 f.
5. The official *Gazette de France* of Apr. 4, 1774, pointed out: "Our navigators who have studied the northern continent well assert that an innate taste for liberty is inseparable from the soil, the sky, the forests and the lakes which keep this vast and still new country from resembling the other parts of the globe. They are persuaded that any European transported to those climes would contract this peculiar characteristic." Quoted in Bernard Faÿ, *The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America*, transl. Ramon Guthrie (London: Allen & Unwin, 1928), p. 22. See also Gilbert Chinard, "L'héritage de la Liberté," *Renaissance*, vol. I (1943), pp. 60-80.
6. Introduction to the 3-vol. ed. published in Geneva in 1775.
7. Livre XVIII, chap. 75 (*ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 341 f.) See also *ibid.*, p. 353, and in the preceding chap., p. 340, the passage: "Toutes les nations aimèrent à voir réaliser & renouveler les tems héroïques de l'antiquité, que les mœurs & les loix de l'Europe leur avoient fait prendre pour une fable. Elles crurent enfin qu'un peuple pouvoit être heureux, sans maîtres et sans prêtres. L'homme a besoin de l'un & de l'autre, si on en croit l'imposture & la flatterie, qui parlent dans les temples & dans les cours. Oui, sans doute, les méchants rois ont besoin de dieux cruels, pour trouver dans le ciel l'exemple de la tyrannie; ils ont besoin de prêtres pour faire adorer des dieux tyrans. Mais l'homme juste & libre ne demande qu'un Dieu qui soit son père, des égaux qui le chérissent, & des loix qui le protègent."
8. Livre XVIII, chap. 97 (*ibid.*, pp. 420 f.)
9. *Ibid.*, p. 452. For the preceding, see pp. 446, 449 (Livre XVIII, chaps. 103, 104): "Jusqu'où les colonies doivent-elles pousser leur résistance aux impositions?" and "Seroit-il utile aux colonies de rompre les liens qui les unissent à la métropole?"
10. *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 565, 566.
11. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 576. Raynal summed up the point of view of his generation in the three following passages near the end of his book (pp. 577, 582, 583): "Au tribunal de la philosophie & de la raison, la morale est une science dont l'objet est la conservation & le bonheur commun de l'espèce humaine." "Les bonnes loix se maintiennent par les bonnes mœurs; mais les bonnes mœurs s'établissent par les bonnes loix. Les hommes sont ce que le gouvernement les fait. Pour les modifier, il est toujours armé d'une force irrésistible, celle de l'opinion

publique; & le gouvernement deviendra toujours corrupteur, quand, par sa nature, il sera corrompu. Voilà le mot. Les nations de l'Europe auront de bonnes mœurs, lorsqu'elles auront de bons gouvernements. Finissons." "Puisse, sous les auspices de la philosophie, s'étendre un jour d'un bout du monde à l'autre cette chaîne d'union & de bienfaisance qui doit rapprocher toutes les nations policées! Puisse-elles ne plus porter aux nations sauvages l'exemple des vices & de l'oppression!"

12. D. M. Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution* (New York: Nelson, 1941), p. 36. Roger Williams was a close friend of Milton and Cromwell. See J. E. Ernst, *Roger Williams: New England Firebrand* (New York: Macmillan, 1932).
13. Puritan Hebraism in New England expressed itself in the frequent choice of Old Testament names. "The Puritans claimed the right to pass their own laws, with the Bible, and not the common law, as their fundamental law" (Joel Parker, in *Lectures on Subjects Relating to the Early History of Massachusetts*, by Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society [Boston: Mass. Historical Society, 1869], p. 389). Chief Justice Hutchinson was supposed to have said in a charge to the grand jury in the March term, 1767, regarding the distinction between murder and manslaughter as made by English law, "It was not made in this country before the charter; for our forefathers founded their laws upon the law of Moses which makes no such distinction," and the next year he supported the right of the forefathers "to adopt the judicial laws of Moses which were given to the Israelites of old" (*ibid.*, p. 391). The earliest New England code of laws, adopted in 1641 by the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, contained in Art. 94 the "Capitall Laws." All of them were taken from the Old Testament, giving chapter and verse as authorities. (See *American History Leaflets, Colonial and Constitutional*, ed. A. B. Hart and E. Channing, No. 25 [New York: A. Lovell & Co., 1896].) Art. 91 regarding captives and slaves said, "And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require." This earliest code was drawn up to assure "the free fruition of such liberties Immunities and priviledges as humanitie, Civillie, and Christianitie call for as due to every man in his place and proportion." In the Fundamental Agreement at New Haven on June 4, 1649, a query as to whether the Scriptures "do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men" was assented to by all (*The True Blue-Laws of Connecticut and New Haven and the False Blue-Laws invented by the Rev. Samuel Peters*, ed. J. Hammond Trumbull [Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1876], p. 162). The capital laws were there likewise supported by references to the Old Testament. The General Court of the Colony of New Haven was bound by the fact "that the lawes for holinesse, and righteousness, are already made, and given us in the Scriptures, which in matters morall, or of morall equity, may not be altered by humane power, or authority; Moses onely shewed Israel the lawes, and statutes of God, and the Sanedrim the highest court, among the Jewes, must attend those lawes: Yet civill rulers, and courts, and this Generall Court in particular . . . are the ministers of God, for the good of the people." *New-Haven's Seiling in New-England and some Lawes for Government* (Published for the Use of that Colony, London, 1656), pp. 184 f. See also Samuel Eliot Morison, *Puritan Prayers* (New York Univ. Press, 1936).
14. William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (2 vols., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1912), vol. I, p. 15. Bradford had a strong longing for a better knowledge of the Hebrew language. He wrote in the Preface: "Though I am growne aged, yet I have had a longing desire, to see with my own eyes, some-

thing of that most ancient language, and holy tongue, in which law, and oracles of God were write, and in which God, and angels, spake to the holy patriarks, of old time."

15. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Hartford: Cylas Andrus, Roberts & Burr, 1820), vol. I, pp. 104 (on Bradford), 108, 111 (on Winthrop). Mather defines the purpose of his writings (*ibid.*, p. 45). "I am going to give unto the Christian reader an history of some feeble attempts made in the American hemisphere to anticipate the state of the New-Jerusalem, as far as the unavoidable vanity of human affairs, and influence of Satan upon them would allow of it." Throughout the book Mather used many Hebrew words in Hebrew script. He called New England's ministers "hasidim harishonim."
16. "The most distinctive feature of the Harvard curriculum was the emphasis on Hebrew and kindred languages. . . . The Puritans could not satisfy their repressed desire for more and better Hebrew" S. E. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* [Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1936], vol. I, p. 200. See also I. S. Meyer, "Hebrew at Harvard (1636-1760)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, vol. XXXV (1939), pp. 145-170, and on the influence of the Old Testament generally see the chapter "Hebraic Aspects of American Puritanism" and the appended bibliography in L. I. Newman, *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1925), pp. 631-646. Roscoe Pound, who regards individualism and liberty as the product of "Germanic" and Saxon genius, remarked: "One might say that there was something congenial to the Germanic spirit in Hebraism which gave the Old Testament so profound an influence when our fathers began to read it" (*The Spirit of the Common Law* [Boston: Marshall Jones, 1921], p. 36.) Abiel Abbot, pastor of the First Church in Haverhill, Mass., delivered a Thanksgiving sermon in 1799, *Traits of Resemblance in the People of the United States of America to Ancient Israel* (Haverhill: Moore & Stebbins, 1799), in which he said (pp. 6, 20): "It has been often remarked that the people of the United States come nearer to a parallel with Ancient Israel, than any other nation upon the globe. Hence OUR AMERICAN ISRAEL is a term frequently used; and common consent allows it apt and proper. . . . Is it presumptuous to suppose that the colonization, rapid growth, early independency, and unexampled prosperity of this country are means in providence to promote that religion and to strengthen and extend that church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail? If not, then we are, in a sense like Israel, designed to be a religious people. Concede this, and our history is natural." Several examples are given to show how God favored and saved "the American Israel."

A visiting Frenchman reported that in 1780 some Bostonians wished to substitute Hebrew for English; they selected Hebrew "pour la commodité du public." *Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amérique Septentrionale dans les années 1780, 1781 et 1782* (2 vols., Paris 1786) vol. I, p. 201 f. See Robert Withington in *New England Quarterly*, vol. XVI (1943), p. 318.

17. Algernon Sidney, *Discourses in Government* (3 vols., New York: Richard Lee, 1805), vol. II, pp. 64 f. Sidney also referred to the medieval Jewish commentators, Don Isaac Abrabanel and Maimonides, who "agree in the same thing, calling the people's desire to have a king furious, mad, wicked and proceeding from their love to their idolatry of their neighbors, which was suited to their government; both which were inconsistent with what God had established over his own people." Sidney praised the old Hebrew democracy and its general assemblies of the people (*ibid.*, p. 70). Similarly James Harrington in his *Oceana* referred to the examples of Old Testament political institutions. "It is noteworthy that he invariably makes the practice

- of the Jewish Commonwealth the first support of every theory he brings forward, while examples from secular history come second. Jewish history, in fact, was not for Harrington on the same footing as any ordinary history. It had a divine authority, and in support of his contention that he has 'transcrib'd these principles of a Commonwealth out of Nature,' he appeals to God and to the World. To God in the Fabric of the Commonwealth of Israel; and to the world in the universal series of antient Prudence." J. W. Gough, "Harrington and Contemporary Thought," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLV, p. 398 (Sept., 1930). The Old Testament attitude towards kingship was later used by Thomas Paine in *Common Sense* (section "Monarchy and Hereditary Succession"), where he wrote, "Monarchy is ranked in Scripture as one of the sins of the Jews," and "These portions of Scripture are direct and positive. . . . That the Almighty hath here entered his protest against monarchical government is true, or the Scripture is false." (Thomas Paine, *Political Writings* [2 vols., Boston: J. P. Mendum, 1870], vol. I, pp. 26 ff.) The inscription on the Liberty Bell, which dates from 1753, was taken from Leviticus 25:10.
18. V. L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927), vol. I, p. 47. See also Perry Miller, *The New England Mind* (New York: Macmillan, 1939).
 19. Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture* (New York: Holt, 1934), vol. II, p. 202.
 20. John Wise, *A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches, and The Church's Quarrel Espoused; or a Reply to Certain Proposals* (4th ed., Boston: Congregational Board of Publication, 1860), pp. 37, 38, 40. Wise (1652-1736) has been called "the first great American democrat," M. C. Tyler, *A History of American Literature During the Colonial Period* (Student's ed., New York: Putnam, 1902), vol. II, p. 115.
 21. Wise, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 f.
 22. C. H. Van Tyne, *The Causes of the War of Independence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922), pp. 75 f., 82.
 23. See for instance Burke's speech of Mar. 22, 1775: "As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your national dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price of which you have the monopoly." (*Speeches and Letters on American Affairs* [Everyman's Library], p. 139.) "In political theory and in political practice the American Revolution drew its inspiration from the parliamentary struggle of the seventeenth century. The philosophy of the Declaration was . . . not new; but good old English doctrine newly formulated to meet a present emergency." Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1922), p. 79. See also C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period* (New York: Holt, 1912), p. 60.
 24. A pamphlet, "The City Ministers Unmasked," published by an army apologist on Mar. 5, 1649, stated on p. 19: "Since but few Laws among us, are the *pure results of right reason and equity*, but there is something of *humane darkness, or lust, or humor, or interest* cleaving to them; therefore as men grow up into more *reason*, they may change the Laws which themselves have made; and as succeeding *generations* grow up into more *clear and refined reason*, than their Ancestors, so may they change . . . *former Laws*, as less suitable

- to them. . . . *Right reason* and *equity* carry all Laws in their bowels, and will at all times be a fruitful womb of them for the peoples good, when the tyranny of *form* is done away: And it is much better for people to go to *Reason* for *Laws*, than to *Laws* for *Reason*. Each generation can judge better what is for its own good, than their forefathers, who could not foresee what was to fall out in the world." Quoted by Don M. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, pp. 454 f.
25. Written Feb. 21, 1765. *The Life and Works of John Adams*, ed. C. F. Adams (10 vols., Boston: Little, Brown, 1856), vol. I, p. 66.
 26. See Eduard Baumgarten, *Benjamin Franklin, der Lehrmeister der amerikanischen Revolution* (Grundlagen des Amerikanischen Gemeinwesens, vol. I), (Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 1936).
 27. Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. P. L. Ford (10 vols., New York: Putnam, 1892-1899), vol. I, p. 429. The sentence appears in "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" (1774).
 28. Letter to John Wright, London, dated Philadelphia, Nov. 4, 1789, in John Bigelow (ed.), *The Life of Benjamin Franklin, Written by Himself* (4th ed., 3 vols., Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1902), vol. III, p. 446: "I hope the fire of liberty, which you mention as spreading itself over Europe, will act upon the inestimable rights of man, as common fire does upon gold; purify without destroying them; so that a lover of liberty may find a country in any part of Christendom."
 29. Paine was called an "accursed English apostate" by Charles William Janson, *The Stranger in America* (London: Albion Press, 1807), p. 446.
Within three months after its appearance, over 120,000 copies of *Common Sense* were sold, and the final sale has been estimated at 500,000 copies (*Selections from the Works of Thomas Paine*, ed. Arthur W. Peach [New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1928], p. xviii).
 30. C. H. Van Tyne, *The War of Independence: American Phase* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), p. 332. Thomas Paine was most perturbed by slavery in America. The antislavery movement gained momentum from 1775 on, when the first Anti-Slavery Society in America was founded in Philadelphia in April, 1775. Vermont prohibited slavery in its constitution in 1777, New Hampshire in 1784, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania proclaimed gradual emancipation, and full emancipation seemed under way when the abolition of the slave trade in the South was stopped by Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793. See also Bigelow, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 430a-430c, 445.
 31. Statute 12 and 13 William III. c. 2.
 32. C. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 231. See also p. 225, and Bernard Fay, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 f. King Gustav of Sweden in hailing the Declaration said that the century was undoubtedly going to be "the century of America" (*ibid.*, p. 82).
 33. Benjamin Franklin, *Works*, ed. Jared Sparks (10 vols., Boston: Hilliard Gray, 1840), vol. II, pp. 469, 477.
 34. *Letters from an American Farmer Describing Certain Provincial Situations, Manners, and Customs and Conveying Some Idea of the State of the People of North America*, written to a Friend in England by J. Hector St. John, a Farmer in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1793), pp. 46 f. The book was dedicated to Abbé Raynal. The author's real name was Michel Guillaume Saint-Jean de Crèvecoeur (1735-1813). He lived in North America from 1759 to 1780, and from 1783 to 1790.
 35. Letter to Dr. Priestley, Jan. 27, 1800, in Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. H. A. Washington (9 vols., Washington: Taylor & Maury, 1853-54), vol. IV, p. 318.
 36. Letter to Mr. Adams, Aug. 1, 1816, in *ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 27. Similarly, Abraham

- Lincoln is reported to have told Herndon, "I do not care who my grandfather was, but I care who my grandchildren will be."
37. Alexander Hamilton, *Writings*, ed. H. C. Lodge, (12 vols., New York: Putnam, 1904), vol. I, p. 108. It is noteworthy that Hamilton had immigrated only a short time before from the West Indies.
 38. Jefferson, *Writings* (ed. Ford), vol. II, p. 80. Jefferson wished to combine the Hebraic and the Saxon traditions. Placed on a committee July 4, 1776, to suggest a device for a seal for the United States, he proposed (according to John Adams) that the seal should show on one side "the children of Israel in the wilderness led by a cloud by day and a pillar by night—and on the other side, Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chiefs, from whom we claim the honor of being descended and whose political principles and form of government we have assumed" (Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism* [Boston: Little, Brown, 1929], p. 86).
 39. E. F. Humphrey, *Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1789* (Boston: Chipman, 1924), p. 40. The pictures and articles in the then popular almanacs also used the appeal to the British constitutional tradition. See Philip G. Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 223.
 40. F. P. Cole, *They Preached Liberty* (New York: Revell, 1941), p. 53. Much of the insistence on local self-government was comparable to the demands of the Estates in eighteenth century Europe for their traditional rights and historical privileges against the Crown. That was especially true in the South. "This ruling clique, silk-stockinged, socially exclusive, aristocratic in bearing and spirit, took an absorbing interest in self-rule for Virginia, but cared not a straw for the rights of the common man" (Van Tyne, *The Causes of the War of Independence*, p. 148).
 41. A sixth edition, "with large additions by William Nelson," was published in Providence, R.I., in 1774. Another pamphlet appealing to the English tradition was *Demophilus: The genuine principles of the ancient Saxon, or English constitution, . . . with some observations on their peculiar fitness for the United colonies in general, and Pennsylvania in particular* (Philadelphia, 1776).
 42. William Jay, *The Life of John Jay, with Selections from His Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers* (2 vols., New York: Harper, 1833), vol. II, p. 262.
 43. J. W. Thornton, *The Pulpit of the American Revolution* (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1860), p. 35. See also C. H. Van Tyne, "Influence of the Clergy, and of Religious and Sectarian Forces, on the American Revolution," *American Historical Review*, vol. XIX, pp. 44-64 (Oct., 1913); Alice M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1928); Sherwood Eddy, *The Kingdom of God and the American Dream* (New York: Harper, 1941). "To the Pulpit, the Puritan Pulpit, we owe the moral force which won our independence" (Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii). Jonathan Mayhew was the son of Experience Mayhew, a missionary to the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, which his great-grandfather had purchased in 1641.
 44. Thornton, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 51. The complete Discourse is reprinted on pp. 47-104.
 46. *Ibid.*, pp. 239 f.
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 403. In the same sermon Stiles defended the treatment of the Indians by two arguments. One was the advantage brought to the Indians. "The Protestant Europeans have generally bought the native right of soil, as far as they have settled, and paid the value ten-fold, and are daily increasing the value of the remaining Indian territory a thousand-fold; and in this manner we are a constant increasing revenue to the original lords of the soil." The other

argument was the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, the settlers representing Japheth, the Indians the Canaanites who, as Stiles tried to prove with an immense amount of scholarship, had come to the New World sailing through the Straits of Gibraltar or crossing from Asia to Alaska after the expulsion by Joshua. (*Ibid.*, pp. 405 f.)

By that argument Stiles only resumed those of seventeenth century New England preachers and writers, who had declared that the Indians had only a right to as much land as they tilled or could improve, while the European colonists obeyed Genesis 1:28. As faith in the Bible waned, we find again an appeal to natural law taking its place. Hugh Brackenridge's *United States Magazine* printed in 1779: "The law of nature, where the law of revelation is not known, sufficiently enjoins on every man that he contract his claim of soil to equal bounds, and pursue that manner of life which is most consistent with the general population of the earth, and the increase of happiness to mankind." A. K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny* (Baltimore Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), p. 77.

The treatment of the Indians by American pioneers showed the worst features of imperialism. As in many other cases, then and later, the British imperial government tried to protect the interests of the natives against the white settlers. It wished to preserve the western lands as a great Indian reservation, but it encountered the opposition of land speculators in the colonies. After American independence, the central government wished similarly to protect the Indians and to recognize their legal rights, but it was of course even more powerless against the pressure by the pioneers. One of the motives for which the West favored the War of 1812 against the opposition of the eastern seaboard was the wish to remove all British assistance to the Indians and to give the settlers in the West a free hand. Thus the good intentions expressed by Jefferson were frustrated: "And generally, from a conviction that we consider them [the Indians] as part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining strength daily . . . and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practised toward them. . . . One of the two great divisions of the Cherokee nation have now under consideration to solicit the citizenship of the United States, and to be identified with us in laws and government, in such progressive manner as we shall think best." (Thomas Jefferson, 8th Annual Message to Congress, Nov. 8, 1808, *Writings*, ed. Ford, vol. IX, pp. 221 f.)

48. Van Tyne, *The War of Independence. American Phase*, p. 312. See also M. C. Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution* (2 vols., New York: Putnam, 1897), vol. II, pp. 286-294.
49. Thornton, *op. cit.*, pp. 239 f.
50. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. IV, p. 199; vol. VII, p. 496. Jefferson wrote to Gov. Plumer (*ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 19). "The idea that institutions established for the use of the nation cannot be touched or modified, even to make them answer their end, because of rights gratuitously supposed in those employed to manage them in trust for the public . . . is most absurd against the nation itself. Yet our lawyers and priests . . . suppose that preceding generations held the earth more freely than we do; had a right to impose laws on us, unalterable by ourselves, and that we, in like manner, can make laws and impose burthens on future generations, which they will have no right to alter; in fine, that the earth belongs to the dead and not the living."
51. Samuel Adams, *Writings*, ed. H. A. Cushing, (4 vols., New York: Putnam, 1904-1908), vol. I, p. 190, and vol. II, pp. 356 f., where he says that "all persons born in the British American colonies are by the laws of God and nature, and by the Common law of England, exclusive of all charters from the Crown,

well entitled, and by the Acts of the British Parliament are declared to be entitled, to all the natural essential, inherent and inseparable Rights, Liberties and Privileges of Subjects born in Great Britain. . . . These are some of the first principles of natural law and justice." On Adams, see J. C. Miller, *Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1936). On the other hand, Jefferson in one passage went to rather curious lengths to prove the rights of the colonists from a rather distant past. He suggested that they remind the King that "our ancestors, before their emigration to America, were the free inhabitants of the British dominion in Europe. . . . That their Saxon ancestors had, under this universal law, in like manner left their native wilds and woods in the north of Europe, had possessed themselves of the island of Britain . . . and had established there that system of laws which had so long been the glory and protection of that country. Nor was there ever any claim of superiority or dependence asserted over them by that Mother country from which they had migrated." (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Ford, vol. 1, pp. 429 f.)

52. Joseph Galloway, quoted in Van Tyne, *The War of Independence American Phase*, pp. 17 f. See also L. Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (2 vols., Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey, n.d.). On the social background of the American Revolution, see J. P. Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1926); C. H. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania, 1760-1776* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, c. 1901); H. J. Eckenrode, *The Revolution in Virginia* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916); T. J. Wertenbaker, *Torchbearer of the Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1940); C. A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1940); A. M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchant and the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1918). Generally on the rise of American patriotism see Merle Curti, "Wanted: A History of American Patriotism," *Proceedings of the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers*, vol. XXXVI (1938), pp. 15-24; Randolph G. Adams, *Political Ideas of the American Revolution* (Durham, N.C.: Trinity College Press, 1922); Michael Kraus, *Inter-Colonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1928); Irving Brant, *James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941).
53. Van Tyne, *The War of Independence. American Phase*, p. 32.
54. How nonexistent nationalism was as a force on the whole in the eighteenth century can be seen from the attitude of the French Canadian peasants. Van Tyne (*ibid.*, p. 72) reports that Burgoyne said of those French Canadian peasants who followed the American rebels in 1776 that they did not follow "the cry of liberty, but the belief of strength." They used to be the subjects of France, "they were since so to England, they would be the same to the Emperor of Morocco." The same lack of nationalism was noticeable in Germany, where there was practically no protest against the sale of the Hessians. While there was widespread demand for liberty in France, there was no feeling for liberty or for the new dignity of man in Germany except among a very few. Even the German soldiers in America wrote home almost completely unfavorable reports about the Americans. "They found them unbearably conceited, and believed that wickedness and pleasure was the cause of the rebellion, that they grew haughty because they lived too well." (*ibid.*, pp. 134 f.)
55. *Ibid.*, p. 303. People from the southern states distrusted the intentions of the New Englanders. A delegate wrote from Philadelphia that the people there thought of the New England men "as a set of Goths and Vandals who may

- one day overrun these southern climes" (*ibid.*, p. 306). And Samuel Adams himself was afraid that the Continental Army in Massachusetts would rob his state of its independence. On Oct. 29, 1775, he wrote, "History affords abundant instances of established armies making themselves the masters of those countries which they were designed to protect" (*Writings*, vol. III, p. 230).
56. Franklin, *Works*, ed. Sparks, vol. IV, pp. 41 f.
 57. Van Tyne, *The War of Independence. American Phase*, p. 301.
 58. Witherspoon said, in urging the passage of the Declaration of Independence, that in his judgment the country was "not only ripe for the measure, but in danger of rotting for want of it," V. L. Collins, *President Witherspoon* (2 vols., Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1925), vol. I, pp. 217-221. See also John Witherspoon, *Works*, ed. Ashbel Green (4 vols., New York, 1800-1801), vol. IV, p. 214 f.
 59. *Selections from the Works of Thomas Paine*, ed. Peach, p. 17.
 60. Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 7.
 61. Van Tyne, *The War of Independence. American Phase*, p. 271.
 62. George Washington, *Writings*, ed. Worthington C. Ford (New York: Putnam, 1891), vol. X, p. 331.
 63. H. R. Warfel, *Noah Webster: Schoolmaster to America* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 120, 122.
 64. Gaillard Hunt, *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago* (New York: Harper, 1914), pp. 49, 277. Even between New York and Philadelphia there were only four coaches daily which could carry on the average seven passengers in summer. The trip took from fourteen to sixteen hours and the fare was \$10. There was only one stage daily between New York and Boston, arriving the third night and costing \$16. Under these circumstances the American of 1800 did not travel, his correspondence was slight or nonexistent, newspapers brought him little information, and all his life and interests were centered around his town. It was difficult to get national news "Bad roads, scattered communities, long distances, and resultant isolation delayed truth" A. J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (4 vols., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), vol. I, p. 291.
 65. John Adams, *Works*, ed. C. F. Adams, vol. X, p. 283.
 66. H. E. Jacobs, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States* (New York: Scribner, 1900), p. 338. See also Humphrey, *op. cit.*, p. 314. The feeling of nationalism was then apparently stronger with the Germans outside Germany than with those in their native land.
 67. A. J. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 304.
 68. James Madison, *Writings*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (9 vols., New York: Putnam, 1900-1910), vol. II, p. 346. Some of the more forward-looking citizens founded patriotic societies similar to those which were then, under the influence of the Enlightenment, established in many European countries. As in those countries, the name of patriot which had been applied to the armies of the Revolution, was used to designate this new feeling of responsibility for the public common good. Bushrod Washington wrote to his uncle, George Washington, in Sept., 1786: "We have lately instituted a society in these lower counties, called the *Patriotic Society*. As it is something new, and there are a few men both good and sensible who disapprove of it, it will be a high gratification to me to know your sentiments of it, if you will be so kind as to communicate them. The object of the institution is to inquire into the state of public affairs; to consider in what the true happiness of the people consists, and what are the evils which have pursued, and still continue to molest us; the means of attain-

- ing the former, and escaping the latter, to inquire into the conduct of those, who represent us, and to give them our sentiments upon those laws, which ought to be, or are already made." (George Washington, *Writings*, ed. Ford, vol. XI, p. 71.)
69. Noah Webster, *Sketches of American Policy*, ed. H. R. Warfel (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1937), p. 48.
 70. Alexander Hamilton, *Writings*, ed. Lodge, vol. II, p. 39.
 71. Anson D. Morse, "Alexander Hamilton," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. V, No. 1 (1890), p. 21. See also Alex Bein, *Die Staatsidee Alexanders Hamiltons in ihrer Entstehung und Entwicklung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1929).
 72. Humphrey, *op. cit.*, p. 450.
 73. William Winterbotham, *An Historical, Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the American United States, and of the European Settlements in America and the West Indies* (4 vols., London, 1795), vol. I, p. 586.
 74. Sincon E. Baldwin, *Life and Letters of Sincon Baldwin* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1919), p. 288.
 75. Letter of June 19, 1802. *Memorial ed.*, *op. cit.*, vol. X, p. 325.
 76. The Lutheran Church was very active in the prosecution of the war. John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, son of the famous Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and pastor in Woodstock, Va., declared it the duty "I owe to my God and my country" to participate in the war. On the German influence and plans in America see *American Notes and Queries*, May 1942, p. 23; July 1942, p. 64; and W. L. Werner, "The Official German Language Legend," *American Speech*, Dec. 1942.

After Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, M. de Bandol preached a sermon in the Roman Catholic Church in Philadelphia in which he said: "Those miracles which He once wrought for his chosen people are renewed in our favor; and it would be equally ungrateful and impious not to acknowledge, that the event which lately confounded our enemies and frustrated their designs, was the wonderful work of that God who guards your liberties" (Humphrey, *op. cit.*, p. 129). At that time there were about 18,200 Catholics and 24 priests in the United States (*ibid.*, pp. 234 ff.). Puritan hostility to the Catholics went so far that at the beginning of the Revolution Samuel Adams tried to stir up the religious passion of the Mohawk Indians against the English policy of tolerance in Quebec. "Brothers,—They have made a law to establish the religion of the Pope in Canada, which lies so near you. We much fear some of your children may be induced, instead of worshipping the only true God, to pay his dues to images made with their own hands." (Samuel Adams, *Writings*, ed. Cushing, vol. III, p. 213.)

Of the participation of Negroes in the Revolutionary War George Bancroft wrote (*History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent* [Centenary ed., 6 vols., Boston: Little, Brown, 1876], vol. IV, p. 614, and vol. VI, p. 142): "Nor should history forget to record that, as in the army at Cambridge, so also in this gallant band [the defenders of Bunker Hill] the free negroes of the colony had also their representatives . . . and their names may be read on the pension rolls of the country, side by side with those of other soldiers of the revolution." ". . . of the revolutionary patriots who on that day [the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778] perilled life for their country, more than seven hundred black Americans fought side by side with the white."

Relatively not insignificant numbers of Jews saw service in the Revolutionary

War, some of them with great distinction. Others aided financially in the establishment of independence. See various articles in the 35 volumes of *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (1893-1939). The United States, with no feudal or medieval past, founded on the liberal spirit of the English tradition and on the humanitarian spirit of the eighteenth century, was the only country which knew no restrictions upon the Jews, and with the complete separation of State and Church the first to give the Jews full civic and political equality. Thus it is understandable that the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, R.I., greeted the first President of the United States on Aug. 17, 1790, in an address as follows: "Deprived as we heretofore have been of the invaluable rights of free citizens, we now (with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty disposer of all events) behold a Government, erected by the Majesty of the People,—a Government, which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance—but generously affording to All liberty of Conscience, and immunities of Citizenship—deeming everyone, of whatever Nation, tongue, or language equal parts of the great governmental Machine:—Thus so ample and extensive Federal Union whose basis is Philanthropy, Mutual Confidence, and Publick Virtue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the Great God who ruleth in the Armies of Heaven and among the Inhabitants of the Earth, doing whatsoever seemeth him good." (Facsimile in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. XII, p. 348.)

77. Brissot founded in 1788 the Société des Amis des Noirs, to promote the emancipation of the slaves. Mirabeau, Condorcet, Lafayette were members of the Society.

On the relation between the American Revolution and France, see Bernard Fay, *op. cit.*; Lucy M. Gidney, *L'influence des États Unis d'Amérique sur Brissot, Condorcet et Madame Roland* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1930); A. L. Guérard, *Beyond Hatred* (New York: Scribner, 1925); Lord Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1925), pp. 20-38. See also Mary-Margaret H. Barr, *Voltaire in America, 1744-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941).

78. See examples in Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 f., 135, 166.

79. Noah Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

80. *Poems of Freneau*, ed. H. H. Clark (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929), pp. 15 f. Philip Freneau (1752-1832) was the poet of the American Revolution. He was the descendant of a Huguenot family who had settled in New York at the beginning of the century. "From Concord to Yorktown, during the black winter at Valley Forge, and round the camp fires at Temple Hill, his verses encouraged the desponding soldiers. The newspapers widely published them, and they were written on slips of paper and distributed throughout the army, or posted in some conspicuous place to be memorized." Mary S. Austin, *Philip Freneau*, ed. H. K. Vreeland (New York: Wessels & Bussell, 1901), p. 131. See also S. E. Forman, *The Political Activities of Philip Freneau* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1902), Lewis Leary, *That Rascal Freneau* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1941). Freneau later became a journalist defending the French Revolution (see the poem "On the Demolition of the French Monarchy," *Poems*, p. 123), upholding also Jefferson and Madison against the Federalists. Brackenridge (1748-1816) wrote several patriotic plays, among them "The Battle of Bunker Hill" (1776), and later edited the *United States Magazine* in Philadelphia and founded the first newspaper in Pittsburgh. Like Freneau, he was a Democrat and against the Federalists. His *Modern Chivalry*, a satirical novel which appeared from 1792

to 1815, is regarded as the first literary document of the West. See Claude Milton Newlin, *The Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1932).

81. Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, vol. II, pp. 306 f. Similarly, Abraham Keteltas delivered a sermon in 1777, "God Arising and Pleading His People's Cause; or the American War in Favor of Liberty, Against the Measures and Arms of Great Britain, Shewn to be the Cause of God," in which he said, "We are contending for the rights of mankind" (Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 361).
82. F. P. Cole, *They Preached Liberty*, p. 167.
83. H. R. Warfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 f.
84. Thornton, *The Pulpit of the American Revolution*, pp. 463 f. Dr. John Adams wrote on Dec. 18, 1781: "But the great designs of Providence must be accomplished;—great indeed! The progress of society will be accelerated by centuries by this Revolution. The Emperor of Germany is adopting, as fast as he can, American ideas of toleration and religious liberty. . . . Light spreads from the day-spring in the West; may it shine more and more until the perfect day." (*Ibid.*, pp. 464 f.)
85. *Greenfield Hill: A Poem in Seven Parts by Timothy Dwight* (New York: Childs & Swaine, 1794), pp. 18, 157. Timothy Dwight, a conservative Puritan and Federalist, was a grandson of Jonathan Edwards. Among his other patriotic poems were "Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise" and an epic, *The Conquest of Canaan*.

Charles William Janson wrote in the preface to his *The Stranger in America, Containing Observations Made during a Long Residence in that Country, on the Genius, Manners, and Customs of the People of the United States; with Biographical Particulars of Public Characters; Hints and Facts Relative to the Arts, Sciences, Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, Emigration, and the Slave Trade* (London: Albion Press, 1807), p. viii: "Americans make a point of denying every truth that in any way tends to expose a defective habit, or a national error. They bow before the shrine of adulation, fondly conceiving themselves the merited favorites of Heaven; and the United States 'a country where triumph the purest principles of legislation which ever adorned civil society, a country in which the human character is already elevated to a superior species of man, compared with the miserable wretches of Europe.'"

Of the many attempts at patriotic poetry of that time, the most characteristic are probably those of John Trumbull (1750-1831), who wrote *McFingal*, a long poem which between 1782 and 1840 went through more than thirty editions; Royall Tyler (1757-1826), who published the first comedy written by an American and produced by a professional company, *The Contrast* (1787), contrasting an American officer gentleman with an imitator of British affectations; and Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814), a sister of James Otis, who in 1805 published a three-volume *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution*. In Jan., 1774, "while America was oscillating between a Resistance by Arms and her ancient Love and Loyalty to Britain," she wrote "A Political Reverie," the first of a number of patriotic poems, published in her *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous* (Boston, 1790), pp. 188-194. The tragedy in five acts, *The Ladies of Castile*, has a preface, dated Feb. 20, 1784 (written "To a Young Gentleman in Europe, at whose Request a Regular Dramatick Work was first attempted"—her son, who was then traveling abroad), which is an appeal to the young generation and concludes: "May their conduct never contradict the professions of the patriots who have asserted the rights of human nature; nor cause a blush to

pervade the cheek of the children of the martyrs who have fallen in defence of the liberties of their country" (p. 101).

86. Letter to Col. Monroe (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. H. A. Washington, vol. I, p. 352). In a letter to Joseph Jones, Aug. 14, 1787, he characterized American government with all its defects as heaven, European government as hell, and England as occupying an intermediate station like earth (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 249). See also his letter to Mr. Hawkins, Aug. 4, 1787 (*ibid.*, p. 221).
87. Letter to Mr. Wythe, Aug. 13, 1786 (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 7). He once even went so far as to write to J. Bannister, Jr., Oct. 15, 1785, "An American, coming to Europe for education, loses in his knowledge, in his morals, in his health, in his habits, and in his happiness" (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Andrew A. Lipscomb [20 vols., Washington: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Assn, 1903], vol. V, p. 188).
88. Warfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-263. Webster in an address delivered in 1793 strongly protested against slavery. "There was much of Rousseau left in Webster . . . He asserted that every man, black or white, has a sacred right of freedom: 'No time, no circumstances, no human power or policy can change the nature of this truth, nor repeal the fundamental laws of society by which every man's right of liberty is guaranteed.'" (*ibid.*, p. 214.) The hatred of the French Revolution and the conservative dislike for the French Enlightenment is shown by John Adams's comments on Rousseau in 1794 (see Boston Public Library bulletin, *More Books*, 6th ser., vol. I [1926], pp. 53-64). But even among conservatives there was an understanding of the importance of the French Revolution. Thus Ezra Stiles wrote in his diary Apr. 7, 1793: "I read the Acts of the National Convent. of 1st Feb. wherein they Decree to declare War against G. Brir. & Holld. The K. of G. Brit. has just entered into an Alliance with the Emperor & Russia. So a Combin^d of Britain, the Emperor, Holld or the Stadtholder, Russia, Prussia certain: prob^{ly} Spain, Portugal, & Savoy, all united ag^t France. The War of Kings, or the Conflict of Royal Aristocracy with Republicanism, which will terminate in establishing the Repub. of France, & the Repub. of Holld decollated of its Statholder, & the Restitution of the Cortes of Spain—: & the Inoculation of Germany, the Baltic K^{ing}, & all Europe with the epidemical contagion of Liberty and Rights of Man! And ultimately the Tameing, the Moder^d and Amelioration all the Europ. Governments." (*The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, ed. F. B. Dexter [New York: Scribner, 1901], vol. III, p. 490.) On the other hand, popular enthusiasm was well mirrored in John Burk's play, *Female Patriotism, or the Death of Jeanne d'Arc, an historic play in five acts* (1798), Act IV, where Jeanne exclaims in a patriotic though definitely anachronistic spirit:

It is not to crown the Dauphin Prince alone
That hath impelled my spirit to the wars,
For that were petty circumstance indeed;
But on the head of every man in France
To place a crown, and thus at once create
A new and mighty order of nobility,
To make all free and equal, all men kings,
Subjects to justice and the laws alone:
For this great purpose have I come amongst you.
[Shout: Liberty and Equality!]

89. Ernest S. Bates, *American Faith* (New York: Norton, 1940), p. 300. On the Democratic Societies, see Eugene P. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1942).
90. Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

91. *An Oration, in Celebration of American Independence*; Delivered at Belchers-town, July 4th, 1797, by Samuel F. Dickinson, A.B., Student at Law, Amherst (Northampton, Mass., 1797), p. 16. He pointed out that America "seems to have been designedly removed, by the Author [*sic*] of creation, from the seat of tyrants, in order to become the nursery of freedom." See also Elhanan Winchester, *A plain political catechism, intended for the use of schools in the United States of America; wherein the great principles of liberty, and of the federal government, are laid down and explained, in the way of question and answer; made level to the lowest capacities* (Norfolk: A. C. Jordan & Co., 1806).
92. Letter to John Adams, Oct. 28, 1813 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VI, p. 227). This immaturity of the French people can be explained in the light of Jefferson's previous judgment sent from France to M^{rs}. Trist, Aug. 18, 1785: "Of twenty millions of people supposed to be France, I am of the opinion there are nineteen millions more wretched, more accursed in every circumstance of human existence than the most conspicuously wretched individual of the whole United States" (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. V, p. 81).
93. *The Political Writings of Joel Barlow* (New York: Mott & Lyon, 1796), p. 160. The importance of the French Revolution for liberal nationalism was well explained in his "Lettre adressée aux habitants de Piémont sur les avantages de la révolution française et la nécessité d'en adopter les principes en Italie" (1793). There he wrote: "France has brought liberty to your doors; and she invites you, in the name of all that is dear to you as men, in the name of all that can bind you to the interests of human nature in general, to accept the blessing at her hands. She has done more, she has taught you and all other people how public happiness is to be acquired and preserved. She has addressed herself to the great principles of reason which are common to all men; she has cleared away the mass of prejudice, of false doctrine, of superstition in the science of morals; a mass which the complicated abuses of tyranny, continued for many centuries, had accumulated on the human mind. She has laid down and clearly defined the rights and duties of men and of citizens, explained the great doctrine of equality, the true design of government, the nature of the trust to be reposed in public officers, as servants of the people, by whom they are created and by whom they are paid. She has taught you a great practical truth which is too consoling to be rejected, and too clear to be called in question, that you are the sovereigns in your own country." (*Ibid.*, pp. 204 f.)
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 142 f. See also pp. 23, 40, 110, 132, 138.
95. Barlow, *The Columbiad: A Poem* (2 vols., Philadelphia: C. & A. Conrad & Co., 1809), vol. I, p. xiii.
96. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 149.
97. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 136, 145.
98. Letter to James Madison from Paris, Dec. 20, 1787 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. VI, pp. 392 f.).
99. *Poems of Freneau*, p. 94.
100. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
101. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language* (4th ed., New York: Knopf, 1936), p. 10.
102. Harry R. Warfel, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 f.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 180 ff.
104. See Charles W. Cole, "Jeremy Belknap: Pioneer Nationalist," *New England Quarterly*, vol. X (1937), pp. 743-751.

105. Charles Brockden Brown, *Edgar Huntly, or Memoirs of a Sleepwalker*, ed. David Lee Clark (New York: Macmillan, 1928), p. xxiii.
106. Warfel, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
107. Allen O. Hansen, *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 48-61.
108. Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, *National Education in the United States of America*, transl. from 2nd French ed. of 1812 by Bessie Gardner Du Pont (Newark, Del.: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1923).
109. Hansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-145.
110. Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 382.
111. Gaillard Hunt, *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago*, p. 141. Webster was convinced, as he wrote in 1789, that the isolation of America from England would produce, "in a course of time, a language in North America, as different from the future language of England, as the modern Dutch, Danish and Swedish are from the German, or from one another" (George P. Krapp, *The English Language in America* [2 vols., New York: Century Co., 1925], vol. I, p. 9). Thomas Jefferson shared Webster's opinion to a certain extent. See his letter of Aug. 16, 1813, to John Waldo (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VI, pp. 185, 189) "Should the language of English continue stationary, we shall probably enlarge our employment of it, until its new character may separate it in name as well as in power, from the mother-tongue."
112. Thornton, *op. cit.*, pp. 461 f.
113. *The Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. IX, pp. 509 f. Letter written from Amsterdam to Edmund Jennings.
114. Fernand Baldensperger, "Une prédiction inédite sur l'avenir de la langue des États-Unis," *Modern Philology*, vol. XV, pp. 475 f. (Dec., 1917). For the opinion of America which French progressive circles had at the outbreak of the French Revolution, the following quotation is of interest: "Les habitants des États-Unis, aussi fiers et non moins braves que les Anglais, aussi actifs et non moins industrieux, plus exercés par les malheurs, plus travaillés par les besoins, sont plus humains, plus généreux, plus tolérants; toutes choses propres à faire goûter les opinions, adopter les usages et parler la langue d'un tel peuple. Le sensible auteur des Lettres d'un cultivateur américain nous le fait déjà bien juger, lorsqu'il nous développe les sages principes de la politique dans cette heureuse contrée, lorsqu'il nous dépeint la paix des familles, l'union des citoyens indépendants de toute opinion, et l'affluence des étrangers de tous les pays, venant chercher, sur cette terre nouvelle, la liberté, la protection, les secours fraternels et l'active bienveillance qu'on est toujours certain d'y trouver. Placés pour étendre leur commerce avec autant d'avantages que de facilité dans toutes les parties de l'ancien monde, les Américains des États-Unis ne seront étrangers pour aucun peuple, ils fraternisent avec l'univers. Les lumières et les connaissances de tous les siècles ne les portent point à condamner avec orgueil quiconque ne partage pas leur savoir; ils envisagent tous les hommes sous le rapport commun qui les lie: le nègre grossier, l'indien superstitieux, trouvent en eux la même indulgence qu'ils ont pour les sauvages ignorants, leurs voisins; pour les jaloux européens, leurs alliés."
115. Warfel, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
116. Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
117. John Witherspoon pointed out the divergence of the languages spoken in America and England in an article in the *Pennsylvania Journal* in 1781, and coined the term "Americanism."
118. "Jefferson war nicht der Grunder der amerikanischen Demokratie. Deren Wurzeln reichen weit zuruck nach England. Er war aber der Grunder der

- Bewusstheit der amerikanischen Demokratie, ihrer Verheirlichung, ihres Stolzes und ihrer menschheitlichen Mission. Er hat seinem Volke den Glauben gegeben, der es zu einer Nation gemacht hat." (Otto Vossler, *Die amerikanischen Revolutionsideale in ihrem Verhältniß zu den europäischen, untersucht an Thomas Jefferson* (Munich. Oldenbourg, 1929), p. 187.
119. On Jefferson see Charles A. Beard, *The Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York: Macmillan, 1915); Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton* (Boston. Houghton Mifflin, 1925) and *Jefferson in Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1936); Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson The Apostle of Americanism*; F. W. Hirst, *The Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson* (New York. Macmillan, 1926); C. E. Merriam, Jr., "The Political Theory of Thomas Jefferson," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. XVII (1902), pp. 24-45; Otto Vossler, *op. cit.*; John Sharp Williams, *Thomas Jefferson: His Permanent Influence on American Institutions* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1913).
 - In addition to the three editions of his *Writings* cited above, the following have also been used: *Memoir, Correspondence and Miscellaneous from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Thomas Jefferson Randolph (Charlottesville: F. Carr & Co., 1829); *Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, 1798-1817*, transl. Linwood Lehman, ed. Dumas Malone (Boston Houghton Mifflin, 1930).
 120. Letter to Elbridge Gerry, Jan. 26, 1799 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. X, pp. 78 f.
 121. Letter to J. Garland Jefferson, Jan. 25, 1810 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Ford, vol. IX, p. 270).
 122. Letter to George Flower, Sept. 12, 1817 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VII, p. 84).
 123. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VII, p. 613.
 124. Letter to Dr. Joseph Priestley, June 19, 1802 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. X, pp. 324 f.).
 125. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VIII, p. 45.
 126. Letter to Richard Rush, Oct. 20, 1820 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. XV, p. 284).
 127. Letter to John Dickinson, Mar. 6, 1801 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Ford, vol. VIII, p. 8).
 128. Inauguration address, Mar. 4, 1801 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VIII, pp. 4 f.).
 129. Letter to Dr. Walter Jones, Mar. 5, 1810 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Ford, vol. IX, p. 274).
 - 129a. Letter to George Flower in 1817 (Bergh ed., vol. XV, pp. 139-143). Years before Jefferson had been opposed to immigration, in his "Notes on Virginia" (Bergh ed., vol. II, pp. 120 ff.).
 130. Letter to Mr. Weightman, June 24, 1826 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VII, p. 450).
 131. Written April 24, 1816 (*Correspondence*, ed. Dumas Malone, p. 186).
 132. Gaillard Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 f.
 133. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VIII, pp. 388-392. See also his Autobiography, *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 47-52.
 134. Letter of Jan. 6, 1816, to Col. Charles Yancy (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. XIV, pp. 380 ff.).
 135. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VII, p. 196. He wrote: "This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind."
 136. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. XIV, pp. 383 f.
 137. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VIII, pp. 390 f.
 138. Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 f.

139. Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia," *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, Memorial ed., *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 226.
140. Webster, *Sketches of American Policy*, p. 46.
141. Letter to Edward Coles, Aug. 25, 1814 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Ford, vol. IX, pp. 477 ff.).
142. *The Writings of "Col. William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esqr,"* ed. J. S. Bassett (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1901), pp. 8 ff.
143. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VIII, pp. 66, 107.
144. Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia," *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. II, p. 229.
145. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VIII, p. 405.
146. Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia," *ibid.*, p. 241.
147. Letter to Mr. Pictet (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. X, p. 356).
148. Letter to John Jay, Aug. 23, 1785 (*ibid.*, vol. V, p. 93).
149. Letter to David Williams, Nov. 14, 1803 (*ibid.*, vol. X, p. 431).
150. *Ibid.*, vol. XI, pp. 2 f.
151. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Washington, vol. VIII, pp. 157 f.
152. Letter to James Madison, Nov. 30, 1809 (Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Ford, vol. IX, p. 266.)
153. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. X, p. 397.
154. *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, pp. 45, 43 f. Jefferson's attitude on foreign policy is not clear-cut—he combines both American traditions: isolation from Europe, and universal humanitarianism with a clear-sighted realization of the need of alliances in moments of danger.
155. *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 478. See Edward M. Earle, *Against This Torrent* (Princeton University Press, 1941); Alfred Vagts, "The United States and the Balance of Power," *Journal of Politics*, vol. III (1941), pp. 414 ff.; Walter Lippmann, *U. S. Foreign Policy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1943).
156. *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, 17th Congress, 2nd Session, Dec., 1822 to Mar., 1823 (Washington, 1855), pp. 20 f. See Hans Kohn, "The Realities of Peace and War," *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1943.
157. George Washington, *Writings*, ed. Worthington C. Ford (New York: Putnam, 1891), vol. XI, pp. 58 f.
158. K. W. Rowe, *Mathew Carey: A Study in American Economic Development* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), pp. 13 f. In his *Volunteer's Journal*, Carey wrote on Apr. 12, 1784: "If these and a thousand evils of no less magnitude are the consequences of our damning connexion with Britain,—is there a man among us, who wishes not the connexion cut away? If there be one so lost to national feelings, let him be held reprobate, and cast from among us. . . . Let the thunder of our guns proclaim aloud in the ears of an old jealous tyrant, our unalterable determination—either to live freemen, or perish as a people." (*Ibid.*, p. 15.)
159. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
160. *Ibid.*, p. 38—quoted from the *Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, Feb. 22, 1785.
161. *Ibid.*, pp. 41 f.
162. Carey referred to Alexander Hamilton as the spiritual father of his school of economic thought, and traced the spiritual ancestry farther back to Colbert. "Born in an oppressed land and exiled to one which had yet to secure economic independence, Carey was acutely conscious of national boundaries, and his attention was directed to the economic capacities of areas so differentiated rather than to their wealth in terms of commodities" (*Ibid.*, p. 114). An early follower of Alexander Hamilton's was Tench Coxe (1755–1824), a member of the Continental Congress and president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts, which was founded in

1787. See Harold Hutcheson, *Tench Coxe: A Study in American Economic Development* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938). See also Sidney Sherwood, *Tendencies in American Economic Thought* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1897); Charles P. Neill, *Daniel Raymond: An Early Chapter in History of Economic Theory in the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1897); A. D. H. Kaplan, *Henry Charles Carey* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1931); Richard Gabriel Stone, *Hezekiah Niles As an Economist* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933).
163. See Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York: Ronald Press, 1940), pp. 79-81.
164. See Frank L. Humphreys, *The Life and Times of David Humphreys*: (2 vols., New York: Putnam, 1917).
165. Weinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 460.
167. *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, ed. James D. Richardson (10 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896-1899), vol. VI, p. 689.
168. *The Federalist*, ed. H. C. Lodge (New York: Putnam, 1908), pp. 81 f.
169. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Lipscomb, vol. VII, p. 71. My former colleague, Merle Curti, now professor in the University of Wisconsin, was good enough to read the chapter on American nationalism; I am most grateful for his encouraging comments.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. "Der westliche Nationalismus . . . setzt Nation und Gesellschaft gleich, d.h. er setzt den Begriff der Nationalität bereits in ein nicht-naturhaftes Element. Die Angehörigen dieser Nation fühlen sich nur in ihrer Gesittung zu Hause." German nationalism "hat den vom Humanismus geschaffenen Begriff des Volkstums in eine feste und dauernd wichtiger gewordene Beziehung zum Gedanken des deutschen Staates gesetzt, und diesem damit eine Richtung gegeben, die ihn endgültig von der westlichen Entwicklung trennte." Paul Joachimsmen, "Zur historischen Psychologie des deutschen Staatsgedankens," *Die Dioskuren*, vol. I (Munich: Meyer & Jessen, 1922), pp. 115, 139.
2. Nicolas Zernov, *Moscow the Third Rome* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937), pp. 47, 49.
3. Heinrich, Ritter von Srbik, *Deutsche Einheit*, vol. I (Munich: Bruckmann, 1935), calls "das deutsche Volk den gegebenen Träger der Weltkaiseridee." "Damals als Karls V. Weltkaiseridee einer einigen und kraftvollen deutschen Basis entbehren musste, damals beginnt jenes binnenländische, jenes auf sich selbst und den ererbten Siedlungsboden beschränkte Leben des größten Kolonisierungsvolkes des Mittelalters, die wirtschaftliche und gedankliche Einschränkung, der Mangel an Wagemut, das Aufgehen im individualistischen und partikularistischen Denken und das Sichverlieren im konfessionellen Streit." (*Deutsche Einheit*, vol. I, pp. 36, 49.)
4. "Aus dem Luthertum stammt (wenigstens teilweise) die Neigung des Deutschen, im Besitz rein geistiger Freiheit nicht allzuviel nach politischer 'Freiheit' zu fragen, sondern blindlings seiner Obrigkeit zu vertrauen, auf die 'Gewissenhaftigkeit' der Regierenden fester zu bauen als auf die politisch organisierte Kontrolle der Regierten. Echt lutherisch ist die Scheu der deutschen Geistigkeit vor allzu enger Berührung mit der Politik, ihr vielberufener 'weltfremder' Zug. Weil die deutschen lutherischen Kirchen niemals hatten um politischen Einfluss kämpfen müssen (wie die calvinischen Westeuropas) und weil das politische Leben ihrer Territorialstaaten zumeist in trægern Stillstand verharzte, fehlte ihnen das natürliche Bedürfnis nach eigentlich politischer Betätigung; daher, und aus der Enge der deutschen Kleinstaatenwelt, stammt die vielberufene politische Passivität des deutschen Luthertums" Gerhard Ritter, "Die Ausprägung deutscher und westeuropäischer Geistesart im konfessionellen Zeitalter," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXLIX, no. 2, pp. 247 f.
5. National Socialist Germany wished, as a first step, to undo the peace of 1648. See F. Kopp and E. Schulte, *Der Westfälische Frieden* (Munich: Hohenheim Verlag, 1940). Schiller praised the treaty in his prologue to Wallenstein's Lager.
6. Austria and Prussia became the centers of German political life. In both "konnte das nationale Prinzip nur das des Kolonialdeutschtums sein, dessen Existenz auf der Herrenstellung gegenüber dem Slaventum beruhte" (Paul Joachimsmen, *op. cit.*, p. 156).
7. "Bedenken oder Diskurs von der Regierung des heiligen Reichs und Freistellung der Religion" (1574), reprinted in Paul Joachimsmen, *Der deutsche Staatsgedanke*, pp. 118-141.
8. It is characteristic that Althusius (1557-1638), whose book was published in

- 1603, was an ardent Calvinist, influenced by the Old Testament. Carl Joachim Friedrich regards him as a representative of the craft guilds in their efforts to democratize the town government, a man with a "Western," individualistic, democratic, and utilitarian point of view.
9. "We worry very little about the Roman Empire. Let it die today or tomorrow, that is all the same to us. And even if it went to pieces, if only the hay will be plentiful we will make a rope out of it which will sew it together." Ludwig Joachim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, ed. Eduard Grisebach (Leipzig: Max Hesse, 1906), p. 632.
 10. Edwin Hermann Zeyder, *The Holy Roman Empire in German Literature*, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1918) p. 61. See also Heinz H. F. Eulau, "Theories of Federalism under the Holy Roman Empire," *American Political Science Review*, vol. XXXV, pp. 643-664 (Aug., 1941).
 11. *Dissertatio de ratione status in Imperio nostro Romano-Germanico*. In qua, Tum, qualisnam revera in eo Status sit; tum, quae Ratio Status observanda quidem, sed magno cum Patriae Libertatis detrimento, neglecta hucusque fuerit; tum denique, quibusnam mediis antiquus Status restaurari ac firmari possit, dilucidè explicatur. Autore Hippolito à Lapide. Freestadii, 1647. The introduction starts: "Funestam et cadaverosam hodiernae Germaniae nostrae faciem contemplanti mihi, causas, quid ita à semet degenerarit, et pristinae Libertati ac Dignitati penitus decoxerit, indagare, haud semel in mentem venit, benevole et cordate Lector." The second quotation is from p. 290, at the beginning of chap. 16 of the first part, which deals with the prerogatives and rights which remain to the emperor in the administration of the Empire.
 12. See Ignaz Jastrow, *Pufendorfs Lehre von der Monstrosität der Reichsverfassung* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1881). A German translation of Pufendorf's book by Dr. Harry Bresslau was published in the *Historisch-politische Bibliothek* vol. VII (Berlin: L. Heilmann, 1870), and another by Heinrich Dove in *Reclams Universalbibliothek* in 1878. The famous passage is at the end of chap. VI. At the beginning of chap. VII, Pufendorf gave the following characteristics of the Germans: "Die deutsche Nation war von allen Zeiten her kriegerisch und streitbar, für ganz Europa ein unerschöpflicher Quell von Soldaten, die ihre Haut zu Markte tragen. Wenn ihnen Hitze des Angriffes und Ungestüm fehlen, so ertragen sie dafür um so besser langwieriges Ungemach des Krieges und fügen sich ausserordentlich leicht der Disciplin. Ebenso sind sie zu allerlei Handwerken geschickt. Und, was ausserordentlich wichtig für die Festigkeit einer Regierung ist, sie sind allen Tumulten abgeneigt und fügen sich gern einem nicht allzu harten Regiment."
 13. Paul Joachimsen, *Der deutsche Staatsgedanke*, p. lviii.
 14. Paul Hankamer, *Deutsche Gegenreformation und deutsches Barock* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1935) pp. 96 f., 140 f.
 15. Kuno Francke, *History of German Literature* (New York: Holt, 1931), p. 206.
 16. The story is told in bk. III, chaps. 3, 4, and 5. See *Grimmelshausens Werke*, (Kürschners Deutsche National-Literatur, Vol. 33) vol. I, pp. 219-229. In English. Hans Jacob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen, *The Adventurous Simplestimus*. (London: W. Heinemann, 1912) pp. 202-210.
 17. Julius Petersen, "Grimmelshausens Teutsche Held," *Euphorion*, Ergänzungsheft 17 (1924), p. 5. "Mitten in der von romanischem Formsinn beherrschten Barockzeit ist hier ein Stück germanischer Ungebundenheit als dämmernde deutsche Sehnsucht und Vorgefühl der Romantik zum Durchbruch gekommen," *ibid.*, p. 28. See also Felix Scholz, "Grimmelshausens Verhältnis zu den Sprachgesellschaften und sein Teutsche Michel," *ibid.*, pp. 79-96; Egon Cohn, *Gesellschaftsideale und Gesellschaftsroman des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1921); Karl Viëtor, *Probleme der deutschen*

Barockliteratur (Leipzig: Weber, 1928); Hans Schultz, *Die Bestrebungen der Sprachgesellschaften des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1888).

18. The title of the book by Schottelius, which contains 1466 pages in addition to lengthy introductions and an index, begins: "Ausführliche arbeit von der teutschen haubt sprache worin enthalten gemelter dieser haubt sprache uhrankunft/ uhraltertum/ reinlichkeit/ eigenschaft/ vermögen/ unvergleichlichkeit/ grundrichtigkeit/ . . ." The preface begins "Wan man dem Wesen der Teutschen eigentlich nachdenket/ so wol was deroelben Uhraltertum/ Räume der Länder/ Macht der Völker/ gewaltige auszuge/ Glück der Waffen/ Eifer zur Tugend/ vermeidung der Laster/ strenge haltung der rechten Adelschaft/ und derogleichen/ von langen Zeiten her/ betreffen mag, Als auch/ dass sie endlich durch göttliche Vorsehung das letzte Weltreich/ und damit den höchsten Ehrenstandt und das Haupt der Christenheit auf sich gebracht; dass sie an Ruhm der Treu und Tapferkeit/ an Anzahl derer grossmächtigsten/ tapfersten und tugendreichsten Helden/ an vollster Menge der gelahrtesten Leute/ an reichem Zuwachse tausenterley Künsten/ an Anzahl der berühmten hohen Schulen/ und festen Stäten/ an besitzung einer so prachtigen/ wortreichen und reinen Hauptsprache und derogleichen/ einen ansehnlichen Vortritt haben; ja dass sie die Welt durch erfindung der Truckerey gelahrt und geschickt/ wie auch durch erfindung der Buchsen und Pulver Kunst/ tapfer und gleichsam zum Kriegsmanne gemacht haben; man mochte die Gedanken gar wol von Ost biss Westen/ von Süden biss Norden herum wandern lassen/ und solcher der Teutschen Vortreflichkeit/ bey einigem Volke eine volle Gleichheit huerinn vergeblich aufsuchen."

The famous Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orléans, a native of the Palatinate, wrote in French on Feb. 9, 1719, to Queen Sophia Dorothea of Prussia: "If I dare say it, I am always shocked when I hear that German is no longer being spoken in Germany; our language is so beautiful and good, why be ashamed of it? I am also afraid that in abandoning oneself to foreign languages one does also lose the old Aufrichtigkeit, Treue und Glauben, of which every true German must be proud."

19. See Wilhelm Frenzen, "Germanienbild und Patriotismus im Zeitalter des deutschen Barock," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, XV (1937), No. 2; Max Wehrli, *Das barocke Geschichtsbild in Lobensteins Arminius* (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1938).
20. The many quotations in Kurt Wels, *Die patriotischen Strömungen in der deutschen Literatur des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (Greifswald: Adler, 1913), prove only the absence of nationalism in seventeenth century Germany. See his own comments, pp. 49-53. There is only the linguistic patriotism of writers. German is praised as a direct daughter of Hebrew and is regarded as the mother of Greek and Latin. Some writers went rather far in their emphasis upon linguistic purity. Philipp von Zesen (1619-1689) suggested that Germans should not use *c*, *y*, *v*, *q*, and *ph* on account of their foreign origin. Grimmelshausen wrote against the use of Latin, Greek, or biblical names for German children; a Calvinist mother who had named her children Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, appeared to him like a Jewish, not a German, woman. Schottelius regarded German as perfect and original while foreign languages were only *zusammengeslickt* (patched together).

Herbert Cysarz has collected and edited the poetry of the German Baroque in *Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen* (3 vols., Leipzig: Reclam, 1937). In the whole collection no nationalistic poem and very few mildly patriotic ones can be found. Among these few are Logau's "Die blühende deutsche Sprache" (vol. III, p. 17).

Deutschen sind so alte Leute
Lernen doch erst reden heute,
Wann sie lernen doch auch wolten
Wie recht Deutsch sie handeln solten.

Enoch Gläfers "Deutsche Redlichkeit" (vol. I, p. 202), which begins:

Ein Deutsch gemüthe geht vor alle,
Es sag ein anders wer da wil.

And finally Isaac Habrechts "Überreime an die Teutsche Musa" (vol. I, p. 133):

Nun/ Teutsche Musa/ tritt herfü/
Lass kecklich deine stimm erklingen/
Warumb woltestu fürchten dir/
In deiner Mutter spiach zusingen?
Meint man/ Teuschlandt sey ohne sinnen?
Soll dann der Grichen pracht/
Oder die Römisch macht
Der Poetrei Kleinodt allein gewinnen?

Somewhat more patriotic is a broadside of 1689 (quoted by Waldemar Mitscherlich, *Der Nationalismus Westeuropas*, p. 174)

Auf ihr tapferen teutschen Helden, nehmt die Waffen zur Hand.
Lasst die Nachwelt von euch melden, streit für Gott und Vaterland.
Lasst den überlangen Schlaf, wischt ihn ersten aus den Augen,
Übet an den Barbarn Straf, giesst auf ihnen scharfe Laugen.

Elmer A. Beller, *Propaganda in Germany During the Thirty Years' War* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1940) yields practically nothing on national sentiment in the period. Wandrusska von Wandstetten, "Vom Begriff des Vaterlandes in der Politik des dreissigjährigen Krieges," in *Gesamtdutsche Vergangenheit* (Munich, Bruckmann, 1938), sees some progress of German patriotism in that period.

21. See, for instance, Friedrich von Logau (1604-1655), *Simgedichte*, (*Deutsche Dichter des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Gustav Eitner, vol. III [Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1870]) nos. 106, 236, 273, 281, 439, 463, 643, 770, 778 and 994— which, addressed to the Germans, reads:

Bleibt beim Saufen! bleibt beim Saufen! Sauft, ihr Deutschen, immerhin!
Nur die Mode, nur die Mode, lasst zu allen Teufeln ziehn!

- 22 "Seid ihr dann so unwissend, oder wollt ihrs sonst nit achten, dass die jetzige Franzosen selbst von den Teutschen abkommen, deren unteutschen Sitten (die sie vielleicht von den alten Gallis, welche ihr alte Teutschen Vorfahren ritterlich überwunden, erlernen und angenommen) ihr jetzo nachahmet?" (Grimmelshausen, quoted in Kurt Vogtherr, *Die Geschichte des Wortes "Deutsch" von Luther bis zur Aufklärung* [Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1937], p. 36.)

23. Daniel Casper von Lohenstein (1635-1683), *Grossmüthiger Feldherr Arminius oder Hermann nebst seiner Durchlauchtigsten Thurnelda in einer siegreichen Staats- Liebes- und Helden-Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1689 and 1690). About Arminius in German literature see Wilhelm Greizenach, "Armin in Poesie und Literaturgeschichte," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. XXXVI (1875), pp. 332-340. Medieval Germans knew nothing about Arminius in any case they felt, through Church and Empire, so closely united with Rome that a victory over Romans would not have appealed to them. Arminius like Wittekind would have appeared to them a rebel against the Roman Empire which to them was part of the history of salvation.

24. *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey, in welchem alle ihre Eigenschaft und Zuegehör gründlich erzehlet, und mit Exempeln Ausgeführt wird* (Bresslaw, 1624). By writing the book he wished "die gewelschte Teutschen dardurch zu überseugen, wie undanckbarlich sie sich an der Muttersprache nit allein, sondern auch an sich selbst vergreifen."
25. Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Deutsche Reden* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1871), p. 134.
26. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Werke*, ed. Onno Klopp (11 vols., Hanover: Klindworth, 1864-84), vol. IX, p. 232. See also vol. V, pp. 115, 572 f.; vol. IX, p. 143. On Leibniz, see Edmund Pfeiderer, *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz als Patriot, Staatsmann und Bildungsträger* (Leipzig: R. Resland, 1870); Erwin Ruck, *Die Leibnizsche Staatsidee, aus den Quellen dargestellt* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1909); Victor Basch, *Les Doctrines politiques des philosophes classiques de l'Allemagne* (Paris: Alcan, 1927), pp. 38-59; Jean Baruzi, *Leibniz et l'organisation religieuse de la terre* (Paris: Alcan, 1907); Carl Huber, "Leibniz Deutsche Politik," *Zeitschrift für Politik*, vol. XXIX (1939), pp. 420-423; J. Malye, "Leibniz, théoricien du nationalisme allemand," *L'Acropole*, vol. I (1920), pp. 442-458.
27. Leibniz, *Deutsche Schriften*, ed. G. E. Guhrauer (2 vols., Berlin: Veit, 1838), vol. I, p. 419. See also p. 417.
28. Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. II (7th ed., Leipzig: Hirzel, 1912), p. 80.
29. Leibniz, *Philosophische Schriften*, ed. C. I. Gerhardt (7 vols., Berlin: Weidmann, 1875-90), vol. VII, p. 456.
30. Leibniz, *Werke*, ed. Klopp, vol. V, pp. 203-247.
31. Leibniz, *Philosophische Schriften*, ed. Gerhardt, vol. VII, pp. 157-174.
32. Leibniz, *Werke*, ed. Klopp, vol. V, pp. 247-303.
33. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 1-126. Leibniz demanded (pp. 56 f.) that France assume not only the military leadership of Europe but also *potentiam navalem et commerciorum maritimarum vindicationem*.
34. "Ermahnung an die Teutsche, ihren Verstand und Sprache besser zu üben, samt beigefügten Vorschlag einer teutsch gesinnten Gesellschaft" (1679), reprinted in Paul Joachimsen, *Der deutsche Staatsgedanke*, pp. 243-260. The article starts with the sentence: "It is certain that every virtuous man should care, after God's glory, above all for the welfare of his fatherland." And Leibniz complains: "I must confess that perhaps during the whole existence of Germany, they never spoke in a more non-German or unintelligent way."
35. Leibniz, "Unvorgreifliche Gedanken betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der deutschen Sprache," *Deutsche Schriften*, vol. I, p. 457. In "Bedenken welchergestalt securitas publica interna et externa und status praesens im Reich jetzigen Umständen nach auf festen Fuss zu stellen," *Werke*, ed. Klopp, vol. I, pp. 193-257, Leibniz pleaded for a moral regeneration and a closer union of the German states, which he saw as a necessary condition for the peace of Europe, while he acknowledged the leadership of France, to which he granted the role of supreme arbiter for the peace of Christianity.
36. Karl Biedermann, *Deutschesland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. II, pt. 1 (Leipzig: Weber, 1858), p. 382. In 1644 a thesis *De Damnatione Sagarum* was defended at the University of Tübingen, natural science and research being condemned as "knowledge not suited for a Christian."
37. See Ignaz Jastrow, *Geschichte des deutschen Einheitsstaumes und seiner Erfüllung* (2nd ed., Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1885), pp. 71 ff.
38. In a characteristic autobiography a Protestant minister, Jacob Friedrich Reimann, wrote at the beginning of the eighteenth century that for seventeen

- hundred years so many gifted men had put all their industry into explaining the Bible that nothing new could be said about it; therefore he abandoned the study of theology to turn to literary history, for which he felt an inclination. He wrote a *Historia Literaria Germanorum*, "which until then had been written by no one." (M. Beyer-Frohlich, ed., *Selbstzeugnisse aus dem Dreissigjährigen Krieg und dem Barock* [*Deutsche Literatur—Sammlung . . . in Entwicklungsreihen: Reihe deutscher Selbstzeugnisse*, vol. VI] [Leipzig: Reclam, 1930], pp. 173, 191.)
39. Under the influence of Schlegel's *Hermann*, J. A. Scheibe, a disciple of Gottsched, wrote a libretto for a "truly German serious opera," called *Thumelda* in 1749. See Hans Joachim Moser, *Geschichte der deutschen Musik*, vol. II (5th ed., Stuttgart: Cotta, 1930), p. 394.
 40. Biedermann, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 51-53.
 41. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-18.
 42. *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 504, n. 2.
 43. Emil Horner, ed., *Vor dem Untergang des alten Reichs, 1756-1795* (*Deutsche Literatur—Sammlung . . . in Entwicklungsreihen: Reihe Politische Dichtung*, vol. I) (Leipzig: Reclam, 1930), p. 13.
 44. Biedermann, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 306.
 45. The Pietists were blamed for allowing servants to sit at the same table as their masters and to participate with them in Holy Communion. On Pietism see Koppel S. Pinson, *Pietism As a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1934). The founders of Pietism were not only completely nonpolitical: they were devoid of national feeling. Philip Jakob Spener (1635-1705) "betrayed no emotional reaction to the occupation of his own birthplace, in 1681, by the armies of Louis XIV of France. He viewed it merely as a visitation by God upon those classes who had forsaken the true evangelical faith" (*ibid.*, p. 181).
 46. Biedermann, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 165 ff. Herder quoted Helvetius *De l'esprit*, disc. II, chap. I, n. 2, where a man introduces himself as an Englishman only to be told: "Vous Anglais? Vous seriez de cette île où les citoyens ont part à l'administration publique et sont une position de la puissance souveraine? Non, monsieur: ce front baissé, ce regard timide, cette démarche incertaine" betray the German. (*Werke*, ed. Suphan, vol. XVIII, p. 209.)
 47. Biedermann, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 373.
 48. *Ibid.*, p. 384: "Was Rousseau in gemäßer Eingebung hingeworfen, das brachte man in Deutschland in ein System."
 49. See Gerhard Fricke, *Die Entdeckung des Volkes in der deutschen Geistesgeschichte vom Sturm und Drang bis zur Romantik* (Hamburg: Hansische Verlagsanstalt, 1937). Walter Linden, a National Socialist literary historian, characterizes the importance of the Storm and Stress period: "Der Sturm und Drang war brausender Aufbruch zu arteigner und volkhafter Weltanschauung, zur Freiheit schöpferischen Lebens, zum Walten und Fühlen des aller Fesseln der Regeln und der Etikette entledigten Genius. Er war der Versuch, die in äusseren Formen erstarrte und unlebendig gewordene, vom artfremden westlichen Auflösungsgeist und volksfremden Bildungsvorurteilen beherrschte Zivilisation des Rokoko zu überwinden und aus selbstschöpferischem Seelentum eine neue arthafte und gewachsene, dem Volke verbundene deutsche Kultur zu schaffen." (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* [Leipzig, 1937], p. 298.) And another National Socialist literary historian, Heinz Kindermann, writes: "Der Kampf gegen den Geist und die Lebensform der paneuropäischen Aufklärung, den die Sturm-und-Drang Bewegung führte, war ein erster Versuch, das deutsche Volk

von westlicher Ueberfremdung zu befreien und damit den Weg frei zu machen für eine artgemäss deutsche Kultur und Gesinnung, für eine volkhafte und organisch naturgemässe Gestaltung deutschen Lebens und deutscher Kunst." (H. Kindermann, ed., *Von deutscher Art und Kunst [Deutsche Literatur—Sammlung . . . in Entwicklungsreihen: Reihe Irrationalismus*, vol. VI] [Leipzig: Reclam, 1935], p. 5.)

50. Herder "nahm den Weimarern gegenüber eine Haltung ein, die wir in ihrer Notwendigkeit erst heute zu würdigen wissen. Er wollte Dichtung und Volk zu einem gemeinsamen Schicksal zusammenzwingen in einer Zeit, da die Dichtung eines Goethe in erhabener Grösse sich über alle Bindungen volkhafte Art emporschwang. So endete sein Weg in der Verbitterung und seine Leistung beginnt erst heute recht eigentlich für unser Volk fruchtbar zu werden." (Hellmuth Langenbucher, *Deutsche Dichtung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* [Berlin, 1937], p. 78.)

51. Kindermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 22.

52. Walter Linden, *Aufgaben einer Nationalen Literaturwissenschaft* (Munich, 1933) p. 40 f.

53. Paul Joachimsen, *Der deutsche Staatsgedanke*, pp. lxxv-lxxx. See also Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (3rd ed., Munich: Oldenbourg, 1929), pp. 340-424, the best discussion of Frederick II's political ideas; Ernest Lavisse, *Études sur l'Histoire de Prusse* (7th ed., Paris: Hachette, 1916).

54. Biedermann, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 165.

55. See Robert Ergang, *The Potsdam Führer: Frederick William I, Father of Prussian Militarism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1941); Biedermann, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 167 f.

56. Meinecke, *op. cit.*, p. 357: "Und soweit man sieht, hat Friedrich diese Barbarei seines Militarismus niemals zum Problem seines Nachdenkens gemacht, niemals versucht, ethischere und humanere Prinzipien in seine Grundlagen einzuführen. . . . In diesen dunklen Grund staatlicher Macht leuchtete er mit dem Lichte seiner Humanität nicht hinein." See also Gerhard Ritter, *Friedrich der Grosse: Ein historisches Profil* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1936).

Sir James Harris (afterwards Lord Malmesbury), British Ambassador to Berlin, characterized Frederick II in a dispatch of March 18, 1776: "Although as an individual he often appears and really is humane, benevolent and friendly, yet the instant he acts in his royal capacity these attributes forsake him and he carries with him desolation, misery and persecution wherever he goes. Though they feel the rod of iron with which they are governed, few repine and none venture to murmur."

Frederick's political philosophy was clearly shown in his famous political testaments. In them he never thought of a German nation, for even Prussia was no nation but only in the process of being forced into one by her kings. He spoke of "les nations que j'ai l'honneur de gouverner." *Die Politischen Testamente Friedrichs des Grossen*, ed. by Gustav Berthold Volz (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing, 1920), p. 28. He regarded the aristocracy as the foundation of these nations and of Prussian policy: "An object of the policy of the sovereign of Prussia is the preservation of its nobility," for which end the lands in the hands of the nobility must be preserved to it. "Il est nécessaire d'empêcher la noblesse de servir ailleurs, de leur inspirer un esprit . . . de nation: c'est à quoi j'ai travaillé, et que, pendant le cours de la première guerre, je me suis donné tous les mouvements possibles pour faire passer le nom de Prussiens, pour apprendre à tous les officiers que toutes ces provinces, quoiqu'entrecoupées, font un corps ensemble." (*Ibid.*, p. 29 f.) Frederick went so far

- as to demand a Prussian-French alliance against the German empire, an alliance which would guarantee to France the possession of Alsace and protect it against German reconquest. *Ibidem*, p. 48. The basis of the Hohenzollern regime was no German patriotism, not even a Prussian nationalism, but a dynastic militarism. It was well expressed in the directives given for the education of the Prussian crown prince: "As the military is the foundation of this state, it is an indispensable necessity to turn the mind of the child to love the military profession. . . . One should speak before him of military matters with that sacred respect with which the priests speak of their chimerical revelation . . ." *Ibidem*, p. 104.
57. *Ausgewählte Werke Friedrichs des Grossen* (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing, 1918), vol. I, p. 40.
 58. "Briefe über die Vaterlandsiebe" (1779), in *Die Werke Friedrichs des Grossen*, vol. VIII (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing, 1913), pp. 279-305. In the Letters, Philopatros pleads with his correspondents for patriotism. "You will agree with me, that nothing is more reasonable and virtuous than true patriotism." Frederick's patriotism is an echo of classical appeals to glory and patriotic pride. See Ernst Cassirer, *Freiheit und Form* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1922) p. 500. Of recent works see Jürgen von Protz, *Staat und Volk in den Schriften Friedrichs des Grossen* (Berlin: Verlag für Staatswissenschaften, 1937), Hans-Wilhelm Buechsel, *Das Volk im Staatsdenken Friedrichs des Grossen* (Breslau: Priebsch, 1937); R. Hohn, *Der Soldat und das Vaterland während und nach dem Siebenjährigen Krieg* (Weimar: Bohlau, 1940); Carl Jantke, *Preussen, Friedrich der Grosse und Goethe in der Geschichte des deutschen Staatsgedankens* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1941).
 59. F. Brüggemann's volume on the Seven Years' War as mirrored in contemporary literature, in *Deutsche Literatur-Sammlung . . . in Entwicklungsreihen: Reihe Aufklärung*, vol. IX (Leipzig: Reclam, 1935), does not contain one word of national feeling. The only Prussian of the time who showed national feeling was Ewald Friedrich, Count Hertzberg (1725-1795), minister of state in Prussia, who was interested in German and Prussian history and in German literature. On Jan. 27, 1780, he delivered a "Discours tendant à expliquer les causes de la supériorité des Germains sur les Romains et à prouver que le Nord de la Germanie ou Teutonie entre le Rhin et la Vistule, et principalement la présente monarchie Prussienne, est la patrie originaire de ces nations héroïques."
 60. Pt. I, bk. 7 (Grossherzog Wilhelm Ernst Ausgabe [Leipzig: Insel, 1920], vol. III, p. 298).
 61. Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. I (8th ed., Leipzig: Hirzel, 1909), p. 64.
 62. "König Friedrich ist zwar ein grosser Mann, aber vor dem Glücke, unter seinem Stock siye Scepter zu stehen, bewahre uns der liebe Herrgott." See Woldemar Wenck, *Deutschland vor hundert Jahren*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1887), p. 175.
 63. G. E. Lessing, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Wilhelm Ramler, Johann Joachim Eschenburg und Friedrich Nicolai* (Berlin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1794), pp. 256 f.
 64. "Von einem innerlichen Verhältnis zwischen Friedrich und seinen Untertanen, geschweige der Nation, darf in der Zeit seiner drei grossen Kriege kaum gesprochen werden. Dafür war die Härte des Regiments, das Spartanertum dieses Staates zu gross, die Alleingewalt des Königs, der alle Zweige der Verwaltung in der Hand hielt, in jeden Winkel hineinblickte, seine Diener drangsalierte, keine Widerrede liess und höchstens seinem Schreiber, seinem Eichel, seine Geheimnisse anvertraute, zu stark entwickelt, stand er vor allen mit seiner französischen Bildung dem Kulturbewusstsein der Nation in allen

- ihren Schichten zu einsam gegenüber." Max Lenz, "Deutsches National-empfinden im Zeitalter unserer Klassiker," *Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, vol. II (Weimar, 1915), p. 276.
65. "Studenten haben noch Honettetat im Leibe, aber mit den Offizieren—die machen einem Mädchen ein Kind und kraht nicht Hund oder Hahn nach—das macht, weil sie alle couraschase Leute sein, und sich müssen todtschlagen lassen. Denn wer Courage hat, der ist zu allen Lasten fähig."
66. *Deutsche Zuschauer*, vol. III, p. 88, vol. VI, p. 330. Quoted in Wenck, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
67. See Gunther Holstein, *Die Staatsphilosophie Schleiermachers* (Bonn: Kurt Schroeder, 1923), pp. 15 f. Characteristically Hahnzog dedicated his sermons to the Prussian minister Herzberg. The sermons praised soldiers and the Prussian army: "Mit vollen Tönen lässt er aus seinem Tacitus den Kriegerstolz der alten Deutschen, mit nicht minderem Stolz die Fanfarenklänge der schlesischen Kriege erklingen. Das preussische Heer ist ihm 'das erste, das geübteste, das tapferste unter den furchterlichen Heeren des mächtigen Europa'; es wäre eine niedrige Ehrlosigkeit, eine schimpfliche Feigherzigkeit, eine verachtungswürdige Tragheit von unseren Junglingen, wenn sie sich weigern wollten, da, wo sie gerufen werden, in Reih und Glied unseres ehrenvollen Kriegsheeres einzutreten."
68. Biedermann, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. 2, sec. 2, p. 362.
69. E. Horner, *op. cit.*, Introduction.
70. Immediatbericht Schlabrendorffs, Breslau, 9. Juni 1764, in *Acta Borussiae*. Die Behördenorganisation und die allgemeine Staatsverwaltung Preussens im 18. Jahrhundert, vol. XIII (Berlin: Paul Parey, 1932) p. 419.
71. Henri Pirenne, *A History of Europe from the Invasions to the Sixteenth Century* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1936), p. 18. See also pp. 534 f.
72. Biedermann, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 170 f.
73. Ignaz Jastrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 160, 259, 329.
74. Paul Ssymank, "Friedrich der Grosse und das deutsche Schrifttum," *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, vol. XVI (1902) pp. 324–334; Christian Bortholmess, *Histoire philosophique de l'Académie de Prusse depuis Leibniz jusqu'à Schelling, particulièrement sous Frédéric-le-Grand* (2 vols., Paris, 1850–1851); Adolf von Harnack, *Geschichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, im Auftrage der Akademie bearbeitet* (3 vols., Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1900); Antoine Rivarol, *Discours sur l'universalité de la langue française, 1784*, ed. Marcel Hervier (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1929); Louis Reynaud, *Histoire générale de l'influence française en Allemagne* (2nd ed., Paris: Hachette, 1915).
75. Epître, Oct. 10, 1739, *Œuvres de Frédéric-le-Grand* (Edition de l'Académie de Berlin, 31 vols., Berlin: Imprimerie Royale, 1846–1857), vol. XIV, p. 87.
76. "Sittliche Autonomie der freien Individualität" (Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. XII [Leipzig: Teubner, 1936], p. 5).
77. "Nie, glauben wir, hatte bis dahin ein grosses Volk so wenig Öffentlichkeit gehabt" (Dilthey, *op. cit.*, p. 13).
78. "Die beseligende Lust an grossen Worten verpufft darin ins Leere. Vollends dem Landesvater etwas an politischen Rechten abtrotzen zu wollen—über diesen Widerspruch zur Zwangsvorstellung vom unbedingten Gehorsam vermochte sich niemand hinwegzusetzen. Hat doch der Deutsche—nach Immermann—einen natürlichen Drang, sich zu unterwerfen, zu dienen bis zur Selbstverleugnung, 'imponiert' zu sein. Vereinzelt leere Demonstrationen vermochten an dieser Geisteshaltung nichts zu ändern. Gerade die Masse, auf die es angekommen wäre, gab keinen Faktor ab, auf den irgendwie zu rechnen war. Eher noch schloss sie sich, beinahe instinktiv, zu gemeinsamer Abwehr

- gegen die Bedrohung des Altgewohnten von aussen zusammen. Wie unendlich schwach ihr Aufhebungswille war, das sollte die französische Revolution erweisen." (E. Horner, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.)
79. E. Horner, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 9. The article "Ueber den Vaterlandsstolz" was published in *Deutsches Museum*, vol. I (May 1776).
 80. Basedow's ideas were presented in 1768 in his "Vorstellung an Menschenfreunde und vermögende Männer über Schulen, Studien und ihren Einfluss auf die öffentliche Wohlfahrt." See Otto Gerlach, *Die Idee der Nationalerziehung in der Geschichte der Preussischen Volksschule*, vol. I. *Die Nationalerziehung im 18. Jahrhundert, dargestellt an ihrem Hauptvertreter Rochow* (Langensalza: Jul. Beltz, 1932), and on the Enlightenment generally, Martin Sommerfeld, "Aufklärung und Nationalgedanke," *Das Literarische Echo*, vol. XVII, No. 22 (Aug. 15, 1915).
 81. Harold D. Lasswell, "Two Forgotten Studies in Political Psychology," *American Political Science Review*, vol. XIX (1925), pp. 707-717.
 82. Wieland, *Samtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Goschen, 1794-1801), vol. XV, p. 362. See the whole passage from p. 359 on.
 83. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 22. Heinrich von Treitschke, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
 84. Treitschke, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
 85. Bruno Renner, *Die nationalen Einigungsbestrebungen Friedrich Carl von Mosers, 1765-1767* (Thesis Königsberg: Schwarz, 1919), p. 11. See also I. Rosenstein, "Friedrich Carl von Moser," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. XV (1865), pp. 229-58; Hans Heinrich Kaufmann, *Friedrich Carl von Moser als Politiker und Publizist* (Darmstadt: Hessischer Staatsverlag, 1931).
 86. *Briefe, die neueste Literatur betreffend*, pt. 11, p. 27 (Letter 180, Berlin, Aug. 6, 1761).
 87. Pinson, *op. cit.*, p. 183, mentions the influence of Pietism on Moser who is characterized as "a Christian patriot." *Der Teutsche Merkur*, vol. XI (1779), p. 53, published an article "Gedanken eines christlichen Patrioten" which began by asking: "A Christian patriot—Christian patriotism—what is meant by these modern expressions?"
 88. See also Herman U. Kantorowicz, "Volkgeist und historische Rechtsschule," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CVIII (1912), pp. 298 f.; Arnold Berney, "Reichstradition und Nationalstaatsgedanke (1789-1815)," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXL (1929), pp. 59 f. Justus Möser (*Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, vol. VI, pp. 3 ff.—reprinted in his *Werke*, vol. IX, pp. 240 ff.) criticized Moser's pamphlet, in which he characteristically pointed out that the German nation had existed in the free farmers and yeomen of the Middle Ages, and no longer existed.
 89. Paul Kluckhohn, *Die Idee des Volkes in Schrifttum der deutschen Bewegung* (Berlin: Junker & Dünhaupt, 1934), pp. 5 ff.
 90. Schlözer (1735-1809) published *Briefwechsel meist historisch-politischen Inhalts* in 10 vols., 1777-1782 and *Staatsanzeigen 1780-1793*. See Arnold Berney, "August Ludwig von Schlözers Staatsauffassung," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXXXII (1925), pp. 43-67; Joseph Hay, *Staat, Volk und Weltbürgertum in der Berlinische Monatsschrift von Friedrich Gedike und Johann Erich Biester, 1783-1796* (Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1913). Other important periodicals were *Deutsche Chronik*, by Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart; *Graues Ungeheuer*, by Wilhelm Ludwig Weckherlin (1739-1792), a very widely read Swabian journalist, one of the very few without academic training; *Der Deutsche Zuschauer* by Peter Adolph Winkopp (1759-1813), a former monk who later became editor of *Der Rheinische Bund*, the most important historical archive for the history of the Rhine Confederation; *Journal von und für Deutschland* by Leopold Friedrich Günther von Göckingk (1748-

- 1828), a poet of some renown; and finally the *Deutsches Museum* by Christian Wilhelm von Dohm (1751-1820). See generally on that period Woldemar Wenck, *Deutschland vor Hundert Jahren* (Leipzig: Grunow, 1887); M. von Boehn, *Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Askanischer Verlag, 1921); Adolf Wohlwill, *Weltpöbelertum und Vaterlandsiebe der Schwaben* (Hamburg: Otto Meissner, 1875); Joachim Kirchner, *Die Grundlagen des deutschen Zeitschriftenwesens* (2 vols., Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1928, 1931). On Schubart see: *Schubarts Leben und Gesinnungen von ihm selbst im Kerker aufgezeichnet* (Stuttgart: Mäntler, 1791-1793); D. F. Strauss, "Schubarts Leben in seinen Briefen," *Gesammelte Schriften* (Bonn: E. Strauss, 1876-1878), vols. VIII, IX. On Weckherlin, see: Gottfried Ritten von Bohm, *Ein Publicistenleben des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Beck, 1893); John A. Walz, "Three Swabian Journalists" (Friedrich Schiller, Ludwig Weckherlin, Christian F. D. Schubart), *Americana Germanica*, vol. IV, pp. 95-129, 267-291, *German American Annals* (Philadelphia, 1902-1903) vol. I, pp. 209-229, 257-277, 406-419, 593-606.
91. "Ein Versuch, etwa die Einführung freier Verfassungen in einzelnen deutschen Staaten, die Abschaffung drückender Adelsvorrechte, einen gesetzlichen Schutz für die Presse zu erwirken, mochte freilich im damaligen Deutschland als ein aussichtsloses, wo nicht törichtes Unternehmen erscheinen. Aber doch eigentlich nur darum, weil man sich eben allzusehr daran gewöhnt hatte, jede Veränderung des Bestehenden, die nicht schlechthin aus einem freien Antriebe von oben stammte, für unmöglich, ja schon jeden Versuch einer solchen für frevelhaft zu halten. Die Gewöhnung schweigenden Gehorsams auf Seiten der Regierten—bis hinauf in die Kreise der Höchstgebildeten und Angesehensten—unbeschränkter Selbstherrlichkeit auf Seiten der Regierenden, auch der wohlwollendsten, war noch zu gross und zu allgemein." Biedermann, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 1212-1214.
 92. Wenck, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Steuben wrote to a German friend from America: "The spirit of this nation cannot be compared in the least to the Prussian. You [in Germany] tell your soldiers: do this [*tue dies*]-and he does it. But I am obliged here to tell them: this is the reason why you should do this [*wesalb Sie dies tun sollten*]-and then he does it." (Hermann Oncken, *Nation und Geschichte* [Berlin: Grote, 1935], p. 334.) J. T. Hatfield and E. Hochbaum, "The Influence of the American Revolution upon German Literature," *Americana-Germania*, vol. III (1899-1900), pp. 338-385.
 93. "Patriotismus bedeutet für Schlözer die Funktion eines zufällig in X wohnenden Individuums, welches sich mit gewissen vorgefundenen 'Konjunkturen' durch ein bestimmtes, ihm und der Gemeinschaft nützliches Verhalten abzufinden hat" (Berney, *op. cit.*, p. 66.) Schlözer's humanitarianism was often expressed. "Einen Menschen verbrennen, weil er Jude ist, und einem andern die höchsten Stellen verschliessen, weil er nicht von Adel, seien Spezies von einem Genus, Reliquien vormaliger Barbarei und mittelalterlicher Schmutzreste" (*Staatsanzeigen*, vol. II, p. 259).
 94. See Leo Weisz, "Erwachende Schweizer Jugend im 18. Jahrhundert," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 5, 1938, and his *Die politische Erziehung im alten Zürich* (Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1940); Leonore Speerli, *Rousseau und Zürich vom Erscheinen des ersten Discours bis zum Ausbruch der französischen Revolution* (Zurich: Effingerhof, 1941); Eduard Fischer, *Die deutsche Schweizerbegeisterung in den Jahren 1750-1815* (Frankfurt am Main: Diesterweg, 1922).
 95. Wohlwill, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 f., n. 53.
 96. In his "Deutsche Chronik," vol. I, p. 43, quoted in Wenck, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
 97. *Deutsche Chronik*, Sept. 29, 1774. See Wohlwill, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

98. *Graues Ungeheuer*, vol. V, pp. 221, 226, quoted in Wenck, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

99. Wenck (*op. cit.*, pp. 226 f.) sums up his observations on patriotism in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century as follows: "Wenden wir uns nun noch der Frage zu nach einer Richtung des politischen Sinnes auf den Vaterlandsgedanken, namentlich auf einen deutschen Patriotismus. Da schien denn wohl für diesen, am Ausgange des vorigen Jahrhunderts und noch bis in das gegenwärtige hinein, kein Platz mehr in Deutschland gegeben. Es ist bekannt, wie viele Deutsche während des Krieges mit dem revolutionären Frankreich, ohne sich eben zu jakobinischen Gesinnungen zu bekennen, doch kein Hehl daraus machten, dass sie jede Niederlage der deutschen Waffen als einen Gewinn für die Menschheit ansahen; es ist nicht minder bekannt, wie anderseits, den eindringenden Franzosen gegenüber, der Partikularismus in die üppigste Blüte schoss und Land und Ländchen sich dreimal glücklich priesen, den Schein der eignen Sicherheit erkaufen zu können durch Zurücktreten von der gemeinen Sache. Aber auch unter den eifrigen Gegnern der Revolution und der französischen Macht—wie spielte doch auch da die Beziehung auf das deutsche Vaterland oft eine so nebensächliche Rolle! Mehr zur Menschheit oder zu Europa sprechen die bedeutendsten unter den anti-revolutionären Schriftstellern; weit mehr für die Weltordnung oder das Gleichgewicht des Erdteils, als für Deutschland, ziehen sie bei ihrer Bekämpfung der französischen Ausschreitungen zu Felde; . . . Aeusserrungen deutschen Nationalgefühls wurden nur allmählich hörbar, von einigen Dichtern oder Mannern, die sonst, durch Stellung oder Entwicklung, sich zum Anschlagen dieses Tones berufen fühlten, und klangen dann wie Töne aus fremden Regionen in das wirre Treiben der Erde hinein."

100. Müller had written in 1782 to Friedrich Heinrich Jacoby: "Subjection of the whole of Europe under one prince, I regard as death; subjection of the German empire in the heart of Europe under one prince, I regard as the harbinger of death." This "iron Germany" seemed to him "of all empires most propitiously situated to erect through its six hundred thousand hard and well disciplined warriors the edifice of universal monarchy." See Wenck, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

101. Wenck, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 f., 197, 201.

102. Wohlwill, *op. cit.*, p. 84, n. 84.

103. Musical history of the eighteenth century was full of national controversies, especially in the fight between Italian and French schools of music in Paris. Gluck, whose operas were rather in the French tradition, was an internationalist in outlook. Mozart expressed his feelings against Italian and French music in his letter of Mar. 21, 1785, to Anton Klein, complaining of the reluctance of the directors of German theaters to spend money on German operas. "Were there but one good patriot in charge . . . But then, perhaps, the German national theatre would actually begin to flower; and of course that would be an everlasting blot on Germany, if we Germans were seriously to begin to think as Germans, to act as Germans, to speak German and, Heaven help us, to sing in German!!" (*The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, ed. Emily Anderson [London: Macmillan, 1938], vol. III, pp. 1325-1328). Mozart pointed out that he could give rein to his tongue ("a thing which unfortunately is so seldom possible in these days") because he was convinced that he was "talking to a true German." It is interesting to compare this letter of Mozart's, insisting on the German national character in music, with Bach's saying: "Des Generalbasses Finis und Endursache soll anders nicht als nur zu Gottes Ehre und Recreation des Gemüths seyn; wo dieses nicht in Acht genommen wird, da ist's keine eigentliche Music, sondern ein Teuflisches Geplärr." Musicologists have pointed out the very different national character of Ger-

man and English as expressed in their music. Gustav Becking reported that German war prisoners in England during the last World War relaxed in their discipline and in the observance of their national mores when they came under the influence of English music. They declared that it was very difficult for them to march to the sound of English march music. That music, they said, had no discipline—it was too joyous, so that they forgot in hearing it the rules which otherwise formed a part of their being. English military music had not the deeper significance of the German military music which always speaks in high-sounding tones of their fatherland. The English music intended only to be an accompaniment of marchers; it did not suggest a superior authority—it addressed the individual and thus undermined discipline. Who marched behind Scotch bagpipes could not answer the question of why he wore the King's uniform as a German would do: to sacrifice my life to the fatherland if it is necessary. The English music forbade this. In it the German soldier missed authority and seriousness; it was for him too joyous, even frivolous. The music brought him a kind of undesired maturity. (*Handbuch der Englandkunde*, ed. Hartig and Schellberg [Frankfurt am Main. Diesterweg, 1929], vol. II, pp. 200 f.) The same author writes on p. 207: "Musical life in Germany is organized authoritatively; pleasure, critical sense, and private initiative of the individual in the multitude play their part, but they are not the real cells and probably never will be. In England music appeals to the individuals, it is only the servant of all those who in some form participate in it. Each single individual experiences the music individually and is judge for himself."

104. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. XII (Leipzig. Teubner, 1936), pp. 131–204, especially pp. 134 f., 143, 155.
105. W. H. Bruford, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1935), p. 323.
106. In his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung*, par. 56: "... die Nachahmung der Natur . . . muss von den Griechen allein erlernt werden." Par. 79: "Das allgemeine vorzügliche Kennzeichen der griechischen Meisterstücke ist endlich eine edle Einfalt und eine stille Grosse sowohl in der Stellung als im Ausdruck. So wie die Tiefe des Meeres allezeit ruhig bleibet, die Oberfläche mag noch so wüten, eben so zeigt der Ausdruck in den Figuren der Griechen bei allen Leidenschaften eine grosse und gesetzte Seele."
107. Ewig wechselt der Wille den Zweck und die Regel, in ewig
Wiederholter Gestalt walzen die Taten sich um;
Aber jugendlich immer, in immer veränderter Schöne
Ehrt du, fromme Natur, züchtig das alte Gesetz.
Immer dieselbe, bewahrst du in treuen Händen dem Manne,
Was dir das gaukelnde Kind, was dir der Jungling vertraut,
Nährest an gleicher Brust die vielfach wechselnden Alter:
Unter demselben Blau, über dem nämlichen Grün
Wandeln die nahen und wandeln vereint die fernen Geschlechter,
Und die Sonne Homers, siehe! sie lächelt auch uns.
—SCHILLER, "Der Spaziergang."
108. *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, bk. II, 101–104 Stück (*Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Karl Lachmann and Fr. Muncker [Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen, 1804], vol. X, p. 213). Compare also Schiller in his "Schaubühne als Moralische Anstalt": "Wenn wir es erleben eine Nationalbühne zu haben, so würden wir auch eine Nation."
109. Letter to Gleim of Feb. 14, 1759 (*Sämtliche Schriften* [Stuttgart, 1904] vol. XVII, p. 158). See also his letter to Karl Lessing, *Sämtliche Schriften* [Stuttgart, 1907], vol. XIX, p. 68: "If my plays are not worth 100 louis d'or, better not to speak about them to me, for then they are worth nothing. I do

not wish to exercise my pen for the honor of my fatherland, and even if it should depend forever only and uniquely upon my pen. For my own honor, however, it suffices me if one only sees more or less, that I would have been able to achieve something in my profession."

110. "Möge doch die bekannte Erzählung, glücklich dargestellt, das deutsche Publikum auf ewige Zeiten erinnern, dass es nicht nur berufen wird, um zu schauen, sondern auch, um zu hören und zu vernehmen. Möge zugleich das darin ausgesprochne göttliche Duldungs- und Schonungsgefühl der Nation heilig und wert bleiben." (Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke*, Grossherzog Wilhelm Ernst ed. [Leipzig: Insel, 1920], vol. XII, p. 475.) Differing from Goethe, a modern National Socialist literary historian, Franz Koch, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937), writes: "Insofern ist der 'Nathan' reinsten Ausdruck der Aufklärung, die sich bald zum deutschen Idealismus auskristallisiert, als hier das Gute um seiner selbst willen geschueht. Das eigentümlich Kunstliche, Unwirkliche, das 'Groisenhafte,' wie man richtig gesehen hat, des 'Nathan' aber ist das Zeitgebundene daran, der Glaube nämlich, dass das Gute eine allgemein gültige, die Menschheit bindende Verpflichtung sei, die Ahnungslosigkeit gegenüber der Tatsache, dass der Inhalt dieser formalen Bestimmung, das Gute um seiner selbst willen zu tun, jeweils von überindividuellen Mächten bestimmt wird." Lessing certainly was ignorant of the fact that the good is to be determined by Volk and Führer. Lessing believed also in "überindividuelle Mächte," but they were truly different from those in which the author of the History of German Poetry in 1937 believes. A few years after *Nathan*, appeared a plea for the naturalization of Jews in Germany, Christian Wilhelm Dohm, *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1781). Against him, Johann David Michaelis in his *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, vol. XIX (Frankfurt am Main: Garbe, 1782), pp. 1-40.
111. "In meiner Kindheit wurde mir zwar viel von allerley Pflichten vorgesagt; aber von der Pflicht, ein Deutscher Patriot zu seyn, war damals so wenig die Rede, dass ich mich nicht entsinnen kann, das Wort Deutsch (Deutschheit war noch ein völlig unbekanntes Wort) jemahls ehrenhalber nennen gehört zu haben. . . . Insonderheit will und kann ich nicht läugnen, dass die Vorstellungsart, die ich über Vaterland und Vaterlandsliebe, und über den schönen Tod fürs Vaterland, oder das berühmte *Dulce et decorum est pro Patria mori* (Süss und ruhmwerth ist's sterben fürs Vaterland!) aus dem Lesen der alten Griechen und Römer unvermerkt einsog, nicht sehr geschickt war, mich auf den Gedanken zu bringen, dass diese altgriechischen Tugenden oder Gefühle so leicht auf Deutschen Grund und Boden verpflanzt werden könnten, oder, falls man es ja versuchen wollte, sonderliche Früchte tragen würden." Wieland, "Ueber deutschen Patriotismus: Betrachtungen, Fragen und Zweifel," *Werke*, vol. XV, ed. Wilhelm Kurrelmeyer [Berlin: Weidmann, 1930], pp. 586-595. The passage is on p. 587.
112. "Aber Deutsche Patrioten, die das ganze Deutsche Reich als ihr Vaterland lieben, über alles lieben, bereit sind, nicht etwa bloss seiner Erhaltung und Beschutzung gegen einen gemeinschaftlichen Feind, sondern auch, wenn die Gefahr vorüber ist, seinem Wohlstand, der Heilung seiner Gebrechen, der Beförderung seiner Aufnahme, seines innerlichen Flors, seines äusserlichen Ansehens, beträchtliche Opfer darzubringen: wo sind sie? Wer zeigt, wer nennt sie uns? Was haben sie bereits gewirkt? Und was kann man noch von ihnen erwarten? Wir wollen uns also mit unserm vermeintlichen Patriotismus nicht zu viel schmeicheln. Vielleicht ist er bey den meisten, die eine gewisse Erziehung genossen haben, nur das Aggregat aller der Eindrücke, welche die Maximen und Beyspiele von Vaterlandsliebe, die sie in ihrer Jugend in den

- alten Schriftstellern lasen, auf ihre damahls noch weichen und unbefangenen Gemüther machten." (*Ibid.*, p. 591.)
113. Wieland, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Goschen, 1840), vol. XXX, pp. 363–365. "Aber alle diese Nachtheile unserer Staatsverfassung werden . . . durch den einzigen unschatzbaren Gewinn weit überwogen; dass, solange wir sie erhalten, kein grosses policirtes Volk in der Welt einen höheren Grad menschlicher und burgerlicher Freiheit geniessen und vor allgemeiner auswärtiger und einheimischer, politischer und kirchlicher Unterjochung and Sklaverei sicherer seyn wird, als die Deutschen" (p. 365). See n. 82.
114. Wieland, *Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe*, ed. Ludwig Wieland (Vienna, 1815) vol. I, pp. 181 f.
115. See Georg Gurwitsch, "Kant und Fichte als Rousseau-Interpreten," *Kant-Studien*, vol. XXVII (1922), pp. 138 ff. Kant wrote: "Demnach kann wahre Tugend nur auf Grundsätze gepropft werden. . . . Diese Grundsätze sind nicht spekulativische Regeln, sondern das Bewusstsein eines Gefühls, das in jedem menschlichen Busen lebt. . . . Ich glaube, ich fasse alles zusammen, wenn ich sage, es sei das Gefühl von der Schönheit und der Würde der menschlichen Natur." Kant, *Werke*, ed. Ernst Cassirer, vol. II (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1912), pp. 256 f. This passage in Kant repeats Rousseau's: "La justice et bonté ne sont point de mots abstraits . . . formés par l'entendement, mais de véritables affections de l'âme, éclairées par la raison."
116. "Grundgesetz der reinen praktischen Vernunft. Handle so, dass die Maxime deines Willens jederzeit zugleich als Prinzip einer allgemeinen Gesetzgebung gelten könne." "Das moralische Gesetz ist heilig (unverletzlich). Der Mensch ist zwar unheilig genug, aber die Menschheit in seiner Person muss ihm heilig sein. In der ganzen Schöpfung kann alles, was man will, und worüber man etwas vernag, auch bloss als Mittel gebraucht werden; nur der Mensch und mit ihm jedes vernünftige Geschöpf ist Zweck an sich selbst. Er ist nämlich das Subjekt des moralischen Gesetzes, welches heilig ist, vermöge der Autonomie seiner Freiheit. Eben um dieser willen ist jeder Wille, selbst jeder Person ihr eigener auf sie selbst gerichteter Wille auf die Bedingung der Einstimmung mit der Autonomie des vernünftigen Wesens eingeschränkt, es nämlich keiner Absicht zu unterwerfen, die nicht nach einem Gesetze, welches aus dem Willen des leidenden Subjekts selbst entspringen konnte, möglich ist; also dieses niemals bloss als Mittel, sondern zugleich selbst als Zweck zu gebrauchen." Kant, *op. cit.*, vol. V. (1914), pp. 35, 96.
117. Kurt Borries, *Kant als Politiker* (Leipzig: Meiner, 1928); Friedrich Meyer, "Ueber Kants Stellung zu Nation und Staat," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXXXIII (1926), pp. 197–219; Karl Vorländer, "Kant als Politiker," *März*, vol. VII (1918), no. 10; K. Vorländer, *Kant und Marx* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1911) and *Kant und der Gedanke des Volkerbundes* (Leipzig: Meiner, 1919); Arnold Oskar Meyer, *Deutsche und Engländer* (Munich: Beck, 1937), especially pp. 73–86; Wilhelm Metzger, *Gesellschaft, Recht und Staat in der Ethik des deutschen Idealismus* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1917).
118. Friedrich Gentz, "Nachtrag zu dem Raisonement des Herrn Prof. Kant über des Verhältnis zwischen Theorie und Praxis," *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, Dec., 1793, quoted in Ernst Cassirer, *Kants Leben und Lehre* (Kant, *op. cit.*, vol. XI [1923]), p. 398.
119. Kant, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 169.
120. When Carl Spener requested permission to reprint Kant's "Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht," perhaps with some modification, in view of the threatening wars—Spener, one of the publishers of the *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, pointed out that this article might now have a great effect and might sow a fertile seed in the heart of some young man

- who might help guide mankind on the right path—Kant declined in a letter of Mar. 22, 1793: "Wenn die Starken in der Welt im Zustande eines Rausches sind, ei mag nun von einem Hauche der Gotter, oder einer Mufette herrühren, so ist einem Pygmaen, dem seine Haut lieb ist, zu rathen, dass ei sich ja nicht in ihren Streit mische, sollte es auch durch die gelindesten und ehrfurchtvollsten Zureden geschehen; am Meisten deswegen, weil er von diesen doch gar nicht gehort, von andern aber, die die Zuträger sind, missgedeutet werden wurde." See also Kant's letter of May 18, 1794, to Johann Erich Biester, *Kants Briefwechsel*, ed. Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, vol. II (2nd ed., Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1922), pp. 415 f., 417, 501.
121. *Kants Handschriftlicher Nachlass*, ed. Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, vol. II (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1913), no. 1404, p. 612.
 122. *Ibid.*, no. 1418, p. 618.
 123. *Ibid.*, no. 1501, p. 789.
 124. *Ibid.*, no. 1453, p. 634 f.
 125. *Ibid.*, no. 1416, p. 617.
 126. *Ibid.*, no. 1438, p. 628; no. 1439, p. 629. Thus he takes also the side of America against England (no. 1444, p. 630), saying that good government is less important than self-government.
 127. Kant, *Werke*, vol. VII, pp. 398, 401.
 128. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 363 ff. The article was called "Was heisst: sich im Denken orientieren?" published in 1786. The original text reads: "Freunde des Menschengeschlechts und dessen, was ihm am heiligsten ist! Nehmt an, was Euch nach sorgfältiger und aufrichtiger Prüfung am glaubwürdigsten scheint, es mögen nun Fakta, es mögen Vernunftgründe sein; nur streitet der Vernunft nicht das, was sie zum höchsten Gut auf Erden macht, nämlich das Vorrecht ab, der letzte Probestein der Wahrheit zu sein! Widrigenfalls werdet Ihr, dieser Freiheit unwürdig, sie auch sicherlich einbüßen und dieses Unglück noch dazu dem übrigen schuldlosen Teile über den Hals ziehen, der sonst wohl gesinnt gewesen wäre, sich seiner Freiheit gesetzmässig und dadurch auch zweckmässig zum Weltbesten zu bedienen!"
 129. Letter to Körner, Aug. 29, 1787 (*Schillers Briefwechsel mit Körner*, vol. I [Berlin: Weid & Co., 1847], p. 162). Kant's *Idee* was translated by Thomas de Quincey as *Idea of a Universal History on a Cosmopolitical Plan* (De Quincey, *Works* [Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1862], vol. XII, pp. 133-152). There also, *Kant in His Miscellaneous Essays (and Problems of a Lasting Peace)*, pp. 307-355.
 130. Kant, *Werke*, vol. IV, pp. 156 ff. Kant saw already in the eighteenth century the first signs of such a future universal body politic, of which previously nothing had ever been known in history (p. 163): "Obgleich dieser Staatskörper für itzt nur noch sehr im rohen Entwurfe dasteht, so fängt sich dennoch gleichsam schon ein Gefühl in allen Gliedern, deren jedem an der Erhaltung des Ganzen gelegen ist, an zu regen, und dieses gibt Hoffnung, dass nach manchen Revolutionen der Umbildung endlich das, was die Natur zur höchsten Absicht hat, ein allgemeiner weltbürgerlicher Zustand als der Schoss, worin alle ursprüngliche Anlagen der Menschengattung entwickelt werden, dereinst einmal zustande kommen werde."
 131. *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 435. On p. 438 Kant calls the rights of man the most sacred thing that God has on earth. See also the remarkable passage on p. 465: "So ist es z.B. ein Grundsatz der moralischen Politik: dass sich ein Volk zu einem Staat nach den alleinigen Rechtsbegriffen der Freilheit und Gleichheit vereinigen solle, und dieses Prinzip ist nicht auf Klugheit, sondern auf Pflicht gegründet. Nun mögen dagegen politische Moralisten noch so viel über den Naturmechanismus einer in Gesellschaft tretenden Menschenmenge, welcher

jene Grundsätze entkräftete und ihre Absicht vereiteln werde, vernünfteln, oder auch durch Beispiele schlecht organisierter Verfassungen alter und neuer Zeiten (z.B. von Demokratien ohne Repräsentationssystem) ihre Behauptung dagegen zu beweisen suchen, so verdienen sie kein Gehör, vornehmlich da eine solche verderbliche Theorie das Uebel wohl gar selbst bewirkt, was sie vorhersagt, nach welcher der Mensch mit den übrigen lebenden Maschinen in eine Klasse geworfen wird, denen nur noch das Bewusstsein, dass sie nicht freie Wesen sind, beiwohnen durfte, um sie in ihrem eigenen Urtheil zu den elendesten unter allen Weltwesen zu machen."

132. *Ibid.*, p. 436. "Da es nun mit der unter den Völkern der Erde einmal durchgängig überhand genommenen (engeren oder weiteren) Gemeinschaft so weit gekommen ist, dass die Rechtsverletzung an einem Platz der Erde an allen gefühlt wird, so ist die Idee eines Weltbürgerrechts keine phantastische und überspannte Vorstellungsart des Rechts, sondern eine notwendige Ergänzung des ungeschriebenen Kodex sowohl des Staats- als Völkerrechts zum öffentlichen Menschenrechte überhaupt und so zum ewigen Frieden, zu dem man sich in der kontinuierlichen Annäherung zu befinden nur unter dieser Bedingung schmeicheln darf."
133. *Ibid.*, p. 442. "Für Staaten im Verhältnisse untereinander kann es nach der Vernunft keine andere Art geben, aus dem gesetzlosen Zustande, der lauter Krieg enthält, herauszukommen, als dass sie ebenso wie einzelne Menschen ihre wilde (gesetzlose) Freiheit aufgeben, sich zu öffentlichen Zwangsgesetzen bequemen und so einen (freilich immer wachsenden) Völkerstaat (*civitas gentium*), der zuletzt alle Völker der Erde befassen würde, bilden. Da sie dieses aber nach ihrer Idee vom Völkerrecht durchaus nicht wollen, mithin, was in thesi richtig ist in hypothesi verwerfen, so kann an die Stelle der positiven Idee einer Weltrepublik (wenn nicht alles verloren werden soll) nur das negative Surrogat eines den Krieg abwehrenden, bestehenden und sich immer ausbreitenden Bundes den Strom der rechtscheuenden, feindseligen Neigung aufhalten, doch mit beständiger Gefahr ihres Ausbruchs."
134. *Ibid.*, pp. 453 ff. "Die Idee des Völkerrechts setzt die Absonderung vieler voneinander unabhängiger benachbarter Staaten voraus; und obgleich ein solcher Zustand an sich schon ein Zustand des Krieges ist (wenn nicht eine föderative Vereinigung derselben dem Ausbruch der Feindseligkeiten vorbeugt): so ist doch selbst dieser nach der Vernunftidee besser als die Zusammenschmelzung derselben durch eine die andere überwachsende und in eine Universalmonarchie übergehende Macht, weil die Gesetze mit dem vergrößerten Umfange der Regierung immer mehr an ihrem Nachdruck einbüssen, und ein seelenloser Despotismus, nachdem er die Keime des Guten ausgerottet hat, zuletzt doch in Anarchie verfallt. Indessen ist dieses das Verlangen jedes Staats (oder seines Oberhauptes), auf diese Art sich in den dauernden Friedenszustand zu versetzen, dass er womöglich die ganze Welt beherrscht. Aber die Natur will es anders. Sie bedient sich zweier Mittel, um Völker von der Vermischung abzuhalten und sie abzusondern, der Verschiedenheit der Sprachen und der Religionen, die zwar den Hang zum wechselseitigen Hass und Vorwand zum Kriege bei sich führt, aber doch bei anwachsender Kultur und der allmählichen Annäherung der Menschen zu grösserer Einstimmung in Prinzipien zum Einverständnisse in einem Frieden leitet, der nicht wie jener Despotismus (auf dem Kirchhofe der Freiheit) durch Schwächung aller Kräfte, sondern durch ihr Gleichgewicht im lebhaftesten Wettstreit derselben hervorgebracht und gesichert wird."
135. *Ibid.*, pp. 394 f. ("Ueber den Gemeinspruch: Das mag in der Theorie richtig sein, taugt aber nicht für die Praxis"). Transl. by W. Hastie, *Kant's Principles of Politics* (Edinburgh, 1891), pp. 69-72.

136. *Kants Handschriftlicher Nachlass*, no. 1099, pp. 489 f.
 137. Kurt Borries, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
 138. *Kants Handschriftlicher Nachlass*, nos. 1095, 1096, pp. 487 f.
 139. *Ibid.*, nos. 1351, 1353, 1354, pp. 590 f.
 140. *Ibid.*, no. 1163, p. 514.
 141. Borries, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
 142. *Schillers Briefe*, ed. Fritz Jonas (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, n.d.), vol. I, p. 75.
 143. *Ibid.*, pp. 89 f. Letter of Jan. 4, 1783. The intention to go to America is also expressed in the letter of June 19, 1793, to a friend from Stuttgart. On July 22, 1783, Schiller wrote to Reinwald of his intention to go to England, hoping that his plays would be shown in the Drury Lane Theatre—"for I hope that my works approach more the taste of the English nation than that of the German, as I have been educated anyway by English models" (*ibid.*, p. 138).
 144. In the English translation of *Schiller's Complete Works*, ed. C. J. Hempel (Philadelphia: Kohler, 1870), vol. I, pp. 74, 79:

Upon the century's verge, O man, how fair
 Thou standest, stately as a silent palm
 With boughs far-spreading through the solemn air,
 In the full growth of mellowest years sublime;
 Through mildness earnest, through achievement calm,
 Each sense unfolded, all the soul matured—
 The crowning work and ripest born of time!
 Free in the freedom reason has secured,
 Strong in the strength that law bestows, thou art,
 Great in thy meekness—rich with countless stores,
 Which slept for ages silent in thy heart;
 The lord of nature, who thy chains adores,
 Who in each strife but disciplines thy skill,
 And shines from out the desert at thy will!

• • • • •
 O sons of art! into your hands consigned
 (O heed the trust, O heed it and revere!)
 The liberal dignity of human kind!

145. *Schillers Briefe*, vol. II, pp. 62 f.
 146. *Schillers philosophische Schriften und Gedichte*, ed. Eugen Kühnemann (2nd ed., Leipzig: Dürr, 1910), p. 39.
 147. See Ferdinand Tönnies, *Schiller als Zeitbürger und Politiker* (Berlin-Schöneberg: Hilde, 1905).
 148. J. Minor, *Schiller: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1890), vol. II, p. 568. See also the "Letters on Don Carlos" which Schiller published in *Teutsche Merkur*, July, 1788—translated in *Schiller's Complete Works*, vol. II, pp. 340 f.
 149. *Ibid.*, p. 570.
 150. *Ibid.*, p. 569.
 151. *Schiller's Complete Works*, vol. I, p. 326 (Act III, Sc. 10).
 152. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 10 f.
 153. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 349.
 154. Letter to Friedrich Jakobi, Jan. 25, 1795. *Schillers Briefe*, vol. IV, p. 111.
 155. *Schillers Sämtliche Werke* (Munich: Georg Müller, n.d.), vol. II, p. 429.
 156. *Schiller's Complete Works*, vol. II, p. 271.

157. Letter of Nov. 28, 1797 (*Schillers Briefe*), vol. III, pp. 169 f.
158. "Wir Neuren haben ein Interesse in unserer Gewalt, das kein Grieche und kein Römer gekannt hat, und dem das vaterländische Interesse bei weitem nicht beikommt. Das letzte ist überhaupt nur für unreife Nationen wichtig, für die Jugend der Welt. Ein ganz andres Interesse ist es, jede merkwürdige Begebenheit, die mit Menschen vorging, dem Menschen wichtig darzustellen. Es ist ein armseliges kleinliches Ideal, für eine Nation zu schreiben; einem philosophischen Geiste ist diese Grenze durchaus unerträglich. Dieser kann bei einer so wandelbaren, zufälligen und willkürlichen Form der Menschheit, bei einem Fragmente (und was ist die wichtigste Nation anders?) nicht still stehen. Er kann sich nicht weiter dafür erwärmen, als soweit ihm diese Nation oder Nationalbegebenheit als Bedingung für den Fortschritt der Gattung wichtig ist. Ist eine Geschichte (von welcher Nation und Zeit sie auch sei) dieser Anwendung fähig, kann sie an die Gattung angeschlossen werden, so hat sie alle Requisite, unter der Hand des Philosophen interessant zu werden, und dieses Interesse kann jeder Verzierung entbehren." (*Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Körner* [Stuttgart: Cotta, n.d.], vol. I, pp. 90 f.)
159. *Schiller's Complete Works, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 133. Clearer is the German text (*Samtliche Werke, Säkular-Ausgabe* [Stuttgart: Cotta, n.d.], vol. II, p. 88):

Wenn rohe Kräfte feindlich sich entzweien
Und blinde Wut die Kriegerflamme schurt,
Wenn sich im Kampfe tobender Parteien
Die Stimme der Gerechtigkeit verliert,
Wenn alle Laster schamlos sich befreien,
Wenn freche Willkür an das Heil'ge rührt,
Den Anker löst, an dem die Staaten hängen,
—Das ist kein Stoff zu freudigen Gesängen.

Doch wenn ein Volk, das fromm die Herden weidet,
Sich selbst genug nicht fremden Guts begehrt,
Den Zwang abwirft, den es unwürdig leidet,
Doch selbst im Zorn die Menschlichkeit noch ehrt,
Im Glücke selbst, im Siege sich bescheidet,
—Das ist unsterblich und des Liedes wert.
Und solch ein Bild darf ich dir freudig zeigen.
Du kennst's, denn alles Grosse ist dein eigen.

160. *Schiller's Complete Works*, vol. XII, pp. 78–81, 99 f.
161. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 386 ff. In his Prologue to "Wallensteins Lager" Schiller greeted the Peace of Westphalia as a "welcome peace" because it had given to Europe one hundred fifty years of peace. The whole Prologue is a denunciation of war and a praise of peace.
162. Xenie 86 (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 103).
163. Letter to Johann Jakob Hottinger, a Swiss whom he invited to leave Switzerland. "Wer hätte sonst daran denken dürfen, einen Schweizer aus seinem Vaterland zu rufen, aus einem Lande wohin sich so mancher anderer Europäer sehnte!" (Goethe, *Werke*, Weimar ed., Abteilung IV, vol. XIV, pp. 39, 41.)
164. *Ibid.*, Abteilung I, vol. XIII, I, p. 89, Prolog bei Wiederholung des Vorspiels "Was wir bringen" in Weimar: "Wo wir uns bilden, da ist unser Vaterland."
165. *Ibid.*, Abteilung I, vol. XXV, I, p. 181. It is Lenardo's speech in chap. IX of bk. III. See in the same speech: "Auch ihnen gilt unser Zuruf: Suchet überall zu nützen, überall seid ihr zu Hause" (p. 186). Similarly, p. 189 and the final

- poem, p. 190, which calls all men to tear themselves away from the soil, because they are everywhere at home.
166. Wilhelm Bode, *Stunden mit Goethe*, vol. III (Berlin: E. S. Mittler, 1907) p. 37. See also Ernst Cassirer, *Goethe und die geschichtliche Welt* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1932); Erich Marcks, "Goethe und die Politik," *Velhagen & Klasing's Monatshefte*, April 1932; Adolf Rapp, *Der deutsche Gedanke. Seine Entwicklung im politischen und geistigen Leben seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Kurt Schroeder, 1920).
 167. May 3, 1827. *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*, transl. John Oxenford (rev. ed., London: Bell, 1883), p. 252.
 168. Mar. 14, 1830. *Ibid.*, p. 457. See also his last words on the poet and nationalism spoken in Mar., 1832, *ibid.*, pp. 570 f.
 169. Oct. 3, 1828. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
 170. Goethe was attracted to the Orient in his early years by the reading of the Old Testament in which Moses made a lasting impression upon him. See also in his notes to the *West-östlicher Divan* the passages on the Hebrews and on the Old Testament. (Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke*, Jubilee ed., vol. V, pp. 149 ff., 246 ff.) See also Heinrich Jilek, *Goethe und der slavische Südosten* (Jena: Diederichs, 1941).
 171. *Ibid.*, p. xl.
 172. Walter Linden, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1937), p. 319. See Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke*, Grossherzog Wilhelm Ernst ed. (Leipzig: Insel, 1920), vol. III, p. 293.
 173. Count Ehrensvärd (1745-1800), of German descent, an admiral of the Swedish fleet, wrote "De frai konstens philosophie" (Stockholm, 1786). As Wöflflin said, according to nationalism all "questions of form have their roots in the depth of the national feeling for life, of the national conception of the world" (*In den tiefsten Gründen des nationalen Lebensgeföhles, der nationalen Weltbegreifung*) (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Sept. 1, 1936).
 174. Johann Georg Hamann, *Schriften*, ed. Karl J. F. Roth (Leipzig: Reimer, 1825), vol. VII, p. 159. On this passage, see Walther Goeken, *Herder als Deutscher* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1925), pp. 15 f. To Herder, Hamann wrote: "You pride yourself on being a German and are ashamed to be a Prussian, which is still ten times better" (*ibid.*, vol. III, p. 349). See also *Johann Gottfried von Herders Lebensbild*, ed. Dr. Emil G. von Herder (Erlangen: Blasing, 1846), vol. I, pt. II, p. 423.
 175. Carl Hermann Gildemeister, *Des Magnus im Norden Leben und Schriften* (Gotha: Perthes, 1868), vol. V, p. 539. On Hamann, see: Jakob Munro, *Johann Georg Hamann in seiner Bedeutung für die Sturm- und Drang-periode* (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1881); Otto, Freiherr von Gemmingen, *Vico, Hamann und Herder: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Erneuerung des deutschen Geisteslebens im 18. Jahrhundert* (Thesis Munich, Borna-Leipzig: R. Noske, 1918); Rudolf Unger, *Hamann und die Aufklärung* (Halle-Saale: Niemeyer, 1925); Edwin Metzke, *J. G. Hamanns Stellung in der Philosophie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Halle-Saale: Niemeyer, 1934).
 176. The first to introduce the old Germanic mythology was Heinrich Wilhelm Gerstenberg (1737-1823), whose "Gedicht eines Skalden" (Copenhagen, 1766) influenced Klopstock. On Klopstock, see Biedermann, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 109 ff.; Franz Schultz, *Klopstock: Seine Sendung in der deutschen Geistesgeschichte* (Frankfurt a.M.: Englart & Schlosser, 1924); Heinz Kindermann, *Klopstocks Entdeckung der Nation* (Berlin: Junker & Dünhaupt, 1935).
 177. A typical product of this later low-level nationalist Arminius enthusiasm was the poem by August Friedrich Ernst Langbein (1757-1835), much recited and quoted in the early nineteenth century.

Die alten Deutschen waren
 Nicht schmeidig wie der Aal,
 Doch Lowen in Gefahren
 Und Lämmer beim Pokal.
 In ihren Eichenhainen
 Kroch weder Trug noch Neid,
 Sie kussten sich an Deinen
 Altaren, Redlichkeit!

German settlers in 1837, wishing to found a New Germany in the New World, named their central settlements Hermann, John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York: Putnam, 1940), p. 118. Christoph Otto, Freiherr von Schönaich, wrote in 1751 an epos *Hermann, oder das befreite Deutschland* (a 4th ed. in 1805) which Gottsched and his party regarded as superior to Klopstock's *Messias* and publicized against it.

178. Ode "Wir und Sie" (1766), in Klopstock, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1840), p. 471. See also pp. 473, 477. In the ode "Unsre Sprache" he greeted Germany as the soil which no alien has ever desecrated, which was never conquered, as free above all, a land from which eagles flew out to conquer France and Spain and Britain, but which the Romans had been unable to subjugate. The same thought was expressed in the ode "Mein Vaterland."
179. Arnold O. Meyer, *Deutsche und Engländer*, p. 38.
180. "An den Kaiser," in Klopstock, *op. cit.*, pp. 487 f.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 495 ("Die Etats Généraux"), p. 496 ("Ludwig, der Sechzehnte" and "Kenner euch selbst"), pp. 497 f. ("Sie und nicht Wir" and "Der Freiheitskrieg"). See also his important poem of 1773 (*ibid.*, p. 481) about Germany's future.

182. Nach fernem Golde dürstete nie
 Der Deutsche, Sklaven fesselt' er nie;
 Immer ein Schild des Verfolgten,
 Und des Drängenden Untergang!

Ich bin ein Deutscher! (Stürzet herab,
 Der Freude Thränen, dass ich es bin!)
 Fühlte die erbliche Tugend
 In den Jahren des Kindes schon!

(*Der Göttinger Dichterbund*, vol. III, ed. August Sauer [*Deutsche National-Litteratur*, ed. Joseph Kürschner, vol. L], p. 56.)

183. J. H. Voss, *Sämmtliche Poetische Werke* (new ed., Leipzig: Immanuel Müller, 1853), vol. IV, pp. 13-16.
184. Möser's *Sämmtliche Werke* were edited by B. R. Abeken (10 vols., Berlin: Nicolai, 1842). See also: *Justus Möser's Briefe*, ed. Ernst Beins and Werner Pleister (Osnabrück: Schöningh, n.d.); Peter Klassen, *Justus Möser* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1936); Karl Brandt (ed.), *Gesellschaft und Staat: Eine Auswahl aus den Schriften von Justus Möser* (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1921), and his article in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. CCXXVII (1932), pp. 54-69; R. R. Ergang, "Moser and the Rise of National Thought in Germany," *Journal of Modern History*, vol. V, pp. 171-196 (June, 1933); Hans M. Wolff, "Mösers religiöse Anschauungen und die Aufklärung," *Germanic Review*, vol. XVI, pp. 161-177 (Oct., 1941); F. Meinecke, "Ueber Justus Möser's Geschichtsauffassung," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Hist. Klasse I*, 1932, pp. 2-14; Heinz Zimmermann, *Recht und Wirtschaft im Staatsbild Justus Möser's* (Jena: G. Fischer, 1932); Otto Hatzig, *Justus Moser als Staatsmann und Publicist* (Hannover

- und Leipzig: Hahn, 1909); Carl W. Oувrier, *Der ökonomische Gehalt der Schriften Justus von Möser's* (Diss., Giessen, 1928); Paul Gottsching, *Justus Möser's Entwicklung zum Publizisten (Mösers Schrifttum, 1757-1766)* (Frankfurt a.M.: Diesterweg, 1935); Gertrud Brück, *Die Bedeutung Justus Möser's für das Leben und Denken Thomas Abbt's* (Würzburg: Mayr, 1937); Albert Wiedemann, *Geistesgeschichtlicher Querschnitt durch Justus Möser's Erziehungs-ideen, orientiert an der Philosophie John Lockes und A. Shaftesburys* (Ochsenfurt a.M.: Fritz & Rappert, 1932); Edmund Richter, *Justus Möser's Anschauungen über Volks- und Jugend-erziehung im Zusammenhange mit seiner Zeit* (Langensalza: Beyer, 1909); Heinrich Schierbaum, *Justus Möser's Stellung zur Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. I (Osnabrück: Schöningh, 1909); F. Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1936), vol. II, pp. 326-382; W. J. Bossenbrook, "Justus Moser's Approach to History," *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 397-422.
185. See Möser's French letter to his brother Zacharias of June 26, 1751, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. X, pp. 201 ff. Also Nicolai in his biography of Möser, *ibid.*, pp. 13 ff., and Thomas Abbt's French letter to Mrs. Möser of Apr. 26, 1763, pp. 203 ff.
186. The ruling prince of Osnabrück after 1761 was Frederick, Duke of York, the younger son of the King of England. In Osnabrück, Catholic bishops and Protestant princes alternated.
187. Letter to Nicolai, Feb. 20, 1775 (*Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. X, p. 43).
188. In "Die Spinnstube" (*ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 127-140).
189. *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 241. Thomas Aquinas, Comm. in Pol. I, lect. 1, called cities "communitas perfectissima," and deeply pitied rural populations.
190. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 338 f.
191. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 138 f. See also vol. V, pp. 36 f., where Möser points out that one can read sometimes that a good weaver or a good cooper is in demand, but never a philosopher or a scholar. "States which nourish one thousand educated officials are not improved by that. It is misery enough that so many are needed to count new taxes and excise duties. Our litigations have not been shortened by our employing learned judges. Litigations went on more honestly and briefly when we employed only common sense. To learn too much anatomy spoils the physician, too much scholarship spoils the good Christian. The educated man cannot plant nor dig, even less sleep a fortnight under the blue sky without catching a cold. Too many princes and too many scholars are the ruin of the state."
192. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 73, 107.
193. Letter to Nicolai, Dec. 14, 1778 (*ibid.*, vol. X, p. 174).
194. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 90.
195. In a letter to Nicolai of Jan. 24, 1778 (*ibid.*, vol. X, p. 170), Möser apologized for his positive attitude towards serfdom. He declared himself obliged to defend serfdom for local reasons. "I would certainly have declared open warfare against serfdom if the local government and the Estates did not all consist of large landed proprietors, whose love and confidence I cannot throw away, without doing harm to all my good offices. God be thanked I have never yet made an enemy because of my suggestions, and I have realized several things which seemed impossible to others." See Nicolai on the same subject (*ibid.*, p. 48). Möser's conservative attitude was especially stressed in his polemic against Kant's "Ueber Theorie und Praxis" (*ibid.*, vol. IX, pp. 158-175).
196. In the footnotes following, "Herder, *Werke*," with no edition cited, will refer

- to Herder's *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernard Suphan et. al. (33 vols., Berlin: Weidmann, 1877-1913). See also A. Gillies, *Herder* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1945); Walther Goeken, *Herder als Deutscher* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1926); Robert R. Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931); C. J. H. Hayes, "Contributions of Herder to the Doctrine of Nationalism," *American Historical Review*, vol. XXXII (1927), pp. 719-736; Arturo Farinelli, *La Umanità di Herder e il concetto della Razza* (Catania: Gianotta, 1908); Rodolfo Mondolfo, *Del sogno di egemonia alla rinuncia alla libertà* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1917); Konrad Bittner, *Herders Geschichtsphilosophie und die Slawen* (Reichenberg: Stiepel, 1929); Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, pp. 383-479; A. Voight, *Umriss einer Staatslehre bei Johann Gottfried Herder* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936); Martin Redeker, *Humanität, Volkstum, Christentum in der Erziehung* (Berlin: Junker & Dünhaupt, 1934); Mathys Jolles, *Das deutsche Nationalbewusstsein im Zeitalter Napoleons* (Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 1936), pp. 144-158; E. Aaron, *Die deutsche Erweckung des Griechentums durch Winckelmann und Herder* (Heidelberg: Kampmann, 1929); E. Kayser, *Rousseau, Kant, Herder über den ewigen Frieden* (Leipzig: Dürr, 1916); Walther Koch, "Der junge Herder und Russland," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. CLXVIII (1917), pp. 54-66.
197. Friedrich Gundolf, *Goethe* (9th ed., Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1920), pp. 87-161. See also Alexander Gilles, *Herder und Ossian* (Berlin: Junker & Dünhaupt, 1933).
198. In 1819, in a conference of German Latvian pastors in Mitau who debated whether it would be desirable to Germanize the Letts, most spoke against it with arguments first advanced by Herder. Thus, one pastor said: "Each people can be educated only through its own native tongue which has been given to it by God as guardian of its nationality." Another pastor called any attempt to minimize or vilify the Lett language "spiritual assassination." (Hans Rothfels, *Ostrann, Preussentum und Reichsgedanke* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935], p. 115.)
199. Walther Goeken, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.
200. Herder, *Werke*, vol. IV, pp. 405 f. See also p. 473. Of Frederick II, Herder said disparagingly that he followed Machiavelli, though he had refuted him. See Johannes Horn, *Herders Stellung zu Friedrich dem Grossen* (thesis Jena) (Borna-Leipzig: Noske, 1928).
201. *Ibid.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 320 f.
202. *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 350 ("Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit," bk. IX): "Alle Werke Gottes haben dieses eigen, dass ob sie gleich alle zu Einem unübersehblichen Ganzen gehören, jedes dennoch auch für sich ein Ganzes ist und den göttlichen Charakter seiner Bestimmung an sich trägt. So ist's mit der Pflanze und mit dem Thier; wäre es mit dem Menschen und seiner Bestimmung anders? dass Tausende etwa nur für Einen, dass alle vergangenen Geschlechter fürs letzte, dass endlich alle Individuen nur für die Gattung d.i. für das Bild eines abstracten Namens hervorgebracht wären? So spielt der Allweise nicht; er dichtet keine abgezogenen Schattenräume; in jedem seiner Kinder liebet und fühlt er sich mit dem Vatergefühl, als ob dies Geschöpf das Einzige seiner Welt wäre. Alle seine Mittel sind Zwecke; alle seine Zwecke Mittel zu grössern Zwecken, in denen der Unendliche allerfüllend sich offenbaret. Was also jeder Mensch ist und seyn kann, das muss Zweck des Menschengeschlechts seyn; und was ist dies? Humanität und Glückseligkeit auf dieser Stelle, Bildung, die durchs ganze Geschlecht reichet. Wo und wer du geboren bist, o Mensch, da bist du, der du seyn sollest;

- verlass die Kette nicht, noch setze dich über sie hinaus; sondern schlinge dich an sie. Nur in ihrem Zusammenhange, in dem, was du empfängst und giebst und also in beiden Fall thatig wirst, nur da wohnt für dich Leben und Friede."
203. Herder, *Werke*, ed. Eugen Kühnemann (*Deutsche National-Literatur*, ed. Joseph Kürschner, vol. LXXVII), vol. IV, 3, p. 623.
204. *Werke*, vol. XVIII, p. 283. "Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität," 121. "Die Glückseligkeit eines Volkes lässt sich dem andern und jedem andern nicht aufdringen, aufschwätzen, aufbilden. Die Rosen zum Kranze der Freiheit müssen von eignen Händen gepflückt werden, und aus eignen Bedürfnissen, aus eigner Lust und Liebe froh erwachsen."
205. *Ibid.*, pp. 283 f.
206. Joseph II was the purest embodiment of the enlightened monarch, seeking seriously the welfare of the state and the happiness of his people, not his personal pleasure or the fulfillment of any personal ambitions. He had what he called a "coeur patriotique." He was filled with a true devotion to the state, his guides were duty and reason, but he had no concept of the rights of the people, nor any remote understanding of nationalism, or of the values of nationality. See Alfred, Ritter von Arneht, *Maria Theresia und Josef II: Ihre Correspondenz* (Vienna, 1867), vol. I, p. 225; vol. II, pp. 5, 141; vol. III, p. 352.
207. "Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität," 10, in Herder, *Werke*, vol. XVII, pp. 38 f.
208. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 2. See also the important passages, vol. I, p. 366; vol. XVII, pp. 286 ff.; vol. II, pp. 13, 19. See Reta Schmitz, *Das Problem "Volkstum und Dichtung" bei Herder* (Berlin: Junker & Dunnhaupt, 1937).
209. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 378, 380 f.; vol. IV, p. 388. But see also, on the necessity for classical languages, vol. II, pp. 355 ff.
210. *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, p. 157 f. The whole passage is essential for Herder's attitude to national language ("Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität," 111).
211. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 402. See also pp. 405 f. "Wahrlich! der Dichter muss seinem Boden getreu bleiben, der über den Ausdruck herrschen will: Hieher kann er Machtwörter pflanzen, denn er kennt das Land hier kann er Blumen pflücken, denn die Erde ist sein; hier kann er in die Tiefe graben, und Gold suchen, und Berge aufführen, und Strome leiten: denn er ist Hansherr. Die wahre Laune drückt sich bloß in der Muttersprache ab, und ich schame mich nicht, die Schwäche meiner Seele zu gestehen, dass ich mir lebenslang nicht zutraue, mehr als eine einzige Sprache vollkommen fassen zu können: ich meine aber unter dem Wort vollkommen so viel, dass drei junge Herren, die vor mir stehen, und mir Französisch, Italienisch und Englisch, und drei Schulmeister, die mir Lateinisch und Griechisch und Koptisch mit grosser Geläufigkeit vorsprachen, mich noch nicht widerlegten. Ich würde jedem Glück wünschen, dass er vielleicht in drei Sprachen nichts sagen könne, als was andre vor ihm, und vielleicht besser gesagt, und jeder andre nach ihm sagen kann: würde sie aber verlassen, und den Dämon des unwissenden Sokrates citiren, um ihn zu fragen, ob jemand in mehr als einer Sprache ein gleich vollkommener Homer, in einer todten Sprache ein Pindar oder Horaz, in einer andern als seiner Muttersprache, ein Shakespear seyn könne?—Als denn würde ich niederfallen, wie Brutus, und die Erde umarmen, die meine Mutter ist, und ihre Sprache soll meine Muse seyn!"
212. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 472 f.
213. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, p. 137.
214. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, pp. 211 f.
215. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 367 f.
216. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, p. 6.

217. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, p. 7.
218. *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, p. 529.
219. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, pp. 130 f. See also his letter on Uriel Acosta, vol. XVII, pp. 273 ff.
220. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, p. 138. "Humanität ist der Charakter unsres Geschlechts; er ist uns aber nur in Anlagen angeboren, und muss uns eigentlich angebildet werden. Wir bringen ihn nicht fertig auf die Welt mit; auf der Welt aber soll er das Ziel unsres Bestrebens, die Summe unsrer Uebungen, unser Werth seyn: denn eine Angelitüt im Menschen kennen wir nicht, und wenn der Damon, der uns regiert, kein humaner Damon ist, werden wir Plagegeister der Menschen. Das Gottliche in unserm Geschlecht ist also Bildung zur Humanität, alle grossen und guten Menschen, Gesetzgeber, Erfinder, Philosophen, Dichter, Künstler, jeder edle Mensch in seinem Stande, bei der Erziehung seiner Kinder, bei der Beobachtung seiner Pflichten, durch Beispiel, Werk, Institut und Lehre hat dazu mitgeholfen. Humanität ist der Schatz und die Ausbeute aller menschlichen Bemühungen, gleichsam die Kunst unsres Geschlechtes. Die Bildung zu ihr ist ein Werk, das unablässig fortgesetzt werden muss; oder wir sinken, höhere und niedere Stände, zur rohen Thierheit, zur Brutalität zurück."
221. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, pp. 211 f. "Den Deutschen ist's also keine Schande, dass sie von andern Nationen, alten und neuen, lernen. Das alte Vernunfttestament, wie der Autor die Weisheit der Griechen nennt, ist gewiss nicht verjährt, noch durch die Weisheit der Neuern unkräftig gemacht worden."
222. *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 255 f. See also the very important letter, no. 119, pp. 267 ff., especially: "Immer mehr muss sich die Gesinnung verbreiten, dass der Lander erobernde Heldengeist nicht nur ein Wurgengel der Menschheit sei, sondern auch in seinen Talenten lange nicht die Achtung und den Ruhm verdiene, die man ihm aus Tradition von Griechen, Römern und Barbaren her zollt."
223. *Ibid.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 36 f. See also pp. 332 f., 176.
224. *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, p. 237.
225. *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 247 ff., 287 ff. "Jede Nation muss also einzig auf ihrer Stelle, mit allem was sie ist und hat, betrachtet werden. . . . Am wenigsten kann also unsre Europäische Cultur das Maas allgemeiner Menschengute und Menschenwerthes seyn; sie ist kein oder ein falscher Maasstab. . . . Die Cultur der Menschheit ist eine andre Sache, ort- und zeitmassig spriest sie allenthalben hervor, hier reicher und üppiger, dort ärmer und karger. Der Genius der Menschen-Naturgeschichte lebt in und mit jedem Volk, als ob dies das einzige auf Erden wäre. Und er lebt in ihm menschlich. . . . Das Menschengeschlecht ist Ein Ganzes; wir arbeiten und dulden, säen und ernten für einander. . . . Das Gesetz der Billigkeit ist keiner Nation fremd; die Uebertretung desselben haben alle gebusst, jede in ihrer Weise. Wenn intellectuelle Kräfte in mehreren Ausbildung der Vorzug der Europaer sind, so können sie diesen Vorzug nicht anders als durch Verstand und Güte beweisen. Handeln sie . . . in niedrigvermessnem Stolze, so sind sie die Thiere, die Dämonen gegen ihre Mitmenschen. . . ."
226. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, pp. 277 ff. On Palacký, see Hans Kohn, *Not by Arms Alone* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 65-83.
227. *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, pp. 269 f., 280, 474 ("Ideen," bk. 16, chap. 4).
228. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, pp. 93 f.
229. *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, p. 197.
230. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, p. 46.
231. *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 33. See also vol. XXIX, p. 581, where he speaks of Nathan—Lessing.

232. *Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 117. See also pp. 114 ff. and vol. XI, pp. 450 ff., on Moses; vol. XII, pp. 128, 168, on Israel's patriotic wars. See also Alfred Appler, "Herder and the Jews," *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht*, vol. XXXV, no. 1 (Jan., 1943), pp. 1-15.
233. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, pp. 285 f.
234. *Ibid.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 61-67.
235. "Ideen," bk. 16, chap. 5: "Fremde Völker in Europa."
236. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, pp. 26 f.
237. *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 208 ff.
238. On the importance and significance of language see, among many passages, *ibid.*, vol. XIII, pp. 354 ff.; vol. XV, p. 209; vol. XVII, pp. 286 ff.; vol. XVIII, pp. 137, 384.
239. *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 189. See Friedrich Gundolf, *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist* (5th ed., Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1920).
240. *Ibid.*, vol. XXV, p. 9. See also vol. XXV, pp. 313 f.; vol. IX, pp. 522 ff.
241. *Ibid.*, vol. XX, p. 343. See also vol. XVIII, pp. 115 f.
242. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 425 ff., 431 f.; vol. V, pp. 537 f.
243. *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 112-114.
244. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 365-367; vol. II, p. 246; vol. XVIII, pp. 150 f.; vol. XXIX, pp. 335, 580.
245. *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, p. 38. See also vol. XIV, p. 112: "Jede Nation hat in allgemeinen Begriffen ihre eigene Schart, die meistens in den Formen des Ausdrucks, kurz, in der Tradition ihren Grund hat."
246. *Ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 501 f., 504 f., 536 ff., 542.
247. Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (3rd ed., Munich: Oldenbourg, 1936), pp. 410, 420 f., 429 f.
248. Herder, *Werke*, vol. IV, pp. 400 f.: "Dass die Schule so möglich National- und Provinzialfarbe bekomme, versteht sich, und das in Religion, Geschichte, Geographie, Naturhistorie, Politik, Vaterlandsgegenden u.s.w.; dass dies aber nicht mehr, als Farbe seyn müsse, versteht sich eben so sehr; denn der Schuler soll für alle Welt erzogen werden."
249. *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 340: "Deine einzige Kunst, o Mensch, hienieden ist also Maas: das Himmelskind, Freude, nach dem du verlangest, ist um dich, ist in dir, eine Tochter der Nüchternheit und des stillen Genusses, eine Schwester der Genügsamkeit und der Zufriedenheit mit deinem Daseyn im Leben und Tode."
250. *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 398; vol. XIII, pp. 341 f.; vol. XV, pp. 325 f.; vol. XVII, p. 123.
251. *Ibid.*, vol. XX, pp. 174 ff., 89.
252. *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 380.
253. *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 377.
254. *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, pp. 377, 381, 383.
255. *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, p. 309.
256. J. G. Müller, *Aus dem Herder'schen Hause*, ed. Jakob Baechtold (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 73, 100.
257. Herder, *Werke*, vol. XVIII, pp. 355 f.
258. *Ibid.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 659 f.
259. *Ibid.*, vol. XXIX, p. 583.
260. *Ibid.*, vol. XXIII, p. 476.
261. Ernst Cassirer, *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1932), pp. 311 f.
262. Herder, *Werke*, vol. XXIV, pp. 42-49. See Walter Kricwald, *Herders Gedanken über die Verbindung von Religion und Volkstum* (thesis Breslau; Ohlau i.S.: Eschenhagen, 1935).

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1. "L'ancienne monarchie a fait une œuvre nationale, mais elle n'a pas su donner une base nationale à son autorité" (George Pagès, *La Monarchie d'ancien régime en France* (Paris: Colin, 1928), p. 214).
2. L'Abbé Gabriel François Coyer, "Dissertation sur le vieux mot de Patrie," in *Bagatelles morales et dissertations* (London and Frankfurt, 1759), pp. 201-224. The passages are pp. 208, 210, 211, 216 ff., 223.
3. See, for instance, Oscar J. Falnes, *National Romanticism in Norway* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1933), pp. 23 f.
4. The Prince de Ligne wrote in 1788 to Joseph II about Belgium: "Si j'y étois, je parlerois en patriote, mot honorable qui commence à devenir odieux; en citoyen, autre mot défiguré" *Lettres et Pensées du Maréchal Prince de Ligne*, ed. Baronne de Staël-Holstein (Paris: Parschoud, 1809), p. 103.
5. R. W. Emerson, *English Traits, Representative Men, and Other Essays*, (Everyman's Library), pp. 49 ff.
6. Alfred Cobban, *Edmund Burke and the Revolt Against the Eighteenth Century* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1929), p. 44. Annie M. Osborn, *Rousseau and Burke* (Oxford University Press, 1940), stresses the affinity between Rousseau and Burke, though Burke called Rousseau "the insane Socrates of the National Assembly." See Robert M. Hutchins, "The Theory of the State: Edmund Burke," *Review of Politics*, vol. V, pp. 139-155, (Apr., 1943).
7. Burke, *Works* (Bohn's ed., London, 1873), vol. VII, p. 230.
8. Jeremy Bentham, *Works*, ed. John Bowring (Edinburgh: Tait, 1842), vol. I, pp. 362 f.
9. Elmer L. Kayser, *The Grand Social Enterprise* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932), p. 32.
10. Joseph Priestley, *An Essay on the Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life, with plans of lectures on I. The Study of History and General Policy; II. The History of England; III. The Constitution and Laws of England* (London, 1765), p. 202.
11. J. A. Cramb, *The Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain* (London: John Murray, 1915), p. 11.
12. E. C. Unwin and Douglas Wollen, *John Wesley—Christian Citizen* (London: Epworth Press, 1937). On Christian duties, see letters to Miss March, Feb. 7, 1776, and Dorothy Furly, Sept. 25, 1757; on his political views to George II, Mar. 5, 1744; and "Thoughts Concerning the Origin of Power" (1772).
13. See John Rhys and David B. Jones, *The Welsh People* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1906); F. Llewellyn Jones, "National Minorities in the British Empire," *Transactions of the Grotius Society*, vol. XII (1926), pp. 99 ff.
14. Ivor Bowen, *The Statutes of Wales* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1908), p. 35 (4 Henry 4, c. 29 to c. 33).
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 75 f. (27 Henry 8, c. 26).
16. F. A. Cavanagh, "State Intervention in English Education," *History*, vol. XXV, no. 98 (London, 1940), pp. 143-156.
17. *On Liberty* (World's Classics ed.), p. 130. To avoid misunderstanding Mill, the whole passage should be read.
18. Rhys and Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

19. Edmund Crosby Quiggin in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. V, p. 630.
20. Douglas Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland* (7th ed., London: Fisher Unwin, 1920), p. 525.
21. See Sean O'Faolain, *The Great O'Neill* (London: Longmans, 1943).
22. Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 552, 556. Keating (1570-1644), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, was ed. and transl. by David Comyn and Patrick S. Dinneen for the Irish Texts Society (4 vols., London, 1902-1914).
23. *The Annals of the Four Masters* (1632-1636) were transl. and ed. by John O'Donovan (7 vols., Dublin: Hodges, Smith, 1866).
24. Stephen Gwynn, *The History of Ireland* (London: Macmillan, 1923), p. 372. See also his *Ireland* (New York: Scribner, 1925) and Daniel Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland* (Dublin: Gill, 1925).
25. William J. MacNeven (ed.), *Pieces of Irish History* (New York: Bernard Dornin, 1807); William O. Morris, *Ireland: 1494-1868* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1898); W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (5 vols., New York: Appleton, 1896); Caesar L. Falkiner, *Studies in Irish History and Biography* (New York: Longmans, 1902); Michael Kraus, "America and the Irish Revolutionary Movement in the 18th Century," in *The Era of the American Revolution*, ed. Richard Morris (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1939), pp. 332-348; Claude G. Bowers, *The Irish Orators* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1916); James Bryce, Introduction to *Two Centuries of Irish History, 1691-1870* (London: Kegan Paul, 1888). R. B. McDowell, *Irish Public Opinion, 1750-1800* (London: Faber, 1944).
26. Letter IV, "A Letter to the Whole People of Ireland," in Jonathan Swift, *Works*, ed. Temple Scott (London: Bell, 1900), vol. XII, p. 115. See also p. 67.
27. Mountmorres, Lord, *The Crisis* (Dublin, 1791), p. 43.
28. *The Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, written by himself, (London: Hunt & Clark, 1828), p. 7.
29. Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.
30. Lecky, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 106.
31. *The Patriot Miscellany* (2 vols., Dublin, 1756), vol. II, p. 11.
32. Robert Dunlop, *Life of Henry Grattan* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1889); Stephen L. Gwynn, *Henry Grattan and His Times* (London: Harrap, 1939); Daniel O. Madden, *The Speeches of the Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1862); Henry Grattan, *Miscellaneous Works* (London: Longman, 1822) (an Appendix contains the proceedings in the parliaments in 1782 and many other documents); Henry Grattan, *Speeches*, ed. by his son (4 vols., London: Longman, 1822). The *Speeches* carries the motto "Pro patria et vivere et mori." The dedication to the people of Ireland says of the speeches that "they contributed to make Ireland an independent nation. . . . If they should contribute to the public good, they will accomplish the object of a life passed in the service of his country."
33. The strength of the Volunteer Corps in 1782 amounted to 88,827 men (34,152 from Ulster, 18,056 from Munster, 14,336 from Connaught, 22,283 from Leinster); in addition 92 corps with about 12,000 men had made no return. The Volunteers had 130 pieces of artillery. See the complete list of corps and regiments, officers and regimental colors in Henry Grattan, *Miscellaneous Works*, pp. 129-140.
34. Grattan, *Speeches*, vol. I, pp. 538-554.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 85 f.
36. Grattan, *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 147. See also pp. 183, 191, 202, 218, 219, 230.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 195. See also p. 245, and Grattan's remarks in discussing the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics: "It should be the business of parliament to unite every denomination of Irishmen in brotherly affection and regard to the

- constitution" (Grattan, *Speeches*, vol. I, p. 99). "The question is not, whether we shall shew mercy to the Roman Catholics, but whether we shall mould the inhabitants of Ireland into a *people* for so long as we exclude Catholics from natural liberty and the common rights of man, we are not a *people*: *we may triumph over them, but other nations will triumph over us*" (p. 103). For the limitations of his views see Grattan, *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 289.
38. Grattan, *Speeches*, vol. I, pp. 123-127.
 39. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 258.
 40. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 75.
 41. See Pieter Geyl (the leading "Great-Dutch" historian), "Einheit und Entzweiung in den Niederlanden," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. CXLIX (1928), pp. 48-61; Geyl, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche Staat* (3 vols., Amsterdam: Maatschappij for verspreiding van populaire lectuur, 1930-1937).
 42. Petrus J. Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands*, transl. O. A. Bierstadt and R. Putnam (New York: Putnam, 1912), vol. V, p. 113. See also the popular book by Hendrik Willem van Loon, *The Fall of the Dutch Republic* (new ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924).
 43. Blok, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
 44. Cérissier was an active pamphleteer in the interests of France and the United States. Thus he translated William Barron's *History of the Colonisation of the Free States of Antiquity Applied to the Present Contest Between Great Britain and the American Colonies* (London, 1777) and wrote an anonymous pamphlet *Le Destin de l'Amérique . . . et les suites pour le bonheur de l'humanité* (London [?], 1780).
 45. See A. Loosjes, *Een krachtig libel* (Haarlem, 1886); F. A. van der Kemp, *Historie der admisie in de ridderschap van Overijssel van jr. Johan Derk van der Capellen, heer van den Pol, etc.* (Leyden: Herdingh, 1785); Murk de Jong Hendrikszoon, *Joan Derk van der Capellen* (Thesis Amsterdam; Groningen: Wolters, 1921). See there the analysis of the pamphlet, pp. 417-444. See also Herman T. Colenbrander, *De Patriottentijd* (3 vols., The Hague: Nijhoff, 1897-1899); Helen L. Fairchild, ed., *Francis Adrian van der Kemp: An Autobiography* (New York: Putnam, 1903).
 46. Quoted in Hendrikszoon, *op. cit.*, p. 460.
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 511.
 48. Mrs. Charles Maurice Davies, *Memorials and Times of P. P. J. Q. Ondaatje* (Utrecht: Kemink, 1870).
 49. H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. V (Brussels: Lamertin, 1921), pp. 243, 261, 220, 241.
 50. *Ibid.*, pp. 327 f. See also M. Wilmotte, *La Culture française en Belgique* (Paris: Champion, 1912); Jules Destrée, *Wallons et Flamands* (Paris: Plon, 1923); Godefroid Kurth, *La Frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France* (2 vols., Brussels: F. Hayez, 1895-1898).
 51. *Verhandeling op donacht der Moederlyke Tael in de Nederlanden* (Maastricht, 1788), quoted in Shepard B. Clough, *A History of the Flemish Movement in Belgium* (New York: R. R. Smith, 1930), p. 17.
 52. Pierre-Joseph Henkart published a poem "La Liberté Nationale" (Liège, 1782; quoted by Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 350) in which he wrote of the bishop:
 Heureux le chef que de ses plus beaux droits
 Un peuple libre et juste a fait dépositaire! . . .
 Des marches de l'autel, digne émule de Pierre,
 Il règne en citoyen sur la patrie entière . . .
 53. "D'où vient cette différence? L'attribuer à la race, c'est ne rien dire. L'instinct ethnique a précisément en histoire la même valeur que la *vis dormitiva*, par quoi le médecin de Molière explique le sommeil. Comment d'ailleurs opposer

l'un à l'autre le conservatisme flamand et le libéralisme wallon, quand on voit les wallons du Hainaut . . . bien plus éloignés des tendances liégeoises que les flamands de Flandre. . . ? C'est dans la constitution politique et dans l'état social des populations qu'il faut chercher la solution du problème." (Pirenne, *op. cit.*, p. 504.)

54. *Ibid.*, p. 423.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 478 ff. See Suzanne Tassier, *Les Démocrates belges de 1789* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1930), a very detailed study.
56. Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, vol. I (11th ed., Paris: Plon, 1908), p. 378. See also Cayetano Alcázar, "El Despotismo ilustrado en España," *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, vol. V (1933), pp. 727-751; Eduard von Jan, "Das Aufklärungszeitalter in Spanien," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, vol. XXII (1934), pp. 462-474. Philip V tried to unify Spain: in 1707 the privileges of Catalonia were abolished; in 1714 Castilian laws introduced in the Catalan courts and the Catalan language forbidden.
57. "Die königlichen Paläste wurden Lager des Lasters; die Geschicke des Landes wurden gelenkt nach den Vorschriften der Wollust." Yet the nation was satisfied, because reform and progress were abandoned. "So wurde rasch aus langsamer Bewegung Stillstand, aus Stillstand Rückschritt, . . . Verfall der Moralität, der Sorgfalt, der Ordnung des Regiments." (Hermann Baumgarten, *Geschichte Spaniens vom Ausbruch der französischen Revolution bis auf unsere Tage*, vol. I [Leipzig: Hirzel, 1865], pp. 31, 34.)
58. "Es plaga de España, o castigo de Dios," exclaims Erauso y Zavalera, "el irremediable y excesivo amor que tenemos a todo lo extranjero" (*Discurso crítico*, etc. [Madrid, 1750], p. 44, as quoted in E. Allison Peers, *A History of the Romantic Movement in Spain* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1940), vol. I, p. 74).
59. "que . . . hallo mucho más perfectas, originales y dignas de estimación las piezas cómicas de España, que las extranjeras. No obstante la idea que imprimieron en mi pensamiento las hermosuras que he visto en tan bellos países de la Europa, confieso que, restituido a España, sentí dentro del corazón un secreto regocijo, creyéndome dichoso de vivir en compañía de mis amados compatriotas, y volver a ver nuestras comedias." Nipho, *La Nación española defendida*, etc., pp. 13 f., as quoted in Peers, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 55. *El Pensador* was the famous periodical of enlightened Europeanizers, published in Madrid 1762-1767, first by J. Alvarez y Valladara, then by J. Clavijo y Faxando.
60. Carlo Denina (1731-1813), an Italian historian. The pamphlet *Réponse à la question: Que doit-on à l'Espagne?* (discourse at the Berlin Academy on Jan. 26, 1786, the king's birthday anniversary) was published in Berlin by G. J. Decker, 1786.
61. See G. Delpy, *L'Espagne et l'esprit européen* (Paris: Hachette, 1936). A new and convenient edition of Feijóo is *Obras Escogidas del P. Fray Benito Gerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro* (Biblioteca de autores españoles desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros días, vol. LVI, Madrid, 1903). There on p. 220 he pleads for the superiority of the Spanish over the Italian or French theater.
62. Feijóo, *Theatro Critico Universal* (9 vols., Madrid: Fernandez de Arrojo, 1758-1763), vol. I, p. 365 (Discurso XVI, Defensa de las Mugerres).
63. *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 320 (Discurso XIII, Glorias de España). See also vol. II, p. 196 (Discurso IX), where he stresses that nations have characteristic differences but can live in peace together, and vol. III, p. 226 (Discurso X, Amor de la Patria), where he cautions against particularism.
64. See Feijóo, *Cartas Eruditas y Curiosas* (5 vols., Madrid, 1753-1761—a continuation of his *Theatro Critico Universal*), vol. III, pp. 420 f. (Carta XXXI).

65. William S. Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics as Told in the Lives of Their Liberators* (New York: Appleton, 1918); Lilian Estelle Fisher, *The Background of the Revolution for Mexican Independence* (Boston: Christopher, 1934); Bernard Moses, *The Intellectual Background of the Revolution in South America 1810-1824* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1926); and *Spain's Declining Power in South America, 1730-1806* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1919). Arthur P. Whitaker, *Latin America and the Enlightenment* (New York, 1942).

66. The purpose of the poem is stated in Canto I, octave 2:

Cosas diré también harto notables
De gente que a ningún rey obedecen,
Temerarias empresas memorables
Que celebrarse con razón merecen;
Raras industrias, términos loables
Que más los españoles engrandecen;
Pues no es el vencedor más estimado
De aquello en que el vencido es reputado.

- In Canto II, octave 31, the old Colocolo addresses the Caciques:

Volved las armas y ánimo furioso
A los pechos de aquellos que os han puesto
En dura sujeción, con afrentoso
Partido, a todo el mundo manifiesto;
Lanzad de vos el yugo vergonzoso;
Mostrad vuestro valor y fuerza en esto:
No derraméis la sangre del Estado
Que para redimirnos ha quedado.

67. Philip A. Means, "The Rebellion of Tupic-Amaru II, 1780-1781," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. II (1919), pp. 1-25.

68. Bernard Moses, *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*. (New York: Putnam, 1908), p. 216.

69. William S. Robertson, *The Life of Miranda* (2 vols., Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1929).

70. Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish American Republics*, pp. 23 f.

71. George Young, *Portugal Old and Young* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917), pp. 201 f. The return of Sebastian was expected by 1808. "On Good Friday a miraculous fog would envelop the Tagus, which on Easter Sunday would rise revealing Sebastian's ship irradiated with a divine illumination. Thereafter the king would come on shore, and having ascended the throne of Portugal, would be accepted by all nations as king of kings by right divine. Restoration of the unity of Christendom and a reign of perpetual peace and equity would ensue." Thus Sebastian combined the features of Frederic Barbarossa in the Kyffhäuser or Untersberg and of Lohengrin.

See on Portugal Jm. Chaumeil de Stella et Auguste de Santeul, *Essai sur l'histoire du Portugal* (Brussels: Gregoir, Wouters et Cie, 1841); V. de Bragança Cunha, *Eight Centuries of Portuguese Monarchy* (London: Stephen Swift, 1911); A. Rabbe, *Résumé de l'histoire de Portugal* (Paris: Lecoq et Durey, 1824); Edward McMurdo, *The History of Portugal, from the Reign of D. João II to the Reign of D. João V*, vol. III (London: Sampson Low, 1889); Théodoric Legrand, *Histoire du Portugal, du XI^e siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Payot, 1928).

72. Young (*op. cit.*, pp. 148 f., 163 ff.) stresses that the revolution of 1640 was not a national rising, but was effected by the ruling class. Literature during that time became full of national pride; thus it was argued that, even if the whale that swallowed Jonah did double the Cape of Good Hope, Jonah could not under the circumstances claim to have circumnavigated it before Vasco da

Gama. The long war of liberation after 1640 was not a national affair energizing the whole people down to the peasantry, not celebrated by legendary heroism or popular ballads, but an affair of diplomacy and conspiracy.

73. Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Portuguese Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), p. 271.
74. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
75. José Maria Latino Coelho, *O Marquez de Pombal* (Lisbon: Empreza de Historia de Portugal, 1905); Coelho, *Historia politica e militar de Portugal desde os fins do XVIII seculo até 1814* (3 vols., Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1874-1891); Luiz Augusto Rebello da Silva, *Historia da Portugal nos seculos XVII e XVIII* (5 vols., Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1860-1871); John Smith, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal* (2 vols., London: Longmans, 1843).
76. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
77. Rabbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-433.
78. Smith, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 206 ff.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
80. See Alexandre M. Sané, *Poésie lyrique portugaise: Un Choix des odes de Francisco Manuel* (Paris, Cerioux, 1808), pp. 26-28. The original reads:

Perdeis da adusta Mina
O bem-ganhado auri-fero domino?
Desamparáes imbelles
Dabul, Cochim, a estranhos mercadores?
E essas terras outroia
Cobértas de triumphos Portugueses;
E o verde Imperio meu,
Que tingieis de sangue, a cada passo,
Consentireis surcado
De Sarmatas Cimmericas Daces quilhas? . . .
Trajada de virtude,
Pregoando zelo (oh dias desditosos!)
Tomou a Ignorancia,
Nas mãos, as chaves dos Estados Lusos;
Mal-avisado Zelo,
Na Asia, e na Europa levantou fogueiras;
E as sévas Labarédas,
Crestando as azas do Libérto engenho,
Mirrharaó, sem regresso,
Da Lusa gloria as grádas esperanças.

Another famous ode was devoted to the liberty and independence of the United States. The ode VII to the Crusader Knights of Christ glorifies the ideals of faith, of monarchy and of fatherland:

Eu, já a Fê, e os teus Reis, e a Patria amada
Na guerra, te ensinei
A defender, com a tingida espada;
Co' a morte me affrontei
Pela fê, pelo Rei e Patria. A vida
Se assim se perde—a vida é bem-perdida.

81. Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, vol. I, p. 389: "Gouvernement ruineux et médiocre au dedans; nul absolument dans les affaires du dehors."
82. "I Lombardi erano soddisfatti del governor austriaco, e i decenni che precedettero la invasione francese . . . furono ricordati come l'epoca aurea del viver lieto e felice . . . e in difetto dell' aspirazione all' indipendenza e ad un governo autonomo, non si poteva dar loro torto" Cesare Spellanzon, *Storia del Risorgimento e dell' unità d'Italia*, vol. I (Milan: Rizzoli, 1933), p. 58.

83. "A questa tendenza era naturalmente estraneo ogni sentimento di nazionalità" (*ibid.*, p. 76). See Nicodemo Bianchi, *Storia della monarchia piemontese dal 1773 sino al 1861* (4 vols., Turin: Bocca, 1877-1885). On Italian federation as part of French enlightened policy, see Marquis d'Argenson, *Mémoires et Journal inédit* (5 vols., Paris: P. Jannet, 1857-1858), vol. IV, p. 153, and vol. III, pp. 28-30.
84. Spellanzon, *op. cit.*, 78-82. "L'esercito fu la massima cura del Re [Vittorio Amadeo III] . . . ma vuolsi che le riforme introdotte nell' esercito sabauda fossero piuttosto di pompa esteriore che di sostanza e di utile vero."
85. Gabrièle Maugain, *Études sur l'évolution intellectuelle de l'Italie* (Paris: Hachette, 1909); Aldo Ferrari, *La Preparazione intellettuale del Risorgimento italiano, 1748-1789* (Milan: Treves, 1923); G. de Ruggiero, *Il Pensiero politico meridionale nei secoli XVIII e XIX* (Bari: Laterza, 1922); A. Simioni, *Le Origini del Risorgimento politico nell'Italia meridionale* (Messina: Principato, 1925-1931); C. Morandi, *Idee e formazioni politiche in Lombardia del 1748 al 1814* (Turin: Bocca, 1927); Henri Bédarida and Paul Hazard, *L'influence française en Italie au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1934); Bédarida, *Parme et la France de 1748 à 1789* (Paris: Champollion, 1928); Arturo Graf, *L'Anglomania e l'influsso inglese in Italia nel secolo XVIII* (Turin: Koescher, 1911); Francesco Lemmi, *Le Origini del Risorgimento italiano, 1748-1815*, 2nd ed., Milan: Hoepli, 1924; Giulio Natali, *Idee, costumi, uomini del settecento*, (2nd ed., Turin: Sten, 1926); Abd-el Kader Salza, *L'idea della patria nella letteratura del settecento avanti la rivoluzione* (Campobasso: Colitti, 1918).
86. Luigi Salvatorelli, *Il Pensiero politico italiano dal 1700 al 1870* (Turin: Einaudi, 1935), pp. 12-16. Muratori in *Della pubblica felicità, oggetto di buoni principi* (Lucca, 1749), stressed that the prince is subject to the law of nature and of the gospels: he is free to do good, but his hands are bound from doing evil.
87. *Principi di una scienza nuova d'intorno alla commune natura delle nazioni, per la quale si ritrovano i principi di altro sistema del diritto naturale delle genti*, Naples: Mosca, 1725; 2nd enlarged ed., 1730; 3rd ed., 1744—best modern ed. by Fausto Nicolini (3 vols., Bari: Laterza, 1911-1916). Vico also wrote *De universi iuris uno principio et fine uno* (1720). See Benedetto Croce, *The Philosophy of Giambattista Vico*, transl. R. G. Collingwood (London: Hogarth Latimer, 1913); Otto Klemm, *G. B. Vico; Altgeschichte-philosoph und Völkerpsycholog* (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1906); Richard Peters, *Der Aufbau der Weltgeschichte bei Giambattista Vico* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1929).
88. *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. VIII, p. 263.
89. Salvatorelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff. Beccaria, par. 2; compare also pars. 16, 38.
90. Salvatorelli, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Verri, *Storia di Milano* (1783), ed. Le Monnier, (Florence, 1890), vol. I, pp. 183, 142. See also A. Ottolini, *P. Verri e i suoi tempi* (Palermo: Sandron, 1921). Pietro's brother Alessandro (1741-1816), a translator of Shakespeare, wrote under Young's influence *Notti Romane al sepolcro dei Scipioni*, in which shades of famous old Romans discussed Rome's greatness. It was written in 1792, after the discovery of the tombs of the Scipios in 1780. Carli published a patriotic *Antichità Italiane* (4 vols., 1788-1790).
91. Spellanzon, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 14.
92. Fernand Baldensperger, *Le Mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française 1789-1815* (Paris: Plon, 1924), vol. I, p. 87.
93. See above all Gaudence Megaro, *Vittorio Alfieri, Forerunner of Italian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1930), Angelo de Gubernitis, *Vittorio Alfieri* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1912), E. Bertana, *Vittorio Alfieri* (Turin: Loescher, 1902); U. Calosso, *L'Anarchia di V. Alfieri* (Bari: Laterza,

- 1924); Carlo A. Averati, *La Rivoluzione italiana da Vittorio Alfieri a Benito Mussolini* (Turin: Ghurardi, 1934); Benedetto Croce, *European Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, transl. Douglas Ainslie (London: Chapman & Hall, 1924), pp. 1-17; Guido Bustico, *Bibliografia di Vittorio Alfieri* (3rd ed., Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1927—supplement to *La Bibliofila italiana*, no. 6); Giovanni Gentile, "L'Eredità di Vittorio Alfieri," *La Critica*, vol. XIX, pp. 12 ff. (Jan. 20, 1921); Vito Guiseppe Galati, *Il Concetto di nazionalità nel risorgimento italiano* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1931); Oskar Bulle, *Die italienische Einheitsidee in ihrer literarischen Entwicklung von Parini bis Manzoni* (Berlin: Hüttig, 1893).
94. Alfieri, Epigram CVI, *Opere* (Turin: Paravia, 1903), vol. IV, p. 33.
95. Epoca quarta, capitolo CVIII (1787), *Vita di Vittorio Alfieri scritto da esso* (Florence: Ciarditti, 1822), vol. II, p. 148. There is an English translation, *Life of Vittorio Alfieri*, with an essay by W. D. Howells (Boston: Osgood, 1877).
96. Megaro, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 f.
97. Alfieri, *Opere*, vol. X, pp. 113-195, especially 147-151.
98. In 1783, Alfieri, *Opere*, vol. VII, p. 190.
99. *Del Principe e delle lettere libri III*, Alfieri, *Opere*, vol. X, pp. 3-111, especially pp. 103-107. The book closes (p. 108) with the final chapter (liber III, cap. XI) which bears the same title as the famous final chapter of Machiavelli's *Principe*: "Esortazione a liberar l'Italia dei Barbari." A footnote explicitly says: "Così intitolò il divino Machiavelli il suo ultimo capitolo del *Principe*; e don per altro si è qui repetuto, se non per mostrare che in diversi modi si può ottenere lo stesso effetto."
100. Alfieri, *Opere*, vol. X, pp. 144, 155. See also p. 62. In his tragedy *Virginia*, act III, sc. 2, he asks:
- v'ha patria, dove
sol Uno vuole, e l'obbediscon tutti.
- Repeatedly he maintains (*Opere*, vol. III, pp. 94, 174) that one's birth land is not one's fatherland if it is ruled despotically:
- Non t'è mai Patria, no, il tuo sol paterno,
S'ivi aggiunta non bevi al latte primo
Libertà vera . . .
101. From *Il Misogallo*, with a final verse affirming that the French Republic is untrue to this ideal. (*Opere*, vol. IV, p. 153):
- È Repubblica il suolo, ove divine
Leggi son base a umano leggi, e scudo;
Ove null'uomo impunamente crudo
All'uom può farsi, e ognuno ha il suo confine;
Ove non è chi mi sgomenti, o inchine;
Ov'io 'l cuore, e la mente appien dischiudo;
Ov'io di ricco non san fatto ignudo;
Ove a ciascuno il ben di tutti è fine.
102. Alfieri, *Opere*, vol. III, p. 110.
103. Salvatorelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 ff.
104. *Il Misogallo, prose e rime*, Alfieri, *Opere*, vol. IV, pp. 119-210, especially pp. 123 f. The motto of the work is: "Vitium odisse, virtus est."
105. *Opere*, vol. III, p. 148, vol. IV, p. 176.
106. *Opere*, vol. IV, p. 154.
107. The concluding sonnet of *Il Misogallo*, Alfieri, *Opere*, vol. IV, p. 209.
108. Danish literature found its first leading representative in Christiern Pedersen (1480-1554), who published a Latin-Danish dictionary and completed a translation of the Bible in 1543. Some Lutherans in Norway represented the

penetration of humanism and its patriotic historiography. Absalon Pedersson Buyer (1528-1575) wrote in his *Norges Beskrivelse* a patriotic description of Norway, lamenting that she had no kings or nobles of her own. In Sweden Olaus Petri (1493-1552) was a true creator of the modern Swedish language. He translated the New Testament (1526), the Old Testament (1541) and wrote a history of Sweden, *Svenska Krönika*. Even in Iceland and Finland the Reformation revived the vernaculars for literary purposes. Oddur Gottskálksson translated the New Testament (1540), and Bishop Gudbrandur Thorláksson the whole Bible (1584), into Icelandic. In Finnish, Bishop Agricola published the New Testament in 1548; Bishop Ericus Erici, collections of sermons in 1621 and 1625; and the whole Bible appeared in 1642. See Knut Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, vol. II (New York: Macmillan, 1915); Andreas Elviken, "The Genesis of Norwegian Nationalism," *Journal of Modern History*, vol. III (1931), pp. 365-391; Oscar J. Falnes, *National Romanticism in Norway* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1933); Giovanni Bach, *The History of the Scandinavian Literatures*, transl. Frederika Blankner (New York: Dial Press, 1938); Theodore Jorgenson, *History of Norwegian Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1933).

109. Falnes, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Only very occasionally fatherland was restricted to Norway, thus by Hans Arentz, *Grundtegnning af den fornøftige norske Patriotisme* (Bergen, 1787). On Norwegian patriotism, see also Gjerset, *op. cit.*, pp. 372, 374, 376.
110. Elviken, *op. cit.*, p. 381.
111. The national imperialism of the seventeenth century found its expression in literature like in the didactic poem *Hercules* by Georg Stiernhielm (d. 1672), and in the popular poetry of Lars Wivallius (1605-1669). See for the following, Andrew A. Stomberg, *A History of Sweden* (New York: Macmillan, 1931); Carl Hallendorff and Adolf Schück, *History of Sweden*, transl. Mrs. Lajla Yapp (London: Cassell, 1929); R. Nisbet Bain, *Gustavus III and His Contemporaries, 1746-1792* (2 vols., London: Kegan Paul, 1894).
112. Dahl's *Svenska Rikes Historia* appeared in 4 vols. 1746-1762. In 1742 he wrote a patriotic epos in alexandrines, *Svenska Frihetan*.
113. Bain, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
114. "Even in its decline, the French literature was incomparably the finest in Europe, and the best heads in the North very soon perceived that they could not do better than closely follow French models" (*ibid.*, p. 232).
115. *Ibid.*, pp. 261 f.
116. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-170.
117. The Ukrainians, with Kiev as their historical capital, formed the first Russian state, where Vladimir the Great accepted Christianity and used on coins and later on churches and tombstones the emblem which became in modern times the symbol of the Ukrainian national movement—a yellow trident on a blue shield. As the result of the Tartar invasion, a new center of Russia rose in Moscow which gravitated not toward the Black Sea but toward the steppes of Eastern Russia and Asia and which built a new Great Russian nationality of Russian, Finnish, and Tartar elements. The former center of Russia now became a march, or frontier land, a Ukraine, settled by frontiersmen, the Cossacks, who came under Lithuanian and later under Polish domination. Their aristocracy was Polonized. Under the hetman Bohdan Chmelnytsky the Ukrainians rose against Poland in 1648 and signed an alliance with Moscow at Pereyaslav in 1654. Under Hetman Ivan Mazepa, who was elected in 1687, the Ukraine had its greatest cultural flowering. Phylip Orlyk wrote its first constitution, Teofan Prokopovych a drama *Vladimir* in the Baroque style. Mazepa, allied with Charles XII, was defeated at Poltava and died in 1709. The Russian tsars of the eighteenth century curtailed the Ukrainian autonomy

more and more, and finally abolished it in favor of Russian centralization and made Russian the only official language. When Catherine II called deputies from all the Russias in 1767, the Ukrainian deputies, led by Hryhory Poletyka (author of a history of the Ukraine), demanded the restoration of Ukrainian autonomy. At the end of the century the spread of French enlightenment brought the Ukraine a cultural awakening, a defense of the Ukrainian language, and an interest in Ukrainian folkways. Ivan Kotliarevsky (1769-1838) raised the vernacular to the rank of a literary language. The French Revolution and Napoleon aroused the first political hopes among the Ukrainians. See D. Doroshenko, *The History of the Ukraine* (Edmonton, Alta., 1940), Michael Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1941); George Vernadsky, *Bohdan, Hetman of Ukraine* (Yale Univ. Press, 1941); Mykola Holubetz, *Velyka Istoria Ukrainy* (Lemberg: Ivan Tyktor, 1935); Elie Borschak and René Martel, *Vie de Mazeppa* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1931); Domet Olanjdyn, *Hryhorij Skovorodo: Der ukrainische Philosoph des XVIII. Jahrhunderts und seine geistig-kulturelle Umwelt* (Königsberg: Ost-Europa-Verlag, 1928).

While the Ukrainian peasantry in Poland and Russia remained backward, it underwent the influence of enlightenment under Austrian rule in eastern Galicia. Maria Theresa and Joseph II took special care to educate the clergy of the Ruthenians, as they were there called, and the Greek Catholic Seminar of St. Barbara and a theological institute in Lemberg were founded in 1775 and 1787. The Ukrainians were called Little Russians to distinguish them from the Great Russians. Racially they are much purer Slavs. They are the southern neighbors of the blond and tall White Russians, who had been part of Great Lithuania, and whose aristocracy lost itself completely among the Lithuanians and the Poles. The Lithuanians accepted the White Russian language as their official language, but at the end of the seventeenth century White Russian was completely replaced by Polish and Russian and remained for more than two hundred years the spoken language of poor and backward peasants, without literature and without any national consciousness.

118. R. Nisbet Bain, *The Last King of Poland and His Contemporaries* (New York: Putnam, 1909); *Cambridge History of Poland* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1941); Oscar Halecki, *A History of Poland* (New York: Roy, 1943); Charles Dany, *Les Idées politiques et l'esprit public en Pologne à la fin du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Alcan, 1901); Władysław Smoleński, *Dzieje narodu polskiego* (Warsaw: Gebethner, 1919); Smoleński, *Przewrót umysłowy w Polsce XVIII w.* (2nd ed., Warsaw: Ministry of Education, 1923); Smoleński, *Montesquiusz w Polsce w w. XVIII* (Warsaw: Kasa Mian, 1927); Sister M. Neomisla Rutkowska, *Bishop Adam Naruszewicz and His History of the Polish Nation* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1941); W. J. Rose, *Stanislas Konarski: Reformer of Education in 18th Century Poland* (London: Cape, 1929); Roman Dybowski, *Periods of Polish Literary History* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1923); Robert H. Lord, *The Second Partition of Poland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1915); Marcell Handelsman, "Ideologia polityczna Towarzystwa republikanów polskich (1798-1807)" in *Rozwój narodowości nowoczesnej* (Warsaw: Gebethner, 1924), pp. 125-248; Józef Ignacy Krąszewski, *Polska w czasie trzech rozbiorów 1772-1799* (3 vols., Warsaw: Gebethner, 1902-1903); Czesław Łeśniewski, *Stanisław Staszic, jego życie i ideologia w dobie Polski niepodległej (1755-1795)* (Warsaw: Society of Science, Historical Treatises, vol. V, fasc. 1, 1925-1926); Alexander Bruckner, *Dzieje Literatury Polskiej w Zarysie* (3rd ed., 2 vols., Warsaw: Biblioteka Polska, 1921); Monica M. Gardner, *Kościszko: A Biography* (New York: Scribner, 1920).

119. Voltaire, *Précis du siècle de Louis XV*, chap. IV; Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*,

- bk. II, chap. III. See also William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark* (3 vols., London, 1789-1790); Hubert Vautrin, *L'Observateur en Pologne* (Paris, 1807). Sorel (*op. cit.*, p. 508) writes: "La nation se réduisait à une armée de nobles vivant comme en pays conquis et livrée impunément à toutes ses passions. L'anarchie devenait la vie normale de l'état."
120. A manuscript of seventeenth century poetry in the Czartoryski Library contains a vocabulary with very characteristic translations: superbus or inflatus, *szlachcie urodzony*; omnia insolenter, *po polsku*; mendacium, *szlachtyanmucz*, etc. See Uscher Bretholz, *Ueber unbekannte und wenig bekannte polnische Dichter des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, pt. I (thesis, Breslau, 1897, Cracow: Josef Fischer, 1897).
121. Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
122. Dyboski, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
123. Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 f., 182, 256.
124. Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
125. Treitschke (*Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. I, p. 113) regarded the Constitution as a sign of the old hatred against everything German and Protestant. Lord (*op. cit.*, p. 493) remarks that Prussia then as ever felt itself "entitled to consider any attempt on the part of her neighbors to live under decent and orderly conditions as a *casus belli*."
126. *Cambridge History of Poland*, p. 154.
127. Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 ff. (abridged).
128. The instruction is contained in the *Monita quibus Stephanus filium Americum instruxit, ut regnum recte pieque administraret*, caput VI, "De acceptione exterorum et nutrimento hospitum." There he says "Unde imprimis Romanum crevit imperium, Romanique reges sublimati fuerunt et gloriosi, nisi quod multi nobiles et sapientes ex diversis illuc confluebant partibus? . . . Sicut enim ex diversis partibus provinciarum veniunt hospites, ita diversas linguas et consuetudines, diversaque documenta et arma secum ducant, quae omnia regiam ornant et magnificant aulam . . ." The passage is in vol. II of the *Opus Tripartitum*, ed. Vienna 1628, vol. II, p. 4, and in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series latina, vol. CLI, pp. 1240 ff. Recent Hungarian historiography interprets the legends of Stephen in the light of racial mysticism. Bálint Hóman, "Stephan der Heilige," in *Wirtschaft und Kultur* (Baden bei Wien: Rohrer, 1938), pp. 279-288, speaks of him as "mit dem ganzen Herzblut Ungar und mit ganzer Seele christlicher Fürst" and of "die harmonische Verbindung der rassisch bestimmten ungarischen Urkultur mit den fremden, aus dem Westen entlehnten Elementen."
129. Pázmány, born a Protestant, educated by the Jesuits, became Archbishop in 1616, and founded in 1635 the University of Nagyszombat or Tyrnau, the predecessor of the University of Budapest which is known officially as the Royal Hungarian Peter Pázmány University of Sciences.
130. László Ottlik, "National Peace in Transylvania, 1526-1790," *Hungarian Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 294-302.
131. The two Rumanian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia were in a different position from other parts of the Balkan Peninsula: they were not directly incorporated into the Turkish empire, and preserved their aristocracy, resembling Russia, Hungary, and Poland in social structure more than Serbia and Bulgaria, whose peoples had become purely peasant. At their head were Greeks, appointed by the Sultan from the circle of Phanariot families surrounding the Orthodox Patriarch in Constantinople. In the eighteenth century these princes had accepted French cultural ideas; "they were representatives of an international civilization, men of cosmopolitan outlook and servants of a non-national empire" (John C. Campbell, *French Influence and the Rise of Rumanian Nationalism*, Harvard thesis, 1940, p. 11). French Revolutionary

- ideas penetrated to the Rumanian aristocracy through Greek merchants, established in Vienna. In 1791 some of the boyars in Wallachia demanded the right to form a nation and to elect a native prince. However, a modern national consciousness began only when Gheorghe Lazăr, coming in 1816 from Transylvania to Bucharest as director of the school of St. Sava, propagated the theories of Bishop Micu and substituted the native vernacular for Greek as the language of instruction.
132. Tocqueville, *L' Ancien Régime*, bk. I, chap. IV, quoted in Sorel, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
 133. Quoted in Sorel, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
 134. In his *A régi magyar viseletről*, quoted in Henry Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1910).
 135. *Oratio de cultura linguae Hungaricae* (Sopron, 1751), quoted in Marczali, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
 136. See Dominic G. Kosáry, *A History of Hungary* (Cleveland: Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile Society, 1941); Frederick Riedl, *A History of Hungarian Literature* (London: Heinemann, 1906); Ladislav, Baron Hengelmüller, *Hungary's Fight for National Existence, 1703-1711* (London: Macmillan, 1913); Ludwig Spohr, *Die geistigen Grundlagen des Nationalismus in Ungarn* (Berlin: Gruyter, 1936); R. W. Seton-Watson, *Racial Problems in Hungary* (London: Constable, 1908); David Mitrany, *Greater Rumania* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917); C. A. Macartney, *Hungary* (London: Benn, 1934); Gyula Szekfű, *Der Staat Ungarn* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1918); Gyula Kornis, *Ungarische Kulturideale 1777-1848* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1930).
 137. The same may be said of the Jews and of the Armenians. The Armenian awakening also began in a diaspora. In the eighteenth century Armenian classical literature was rediscovered, and an Armenian vernacular literary language created by a Catholic Armenian congregation under Abbot Michitar. This literary renaissance, during which grammars and dictionaries were published, old authors edited, and books translated into Armenian, laid the foundation for the awakening of an Armenian nationalism in the nineteenth century. See Harry Jewell Sarkiss, "The Armenian Renaissance, 1500-1863," *Journal of Modern History*, vol. IX (1937), pp. 433-448.
 138. That the Turkish treatment of the Armenians was good, is pointed out by Sarkiss (*ibid.*, p. 446): "From the 14th century until 1860 the Armenians had gotten along with their Muslim neighbours, and those who emigrated from Russia found refuge in Turkey. They enjoyed more tranquillity under Turkey than under former rulers."
 139. See above all A. Dascalakis, *Rhigas Velesinlis: La Révolution Française et les préhudes de l'indépendance hellénique*, (Thesis, Paris, 1937) and his *Les Œuvres de Rhigas Velesinlis* (Paris, 1937); Mrs. Elizabeth M. Edmonds, *Rhigas Pheraios: The Protomartyr of Greek Independence* (London: Longmans, 1890); N. Jorga, *Histoire des états balkaniques* (Paris: Gamber, 1925); Nicéphore Moschopoulos, *La Presse dans la renaissance balkanique* (Athens: Messager d'Athènes, 1931); C. L. Georgopoulos, "La Constitution du Rigas," *La Révolution Française* (1935), pp. 158 ff.; P. Michalopoulos, Πήγαι η Βελεστινλής 1757-1798 (Athens, 1930); J. K. Kordatos, 'Ο Πήγαις Φεραίος και ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ 1798 (Athens, 1931).
 140. See above all Stephen G. Chaconas, *Adamantios Korais: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1942); Hans Aufrecht, "Adamantios Korais and the Image of the Modern Greek State," *New Europe*, Sept., 1942, pp. 295 ff.; Christos P. Oikonomos, *Die pädagogischen Anschauungen des Adamantios Korais und ihr Einfluss auf das Schulwesen und das politische Leben Griechenlands* (Leipzig: Gressner und Schranum, 1906); *Lettres inédites de Coray à Chardon de la Roche, 1790-1796* (Paris: Firmin-

- Didot, 1877); *Lettres de Coray au Protospathes de Smyrna Dimitrios Lotos*, transl. De Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1880); Nicholas Damalas, 'Αδαμαντίου Κοραΐ: τὰ μετὰ θάνατον εὐρεθέντα συγγραμμάτια (7 vols., Athens, 1881-1891); B. Dascalakis, *Τὰ τρία καὶ οἱ παράγοντες τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐπαναστάσεως τοῦ 1821* (Paris, 1927); Georgios Chasiotes, *L'Instruction publique chez les Grecs, depuis la prise de Constantinople . . . jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1881); Theodoros Kolokotronis (1770-1843), *Kolokotronis, the Klepht and the Warrior: An Autobiography*, transl. M. Edmonds (London: Unwin, 1892).
141. See the "Vie de Diamantios Coray, écrite par lui-même" in the *Lettres inédites*, pp. xix-xxxix. The epitaph is on p. xx, the passage quoted on p. xxxiv.
142. *Lettres inédites*, p. 330. In addressing his Greek compatriots Coray uses the term *φίλοι ὁμογενεῖς* emphasizing the racial continuity. (See *Politische Ermahnungen an die Hellenen*, pp. 226, 228). In commenting on the constitution of Epidaurus of 1822 he objected to the intention of conferring citizenship only upon inhabitants of the Christian faith. He thought it shortsighted and argued that Jews and Turks who had become Hellenized should be granted full citizenship. Expatriation of non-Christians would make Greece into another Spain. At least the government should guarantee to Turks and Jews full property rights and protection of the laws, until a following generation having gone through Greek schools would be fully qualified for citizenship.
143. The Greek Library Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη and the Πάρεργα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς βιβλιοθήκης were published by Firmin Didot in Paris.
144. Ἀδελφικὴ διδασκαλία πρὸς τοὺς εὐρισκομένους κατὰ πάσαν τὴν ὠμωμανικὴν ἐπικράτειαν γραικοὺς (in Widener Library in a reprint dated, Athens, 1852). Like all Coray's political writings, originally published anonymously and with a fictitious place of publication. The *Brotherly Instructions* were published in 1798, ostensibly at "Rome, recently liberated from its tyrant." Other important political writings by Coray are "Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce, lu à la Société des observateurs de l'homme," Jan. 6, 1803, "adressée à l'Europe éclairée sur les efforts que nous faisons pour nous éclairer aussi" (*Lettres inédites*, pp. 445-490), and *Triumph of War* (Ἐξέλιξις πολέμου), published in 1801 ostensibly at Alexandria. On the cover Greece is portrayed as a beautiful but unhappy woman with disheveled hair, bleeding from wounds inflicted by Turks, standing amidst ruined monuments and faced by a wild Turk with a scimitar. The pamphlet calls for a Greek *levée en masse* to fight with the French to liberate themselves from Islamic darkness. Important for his educational theories is his Ἀπολογία τῶν ἀποσχισθῶν στοχασμῶν περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας καὶ γλώσσης in his introduction to Isocrates and Plutarch.
145. *Παρανεσεῖς πολιτικαὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας*, *Adamantios Korais politische Ermahnungen an die Hellenen*, transl. Johann Kaspar von Orelli (Zurich: Zeigler, 1823).
146. *Ermahnungen*, p. 144 (see also pp. 350 ff., 362, 374, 328), where Coray demands the building in the capital of a special temple to Justice ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας Δικαιοσύνης, with the words "God is just and loves justice" (Psalm 11:7) over its entrance.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 250. The civic virtue of unity is called *κοινοῦμοσυνή*—in the German translation, *Gemeinsinn*.
148. ὁ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε,
ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρίων ἔθνη,
θήκας τε προγόνων: νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.
The Persians, 402-405. *Ermahnungen*, pp. 368 ff.

149. *Ermahnungen*, pp. v, xi.
150. *Ibid.*, pp. 164 ff., 196 ff.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 272. See also p. 366. Coray quotes Aristotle as supporting the opinion that most good legislators come from the middle classes.
152. Paisii's *Istoriya* was edited by Jordan Ivanov (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1914). See Alois Hajek, *Bulgarien unter der Türkenherrschaft* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1925); Louis Leger, *La Bulgarie* (Paris: Cerf, 1885); F. Hýbl, *Dějiny národa bulharského* (2 vols., Prague, 1930); Josef Konstantin Jýřecek, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prague: Tempsky, 1876); N. Stanev, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, vol. II (*Vom Beginn der Türkenzeit bis zur Gegenwart*), transl. H. Kaspar (Leipzig: Parlapanoff, 1918); N. Stanev, *Bŭlgaria pod igo: Vŭzrazhdenia i osvobodzhenie*, 1393-1878 (Sofia, 1928); B. Penev, *Nachalo na bŭlgarskoto vŭzrazhdenie* (3rd ed., Sofia, 1929); James F. Clarke, "The First Bulgarian Book," *Harvard Library Notes*, No. 30 (Mar. 1940), pp. 295-302.
153. See V. O. Kluchevsky, *A History of Russia*, transl. C. J. Hogarth, vol. III (London: Dent, 1913), pp. 255 ff.; Vladimir Eduardovitch Valdenberg, *Gosudarstvenniya idei Krizhanitcha* (St. Petersburg, 1912); Vatroslav von Jagić, *Život i rad Jurja Krizanića* (Zagreb: Yugoslav Academy of Sciences, 1917); Nikola P. Škerović, *Jurij Krizanić, život, rad i ideje* (Belgrade: Royal Serbian Academy, 1936); Cyril Bryner, "The Political Philosophy of Yuri Krizhanovich," *New Scholasticism*, vol. XIII (Washington, 1939), pp. 133-168. His *Collected Works* were published in 4 vols., Moscow, 1890-1893. See also Milob Weingart, *Slovenská vzájemnost. Úvahy o jejích základech a osudech* (Bratislava, 1926) and E. Šmurlo, "From Krizanić to the Slavophiles," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. VI (1927-28).
154. See Dragutin Subotić, *Yugoslav Popular Ballads* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1932).
155. Emile Haumont, *La Formation de la Yougoslavie* (Paris: Bossard, 1930); R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans* (London: Constable, 1917); J. Škerlić, *Srpska Književnost u XVIII veku* (2nd ed., Belgrade, 1923); H. W. V. Temperley, *History of Serbia* (London: Bell, 1917); Felix Kanitz, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (3 vols., Leipzig: Meyer, 1904-1914); Ferdo Šišić, *Jugoslovenska misao: Istorija ideje jugoslovenskog narodnog ujedinjenja i oslobođenja od 1790-1918* (Belgrade: Balkanski Institut, 1937); Svetislav Šumarević, *Štampa u Srba do 1839* (Belgrade: Luca, 1936). On Obradović, see Pavle Popović, "A Serbian Anglophile," *Quarterly Review*, vol. CCXXXII (1919), pp. 333-351.
156. Eugen Lemberg, *Wege und Wandlungen des Nationalbewusstseins* (Münster i.W.: Aschendorff, 1934) and *Grundlagen des nationalen Erwachens in Böhmen* (Reichenberg: Stiepel, 1932); S. Harrison Thomson, *Czechoslovakia in European History* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1943); Arnošt Denes, *Čechy po Bílé Hoře*, transl. Jindřich Vančura (4th ed., Prague: Šolc & Šimáček, 1931), vol. I, pt. 3, vol. II, pt. 1; Jan Jakubec, *Dějiny literatury české*, vol. II (Prague: Laichter, 1934); Kamil Krofta, *Narodnostní vývoj zemi československých* (Prague: Orbis, 1934); J. Volf, *Dějiny novin v Čechách do r. 1848* (Prague: Duch Novin, 1930); Jan B. Čapek, *Československá literatura toleranční 1781-1861*, 2 vols., Prague: Čin, 1933; Robert Joseph Kerner, *Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1932).
157. The Bohemian patriotism survived well into the middle of the nineteenth century. One of its proponents was the philosopher Bernhard Bolzano (1781-1848). After his death J. Michael Fesl published the three lectures *Ueber das Verhältnis der beiden Volksstämme in Böhmen* which Bolzano had delivered in 1816 at the University of Prague. In his introduction Fesl wrote of that

- period. "Nur ein Ziel hatten sie alle vor sich, Bildung und Fortschritt zur Humanität, keine Kluft, keine Mauer trennte die Jugend beider Stämme, gemeinsam war alles; alles schien ein und dasselbe Volk." Many members of the Bohemian aristocracy remained Bohemian patriots. Count Josef Matthias Thun said "I am neither Czech nor German, but Bohemian."
158. In the new theater built in 1784 by Count Nostitz-Rieneck, where Mozart's operas celebrated their triumphs, Czech performances were also given. From 1786 to 1790 an "Imperial and Royal Czech Patriotic Theater" existed, a wooden structure called Bouda. But there was at that time as little original Czech drama as poetry.
159. The German periodical literature was highly developed in Bohemia. The trend of development is shown by the titles of some of the periodicals. By 1770 weeklies after the example of the *Spectator* began to appear, devoted to literary and moral questions. At the same time there are *Neue physikalische Belustigungen* and a *Prager Kinderzeitung*. By 1790 the new trend is shown by the publication of *Prager Mode-, Fabriken- und Gewerbezeitung*, *Neue Landwirtschaftszeitung*, and *Praktisches Handlungs- und Industrialjournal*. The first modern Czech newspaper was the *Pražské poštovské noviny*, published on Tuesdays and Saturdays from 1719 to 1772. Very popular became the *Kramériusovy c. k. vlastenské noviny*, which Kramérius started to publish in 1789 in the spirit of enlightened education, spreading Czech reading among the lower classes and arousing interest in the almanacs and popular calendars then published.
160. Under the name "Czechs" the Czech-speaking population of Bohemia and Moravia is understood. The Moravians were politically united with Bohemia and so formed one ethnic group. Linguistically they accepted the Czech literary language; but their spoken dialect represents a link between Czech and Slovak. The Slovaks are racially and linguistically close kin to the Czechs, and many Czech patriots and writers were of Slovak origin or, like Pelácký and Masaryk, born at the border of Moravia and Slovakia. But the Slovaks were politically separated from the Czechs for nine centuries, forming part of the Hungarian kingdom and developing later a Hungarian territorial patriotism. The Hungarian Counter Reformation had its seat in the Jesuit University at Tyrnau in Slovakia, and succeeded in limiting the formerly very strong influence of Protestantism in Slovakia. Yet Protestant influence remained, especially in Pressburg, and the Protestant Slovaks felt deeply their affinity with the Czechs and used the Czech literary language in the second half of the eighteenth century. Against these tendencies the Catholic priest Antonín Bernolák (1762-1813) tried to create a separate Slovak literary language (*Dissertatio philologica-critica de litteris Slavorum*, 1787; *Grammatica Slovaca*, 1790) and founded in 1792 in Tyrnau a Slovak society of literature. Jan Holly (1785-1849) wrote a number of poems, among them on Swatopluk and on Cyril and Methodius, in that language. But these efforts were of no lasting avail, because they used the western Slovak dialect, which was too close to Czech and little understood in central and eastern Slovakia. The linguistic separation of the Slovaks came only after 1844, when Ludevít Štur made the central Slovak dialect the literary language in an effort to establish Slovakian culture and rights within Hungary and to facilitate a national consciousness of Hungarian Slovaks separate from the Austrian Czechs. See Kamil Krofta, *Vývoj národného povedomia u Čechov a Slovákov* (Prague: Melantrich, 1935); Milan Hodža, *Česko-Slovenský rozkol* (Turč. Sv. Martin, 1920); Ernest Denis, *Les Slovaques* (Paris: Delagrave, 1917).
161. See Gerhard Friedrich Müller, *Voyages from Asia to America*, transl. Thomas Jefferys (London: T. Jefferys, 1761); Samuel H. Cross, *The Contribution of*

- G. F. Müller to *Russian Historiography with Some Considerations on A. L. Schlözer* (Harvard thesis, 1916).
162. Robert Strupperich, *Staatsgedanke und Religionspolitik Peters des Grossen* (Königsberg: Ost-Europa-Verlag, 1936); George V. Plekhanov, *History of Russian Social Thought*, transl. W.P.A. project (New York, 1938); Boris Borisovich Glinka, *Borba za Konstitutsii, 1612-1861* (St. Petersburg, 1908); Sergei Grigor'evich Svatikov, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii, 1700-1895* (Rostov on Don, 1905); Paul Miliukov, *Obrazy z dějin ruské vzdělanosti*, Czech transl. V. J. Dušek, vol. III (Prague: Laichter, 1910); Anatole G. Mazour, *An Outline of Modern Russian Historiography* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1939); V. O. Kluchevsky, *A History of Russia*, transl. C. J. Hogarth, vol. IV (London: Dent, 1926); D. S. Mirsky, *Russia: A Social History* (London: Cresset, 1931); Grigorii A. Gukovskii, *Očerki po istorii russkoi literatury i obshchestvennoi mysli XVIII veka* (Leningrad, 1938).
 163. Quotations from Kluchevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 220, 222, 224, 227 f., 261, 263.
 164. Lomonosov's Russian History, published in 1766, covered the period to 1054. On him, see G. Vasetskii, *M. B. Lomonosov, iego filosofskie i sotsialno-politicheskie vzgliady* (Moscow, 1940); Marquis de Lur-Saluces, *Lomonosov, le prodigieux moine* (Paris: Emulo-Paul Frères, 1933); Antoine Martel, *Michel Lomonosov et la langue littéraire russe* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1933).
 165. Radishchev, *Reise von Petersburg nach Moskau* (1790), transl. Arthur Luther (Leipzig: Schraepfer, 1922). See Gr. Gukovski, *Očerki po istorii russkoi literatury XVIII veka* (Leningrad: Chudozhestvennaya literatura, 1938).
 166. Karamzin, *Histoire de L'Empire de Russie*, transl. St. Thomas and Jauffret (11 vols., Paris: Belin, 1819-1826); *Travels from Moscow, Through Prussia, Germany, Switzerland, France and England* (London: Badcock, 1803); Mikhail Petrovich Pogodin, *Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin, po iego sochineniam, pismam i otzyvam sovremennikov* (Moscow, 1866). Quotations from *Histoire*, vol. I, pp. xviii-xxii; N. Tourguenoff, *La Russie et les russes* (3 vols., Paris, 1847), vol. I, pp. 466, 494-496.
 167. See A. N. Pypin, *Die geistigen Bewegungen in Russland in der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, vol. I, transl. Boris Minzes (Berlin: Cronbach, 1894).
 168. "Les nations avaient été, longtemps à leur insu, toute la sève de l'histoire: la Révolution française les appela à la conscience d'elles-mêmes et décida leur avènement. . . Cette révolution de l'Europe n'était que l'envers de la Révolution française. Il y manquait ce qui précisément avait fait l'originalité de la France en cette prodigieuse aventure, l'élan généreux et la croyance que l'on travaille pour l'humanité. Les imitateurs n'ont pensé qu'à eux-mêmes, quelque légitimes qu'aient été leurs vœux d'indépendance, quelque dévouement que les individus aient mis au service des passions nationales, ces passions ont gardé je ne sais quoi de jaloux et d'âpre, un fond de rancune, un ferment de convoitise qui les rabaisse et les obscurcit: il y manque le rayon de désintéressement." (Albert Sorel, *op. cit.*, pp. 547, 550.)

Index

Index

- Abbt, Thomas, 362 f., 373, 376
 Adams, John, 273, 276, 284, 286, 306, 481, 675
 Adams, Samuel, 280, 281, 669 f.
 Aeschylus, 542, 719
 Africa, 460 f.
 Afsprung, Johann Michael, 386, 390
 d'Aguesseau, Henri François, 205, 644
 Alaric, 69, 86
 d'Alembert, Jean le Rond, 230, 244
 Alexander the Great, 57 ff., 65, 145, 332, 589
 Alexander I (Russia), 536, 571
 Alexander von Roes, 101, 103
 Alfieri, Vittorio, 500 f., 505 ff., 540, 714
 Althusius, Johannes, 220, 335, 633, 681
 America (British), 177, 211, 265 ff., 268 ff., 281 ff., 490
 America (United States of), 288 f., 308 ff., 317, 322
 America's influence, 289 f., 299, 378 f., 481, 486, 491, 675
 America's imperialism, 317, 322 f., 669
 America's nationalism, 270 f., 276, 280, 282, 284, 286, 291, 292 f., 294, 305 ff., 308 ff., 317, 323 ff.
 American Revolution, 271 ff., 274 f., 282, 285, 296, 298, 379, 457, 480
 America (Portuguese), 495
 America (Spanish), 152, 155, 490 f.
 Amos, 41
 Anabaptists, 136, 349, 629
 Anthimos, 541
 Anti-Semitism, 592, 621, 623
 Aragon, 150
 d'Argenson, René-Louis de Voyer, 645
 Aristophanes, 55, 586
 Aristotle, 8, 51, 55, 56 f., 59, 64, 196, 579, 586, 640, 720
 Armenians, 718
 Arminius, 144 f., 340, 341, 346, 418, 684, 700
 Arpád, 532
 Arsenije III, Cornopecić, 529
 Arsenije IV, Jovanović, 529
 Ataulf, 86
 Athens, Athenian democracy, 26, 54, 56, 58, 262, 411 f.
 Augustine, 76 ff., 121 f., 595
 Augustus, 66 f., 70, 71, 505
 Augustus III (Saxony and Poland), 521
 Austria, 191
 Aylmer, John, 625
 Bach, Johann Sebastian, 692
 Bacon, Francis, 161 f., 164
 Balbin, Bohuslav, 554 f.
 Baldwin, Simeon, 288
 Balkan federation, 538
 Balthasar, Franz Urs, 373
 Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez de, 643
 Barlow, Joel, 296, 298 f., 676
 Barnard, Thomas, 277
 Barros, João de, 623
 Basedow, Johann Bernhard, 370
 Baudeau, Nicolas, 224
 Bayle, Pierre, 232, 234, 344
 Bebel, Heinrich, 140
 Beccaria, Marquis de, 503 f.
 Becon, Thomas, 625
 Bekker, Balthasar, 124
 Belgium, 477, 483 ff., 486, 552, 606, 644
 Belknap, Jeremy, 303, 304
 Bellamy, Jakobus, 480
 Bellay, Joachim du, 131, 608
 Bentham, Jeremy, 459 f.
 Berkeley, George, 210, 648
 Bernolák, Antonín, 721
 Bernstorff, A. P., 513
 Bessenyei, George, 531
 Bézé, Théophile de, 137
 Bible, 33, 137, 168, 175, 242, 269 ff., 439, 629, 633 f., 640, 664, 665
 Bible translation, 7, 143, 461, 463, 529, 545, 618, 620, 714 f. *See also* Language
 Bifran, Jachiam, 620

- Bijns, Anna, 479
 Bismarck, Otto von, 357
 Blackstone, William, 460
 Blondel, Robert, 113
 Blondus, Flavius, 126
 Boccaccio, Giovanni, 99, 125
 Bodin, Jean, 124, 132, 133
 Bodmer, Johann Jakob, 381 f., 383 f., 392
 Bohemia, 110, 332, 551 ff., 604, 720 f.
 Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, 212 f., 516, 650
 Bolzano, Bernhard, 720
 Boltin, Ivan N., 569
 Boniface VIII, 88, 90, 102
 Borgia, Cesare, 127, 129
 Born, Ignaz von, 554
 Bossuet, Jaques Bénigne, 191, 199, 237, 638
 Boulaunvilliers, Henri de, 206 ff.
 Boutroux, Emil, 193
 Brabant, 474 ff., 483, 486
 Brackenridge, Henry, 292, 673
 Bradford, William, 269, 664
 Brandenburg, 356
 Brant, Sebastian, 138
 Brazil, 495
 Brissot, Jaques Pierre, 290
 Britain. *See* England
 Brown, Charles Brockden, 303
 Bruce, Robert, 636
 Brun, Johan Nordahl, 514
 Brunot, Ferdinand, 227, 232, 654
 Brutus, 121, 145, 505
 Buddé, Guillaume, 131
 Bülow, Johann Jacob, 375
 Bulgarians, 543 ff., 620
 Bullinger, Heinrich, 137
 Burckhardt, Jacob, 30, 33, 609, 611
 Bürger, Gottfried August, 423
 Burgandy, 476, 534, 606
 Burke, Edmund, 242, 354, 390, 459, 474, 666
 Burman, Pieter, 480
 Byrd, William, 314
 Byzantine Empire, 63, 75, 81, 87, 95, 534, 535, 538, 595
 Caesar, 65, 122, 505
 Calvin and Calvinism, 19, 133, 135, 199, 239, 615, 682
 Camden, William, 159
 Camões, Luis de, 494, 623
 Campanella, Tommaso, 624
 Canada, 282, 670
 Capellen, Joan Derk van der, 481
 Caracalla, 68
 Carli, Gian Rinaldo, 503 f.
 Care, Henry, 277
 Carey, Henry Charles, 322
 Carey, Mathew, 320 ff., 679
 Carey, Richard, 159
 Cassan, Jaques de, 638
 Castile, 150, 153
 Catalonia, 150
 Catherine II (Russia), 522, 525, 536, 566, 567, 568, 569, 716
 Cato, 121, 242, 505
 Caylus, Anne Claude Philippe Comte de, 391
 Celtes, Konrad, 141
 Cérissier, Antoine Marie, 480, 709
 Charlemagne, 78, 85, 86, 87, 101, 138, 140, 420, 443 f., 597 f., 610, 645
 Charles IV (Emperor), 95
 Charles V (Habsburg), 146 ff., 681
 Charles the Bold (Burgundy), 147, 476
 Charles I (England), 279
 Charles II (England), 191
 Charles VII (France), 126
 Charles (Lorraine), 483
 Charles III (Spain), 487 f., 490, 498
 Charles IV (Spain), 488
 Charles XII (Sweden), 509, 715
 Charles Emanuel III (Sardinia), 499
 Charles, Thomas, 461, 464
 Charpentier, François, 194, 195
 Chartier, Alain, 112 f., 636
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 156
 Chemnitz, Boguslav Philipp von, 335
 Chénier, Marie-Joseph de, 199
 Chiampell, Durich, 620
 China, 195, 654
 Chmelnitsky, Bohdan, 715
 Chosen people idea, 36 f., 38 f., 41, 46 f., 109, 160, 165, 168, 174, 241, 269, 279, 309, 665
 Christianity, 47 ff., 70 ff., 73, 81, 190, 259, 444, 447, 449 f., 593, 641
 Christina (Sweden), 644
 Church and State, 72, 75 ff., 79, 87 ff., 106, 189, 259, 311 f.
 Cicero, 60, 64, 66, 126, 395, 591, 609
 Cid, the, 150, 622
 Clement V, 89

- Colbert, Jean Baptiste, 193, 201 f., 225, 642
 Communications, 225, 286, 671
 Condillac, Etienne Bonnot, 223
 Condorcet, Marie Jean Antoine Marquis de, 232, 233, 657
 Conring, Hermann von, 341
 Constantine I, 75
 Constantine XI, 536
 Constantinople, 63, 75, 81, 87, 95, 106, 536
 Cooke, Samuel, 313
 Coram, Robert, 304
 Coray, Adamantios, 539 ff., 719
 Corio, Bernardino, 126
 Corsica, 253 f.
 Cotton, John, 270
 Council of Constance, 108 f., 604
 Council of Lyon, 108
 Counter Reformation, 153, 476, 528, 575, 615
 Covenant, 36 f., 38 f., 168, 268, 279, 439.
See also Cromwell, Puritans, Rousseau
 Cowper, William, 223, 654
 Coyer, Gabriel Fr., 385, 456, 653, 655
 Crèvecoeur, Michel Guillaume Saint-Jean de, 275 f., 667
 Croats, 545 f.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 167 ff., 174 ff., 183, 568, 632 f., 635
 Crucé, Emeric, 194 f., 640
 Crusades, 95, 104, 109 f., 149, 607
 Czech Nationalism, viii, 109 ff., 437, 552 ff., 605, 721

 Dabrowski, Henryk, 526
 Dalberg, Karl Theodor von, 410
 Dalin, Olof von, 515
 Daniel, Samuel, 158, 159, 161
 Danilo I (Montenegro), 548
 Dante, Alighieri, 69, 91 ff., 96, 121 f., 125, 127, 148, 198, 239, 598
 Davies, Richard, 463
 Defoe, Daniel, 210, 649
 Democracy, vii, 27 f., 69, 192, 238, 250, 390, 407
 Denina, Carlo, 489, 503
 Denmark, 363, 509 ff., 714
 Descartes, René, 164, 190, 193 f., 199, 233, 237, 643
 Deschamps, Eustache, 113
 Diderot, Denis, 228, 240
 Dio Cassius, 68
 Diocletian, 68
 Diodorus of Sicily, 66
 Dobner, Gelasius, 554 f.
 Dobrowský, Josef, 557 f.
 Donne, Joan, 163, 628
 Dryden, John, 165, 628 f.
 Dubois, Pierre, 103 f., 638
 Duché, Jacob, 279
 Dufresnoy, Alphonse-Charles, 391
 Du Pont de Nemours, Pierre Samuel, 224, 305, 311
 Dutch, 475, 479
 Dwight, Timothy, 284, 294, 297, 673

 Eastern Church, 80 f., 106, 535
 Eckermann, Johann Peter, 415
 Ecumenic order. *See* Universalism
 Education, popular, 222, 224, 256, 302, 304 f., 313, 370, 384, 463, 523, 537, 556
 Edward I (England), 462
 Edwards, Jonathan, 270
 Egypt, 65
 Ehrensvärd, Karl August Count, 418
 Elizabeth (England), 158, 626
 England, 112, 125, 155 ff., 172 ff., 199, 208 ff., 318 f., 458 ff., 493, 495, 560, 572, 625 ff., 649
 England as a model, 208, 221, 239, 268, 276, 342, 380, 397, 505 f., 651
 English character, 118, 160, 168, 171, 177, 351, 426, 442, 458 f.
 English imperialism, 178 f., 267, 323, 460 f., 627, 635
 English nationalism, 165 ff., 178 f., 463, 630 ff.
 English Revolution, 164, 166 ff., 172 ff., 177 ff., 181 ff., 459, 474, 629, 631
 Enlightenment, 23, 190, 194, 198, 215 ff., 227 ff., 234, 263, 276, 293, 311, 342, 345, 349, 355 ff., 397, 405, 501, 503 f., 513
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 119, 125, 609
 Erastianism, 106, 191
 Ercilla y Zúñiga, Alonso, 491
 Euripides, 53, 54, 586
 Eusebius, 70
 Ewald, Johannes, 512
 Exile and nationalism, 98, 127, 239, 294, 601, 659

 Fascism, 20, 238, 252, 636
 Feijóo, Benito, 489 f., 710

- Fénelon, François de Salignac, 205, 638, 644
- Ferdinand (Aragon), 150
- Ferdinand IV (Naples), 498
- Ferreira, Antonio, 623
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 14, 543
- Fielding, Henry, 210, 648
- Finland, 512, 715
- Fiske, Nathan, 292
- Flanders, 475 f., 483
- Flemish, 475, 606
- Florence, 92, 127 f.
- Flood, Henry, 468, 470, 473
- Folklore. *See* Volksgeist
- Folk poetry and folk song. *See* Volksgeist
- Fortescue-Aland, Sir John, 649
- France, 101, 113, 130 f., 188 ff., 192 ff., 200 ff., 205 ff., 220 ff., 267 f., 298 f., 415, 601 f., 638, 645 f.
- Francis I (France), 129 f., 148, 613
- Franklin, Benjamin, 266, 273, 275, 283, 305, 425, 435
- Franks, 85, 206 ff., 645
- Frederick IV (Denmark), 510
- Frederick V (Denmark), 510
- Frederick I (Hohenstaufen), 89
- Frederick II (Hohenstaufen), 89, 90
- Frederick (Palatine), 359
- Frederick I (Prussia), 359
- Frederick II (Prussia), 204, 233, 358, 359, 360 ff., 364 f., 367 f., 373, 388 f., 409, 414, 420, 430, 482, 500, 505, 652, 687 f.
- Frederick William (Brandenburg), 343, 359
- Frederick William I (Prussia), 359 f.
- Frederick William II (Prussia), 397
- French character, 101, 193, 205, 601 f.
- French national consciousness, 205, 232
- French Revolution, 3, 4, 202, 207 f., 296 ff., 357, 386, 389, 396, 398 f., 404, 408, 420 f., 448, 474, 482, 508, 537, 572 f., 676
- French influence, 500, 509, 537 f., 540, 607 f., 715, 716, 717
- Freneau, Philip, 292, 300, 673
- Froissart, Jean, 156
- Fussli, Johann Heinrich, 382, 385
- Fustel de Coulanges, N. D., 646
- Gallicanism, 190
- Gattinara, Mercurino, 148
- Gaul, Gauls, 101, 206 ff.
- Gédoyen, Nicholas, 230
- Gellert, Christian Furchtegott, 347, 501, 554
- Geneva, 135, 238, 239 f., 241, 242 ff., 658
- Genz, Friedrich, 396
- German character, 135, 140 ff., 345, 347 f., 350, 682, 686, 689, 690
- German classicism, 391 f., 394, 403 f.
- German national consciousness and nationalism, 86, 94, 139, 144, 330 f., 339 f., 342, 352, 354 f., 370, 374, 388, 395, 401, 407, 413, 418 f., 423, 442 f., 582, 590, 596, 597, 615 f., 681
- Germans and Germany, 78, 85 f., 87, 110, 134 ff., 139 ff., 287, 331 f., 333 ff., 339 ff., 350 ff., 369 ff., 378, 390 ff., 605
- Germany and the West, 135, 138
- Gessner, Salomon, 264, 315, 382, 392, 663
- Giannone, Pietro, 501
- Gillet, François Pierre, 655
- Gleim, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig, 363, 393
- Gneisenau, August Neithardt, 379
- Godoy, Emanuel, 488
- Godwin, William, 303
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang, 235, 236, 351, 362, 366, 376, 393, 396, 413 ff., 427, 442, 448, 553, 660, 693, 699
- Goethe, Katharina Elisabeth, 414
- Goodman, Godfrey, 163, 627 f.
- Goodrich, Elizur, 288
- Goths, 69, 74, 86, 518, 645
- Gottsched, Johann Christoph, 346, 554
- Gozzi, Gaspare, 503
- Granville, George (Lord Lansdowne), 208
- Grattan, Henry, 468, 470 ff.
- Gravina, Gian Vincenzo, 501
- Greeks (ancient) character, 27 f., 31 f.; nationalism, 27 f., 50 ff., 56 ff., 586 f.
- Greeks (modern) character, 534 ff., 719, nationalism, 537 f., 630 f.
- Greek Orthodox Church. *See* Eastern Church
- Grimm, Friedrich Melchior, 653
- Grimmelshausen, Hans Jakob Christoffel von, 336 ff., 341
- Grescimboni, Giovan Maria, 501
- Grotius, Hugo, 3, 196 f., 343, 640

- Group-mind and group loyalty, 11 f.
 Guicciardini, Francesco, 611
 Guizot, François, 646
 Gustavus Adolphus (Sweden), 517
 Gustavus III (Sweden), 510, 516 ff.
- Habsburg monarchy, viii, 111, 148, 188, 204, 333, 334, 476 ff., 483 f., 499, 527, 529, 543, 549, 552, 624, 644
 Hahnzog, Christian Ludwig, 366, 688
 Hajnóczy, Jozef, 533
 Halifax, Marquess of. *See* Savile, George
 Haller, Albrecht von, 381
 Hamann, Johann Georg, 353, 418, 502
 Hamilton, Alexander, 277, 288, 320, 679
 Hanka, Johann Alois zu Hankenstein, 556
 Hanover, 377, 380, 423
 Harrington, James, 635, 665
 Hartmann, G. D., 388
 Hassidism, 639
 Haydn, Joseph, 648
 Hazard, Ebenezer, 303
 Hebrews. *See* Jews
 Hebrew prophets, 35, 39 ff., 171, 176, 309, 439, 584 f.
 Henry VII (Emperor), 90, 92, 95, 100
 Henry IV (England), 462
 Henry VII (England), 625
 Henry VIII (England), 157, 463, 625
 Henry IV (France), 613
 Herder, Johann Gottfried, 257, 331, 334, 351, 354, 355, 362, 365, 402, 416, 427 ff., 502, 546, 548, 551, 553, 559, 618, 621, 687, 702 ff.
 Hertzberg, Ewald Friedrich Count, 687
 History and historiography, ix, 30, 34, 104, 119, 126, 218, 303, 407, 479, 502 f., 514, 543, 550, 552 f., 559 f., 569, 584, 652
 Hitler, Adolf, 596, 618
 Hobbes, Thomas, 180, 245, 252
 Holberg, Ludvig, 510, 512, 514
 Holland, 475, 477. *See also* Netherlands
 Holly, Jan, 721
 Holy Roman Empire, 79, 89 ff., 95, 102, 134, 138 f., 332, 334 ff., 350, 372, 389, 395, 407, 597, 691
 Homer, 353, 368
 Horace, 65
- Humanism, 121, 125, 234, 623, 625
 in France, 130 ff.
 in Germany, 138 ff., 615 f.
 in Italy, 126
 Humanitas, 64 f., 78, 101, 125, 227, 370, 435, 437, 609, 704
 Humphreys, David, 322
 Hundred Years War, 112
 Hungary, 332, 527 ff., 605
 Huss, John, 109 ff.
 Hussite movement, 109 ff., 553, 554, 556, 559, 607
 Hutten, Ulrich von, 135, 143 f., 620 f.
- Iceland, 513, 715
 India, 330 f., 354, 443
 Indians (American), 155, 314 f., 490, 491, 624, 668
 Individualism, 120, 170, 198, 215 f., 226, 247, 404, 459, 641
 Industrialism, vii, 225, 315, 407, 455, 485
 Innocent III, 87, 90
 Innocent IV, 88
 Internationalism. *See* Universalism
 Ireland, 158, 177, 211, 465 ff., 552, 633, 708 f.
 Irish nationalism, 320, 468, 474
 Isabella (Castile), 150
 Isaiah, 41, 45
 Iselin, Isaak, 374, 375, 382, 385
 Islam, 60, 78, 80, 150 f., 622
 Isocrates, 52, 54, 57, 58, 587
 Italian national consciousness, 91, 92, 97 ff., 128 f., 501, 505, 506, 508, 599, 601, 713
 Italy, 92, 125 ff., 494 ff.
 Ivan IV (Russia), 570
- James I (England), 638, 642
 James II (England), 466
 Jansenism, 190, 230
 Japan, 584
 Jay, John, 278
 Jefferson, Thomas, 271, 273, 276, 277, 280, 290, 294 f., 297, 300, 305, 307 ff., 669, 675, 677 f.
 Jeremiah, 41
 Jesuits, 153, 195, 231, 487, 490, 523, 552 f.
 Jesus, 47 ff., 73
 Jewish character, 27 f., 31 f., 589
 Jewish nationalism, 27 f., 35, 37 ff., 47, 60, 439

- Jews in America, 672 f.
 Jews in Europe, 150 f., 353, 439 f., 493, 526, 623, 634, 639, 649 f., 693. *See also* Anti-Semitism
 Joachimsen, Paul, 596, 600, 616, 617, 681
 Joan of Arc, 112, 607
 John V (Portugal), 494
 Johnson, Andrew, 323
 Jones, Griffith, 464
 Jonson, Ben, 161
 Jordanus von Osnabrück, 103
 Joseph II (Habsburg), 240, 375, 388 f., 420, 432, 483 f., 499, 530, 531, 552, 702
 Jungmann, Josef, 557 f.

 Kacić-Miošić, Andreja, 545
 Kalb, Johann, 379
 Kant, Immanuel, 192, 229, 246, 258, 378, 393 ff., 404, 427, 434, 694 ff.
 Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović, 545, 550 f.
 Kara-George, 549, 550
 Karamzin, Nikolai Mikhailovich, 524, 569 ff.
 Karl Eugen (Württemberg), 371 f., 387
 Katona, Stephen, 533
 Kazinczy, Francis, 531
 Keating, Geoffrey, 467
 Kellgren, Johan Henrik, 516
 Kemp, Francis Adriaan van der, 481
 Kheraskov, Michael Natveevich, 568
 Kingship, 89, 102, 200, 602 f.
 Kingship in Greece, 27
 Kingship in Israel, 27, 39, 89, 172, 278 f., 666. *See also* Theocracy
 Kinsky, Franz Joseph, 556
 Kipling, Rudyard, 5, 635, 636
 Kleist, Ewald Christian von, 363 f.
 Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb, 353, 355, 417 ff., 438, 441, 512, 700
 Knox, John, 637
 Knox, Samuel, 305
 Kochanowski, Jan, 618
 Kollár, Jan, 558
 Košanji, Hugo, 523, 526
 Komensky, Jan, 437
 Konarski, Stanisław, 521 f.
 Kopitar, Bartolomew, 550, 557
 Körner, Christian Gottfried, 409
 Kościuszko, Tadeusz, 525 f.
 Krasicki, Ignacy, 523

 Križanić, Yuri, 546 ff.
 Kulmus, Louise, 346

 La Bruyère, Jean, 643
 Langdon, Samuel, 279, 280
 Language, 7 f., 14, 91 f., 131, 143, 153, 194, 204, 229 f., 305 f., 339, 348, 432, 483 f., 496, 513, 527, 531, 532, 539, 553, 559, 581, 606, 618, 643 f., 677
 Lavater, Johann Casper, 382 ff.
 Latvians, 620, 702
 Leclerc, Jean, 232
 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 186, 233, 342 ff., 359, 685
 Lenz, Jakob Michael Reinhold, 365 f.
 Leo III (pope), 78
 León, Luis de, 153
 Leonard, Daniel, 282
 Leopold II (Austria), 487, 499, 549
 Lessing, Gorthold Ephraim, 364, 392 ff., 435, 538, 693
 Leszczyński, Stanisław, 521
 Liberty (modern), 170, 179, 181 ff., 198 f., 208 ff., 219, 246 f., 291 f., 405 f., 456 f., 459, 463, 629, 630, 660
 Liège, 475, 484 f.
 Linhart, Anton, 546
 List, Georg Friedrich, 322
 Lithuanians, 401, 620, 716
 Livy, 52, 126
 Llampillas, Francisco Xavier, 488
 Locke, John, 3, 180 f., 197, 248, 270, 272, 278, 312, 342, 480, 503, 511, 637, 641, 647
 Logau, Friedrich von, 684
 Lofthus, C. J., 514
 Lomonosov, Michael Vasilievich, 566 f.
 Louis XII (France), 113, 130, 132
 Louis XIV (France), 195, 200 ff., 205, 342, 343
 Louis XVI (France), 220, 222
 Lowth, Robert, 353
 Luden, Heinrich, 414
 Luther, Martin, 135 ff., 140, 142 ff., 145 f., 332, 350, 367, 397, 614, 617, 618, 621, 681
 Luzán, Ignacio de, 488
 Lycurgus, 411 f.
 Lyly, John, 160, 626

 Mably, Gabriel de, 207, 568, 645
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 182, 631, 647

- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 92, 106, 119, 121,
 127 ff., 131, 144, 360 f., 507, 611, 714
 MacPherson, James, 236, 352
 Madison, James, 287, 312, 324
 Magnusson, Arni, 511
 Manuel I (Portugal), 493, 494
 Malebranche, Nicolas, 230
 Manasseh ben Israel, 634
 Maria Carolina (Naples), 498
 Maria Theresa (Austria), 191, 204, 483,
 530, 552 f.
 Marnix, Philips van, 479
 Marsilius of Padua, 105 ff.
 Martin, Henri, 646
 Marvell, Andrew, 169
 Marx, Karl, 585
 Masaryk, Thomas G., 559 f., 721
 Mather, Cotton, 269, 665
 Maupertuis, Pierre Louis, 368
 Maximilian (Habsburg), 134, 138, 140,
 145, 334, 616
 Mayhew, Jonathan, 278 f., 668
 Mazarin, Jules, 193
 Mazeppa, Ivan, 715
 Medici, 127
 Medici, Lorenzo de', 129
 Meinecke, Friedrich, 579, 639, 643, 652,
 687
 Mercantilism, 18, 200 ff., 642
 Messianism, 35, 43 ff., 65, 71, 168, 585
 Methodism, 190, 349, 461
 Michaelis, Johann David, 353
 Michelet, Jules, 646
 Micu, Samuil, 530, 718
 Middle class, 3, 111, 135, 157, 174, 179,
 182, 200, 207 f., 219, 231, 243, 272, 345,
 391 f., 485, 501, 523, 542, 552 f., 574
 Militarism, 360 f., 366, 376, 430, 505, 687
 Mill, John Stuart, 463
 Milton, John, 169 ff., 183, 246, 272, 278,
 417, 630 f.
 Mirabeau, Honoré Count de, 224, 245
 Miranda, Francisco de, 492
 Molyneux, William, 468
 Monarchs, role of, 4, 102 f., 106, 124,
 130, 133, 157, 160, 188, 200, 251, 613 f.,
 625, 642
 Monroe, James, 319
 Montaigne, Michel de, 610
 Montenegro, 549
 Montesquieu, Charles de, 220 f., 227,
 229, 240, 252, 374, 375, 646, 655
 Moravians, 721
 More, Thomas, 119, 162
 Morgan, William, 463
 Morris, Gouverneur, 283
 Morris, Lewis, 282 f.
 Morse, Jedidiah, 303
 Moscherosch, Hans Michael, 340, 550
 Moscow, 95, 565
 Moser, Johann Jakob, 371
 Moser, Karl Friedrich von, 350, 371,
 373 ff., 424, 618, 690
 Möser, Justus, 423 ff., 441, 690, 701
 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 391, 692,
 721
 Muller, Christoph Heinrich, 265
 Müller, Gerhard Friedrich, 567
 Muller, Johann Georg, 447
 Muller, Johannes, 385, 389
 Muratori, Lodovico Antonio, 501 f.
 Music and nationalism, 692. *See also*
 National anthems
 Napoleon I, 318, 414 f., 537, 545, 573
 Nascimento, Francisco Manoel de, 497
 Naruszewicz, Adam, 524
 National anthems, 208 f., 512, 526, 647 f.
 National character, 9 f., 29 f., 375, 418,
 432 f., 445 f., 580
 Nationalism, vii, 3 ff., 36, 120, 166, 187,
 190 f., 203, 206, 237, 289, 308, 329 f.,
 416, 417 f., 429, 431 ff., 440 f., 579 ff.
 Nationalism, different kinds of, 4, 167,
 183, 238, 291, 301, 324 f., 329 ff., 349 ff.,
 354, 448 f., 457, 543, 560, 573 ff., 681
 Nationalism and cultural life, 17, 92,
 131, 161, 204, 256, 301, 304 f., 313, 330,
 384, 433 f., 464, 541, 555 f. *See also*
 language
 Nationalism and economic life, 17 f.,
 111, 179, 201, 223, 225, 320 ff., 457
 Nationalism and Middle Ages, 79, 81,
 85, 94, 596, 602
 Nationalism and religion, 81, 107, 111,
 168, 178, 189
 Nation-state, 4, 17, 19, 23, 52, 188, 249,
 251, 429, 605
 Natural law and natural rights, 3, 167,
 196, 198, 216 f., 221, 241, 276, 653
 Netherlands, 148, 200, 202, 407, 475, 477,
 584, 606, 637, 643, 650
 Neumeister, Erdmann, 349
 New England, 241, 268 f., 278, 664, 670.
See also America, British
 Newton, Isaac, 228

- Nicholas of Cusa, 104
 Nicolai, Friedrich, 364
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 7, 9, 73, 337, 338, 341, 247, 328, 604
 Nieuwenhuyzen, Maarten, 480
 Niles, Hezekiah, 321
 Nipho, Francisco Mariano, 488
 Noot, Henri van der, 486
 Norway, 510 ff., 514 f., 715
 Novikov, Nikolai Ivanovich, 568

 Obradović, Dositej, 550
 O'Clery, Michael, 467
 Olafson, Eggert, 513
 Ondaatje, Peter Philip Jurinan Quint, 482
 O'Neill, Hugh, 466
 Opałiński, Lukasz, 606
 Opitz, Martin, 341
 Origen, 73, 74
 Orzechowski, Stanisław, 606, 618
 Otto I, 89, 101
 Owen, Goronwy, 464

 Pacifism, 257 f., 400, 438, 640
 Paideia, 65
 Paine, Thomas, 274, 281, 283, 284, 474, 666 f.
 Paisii, 543 f., 550
 Palacký, František, 437, 559 f., 721
 Panhellenism, 54, 58, 586
 Panславism, 543, 545, 546 ff., 556, 557 f.
 Papacy, 63, 75, 87 ff., 98, 191, 598
 Paris, 415, 610
 Parliament, 156, 182, 199, 517, 519 f.
 Patrie and patriotism, 205 f., 209, 212 ff., 218 f., 242, 251, 263, 371, 456 f., 552, 608, 613, 644 f., 647, 653, 659
 Paul, 49
 Payson, Phillips, 292
 Pázmány, Peter, 528, 717
 Pelzel, Franz Martin, 554 f.
 Pennsylvania, 266
 Percy, Thomas, 325
 Pericles, 55
 Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich, 382 ff., 663
 Peter I (Russia), 547, 562 ff., 570 f.
 Peters, Hugh, 269
 Petrarca, Francesco, 97 f., 125, 129, 239, 601
 Petrović, George, 549, 550
 Philantropia, 65, 250, 370
 Philaras, 630 f.

 Philip the Fair, 102 f., 105
 Philip II (Spain), 148, 152, 407, 476, 494
 Philip V (Spain), 487, 488
 Physiocrats, 221 ff., 305, 654
 Piedmont, 499 f., 505
 Pietism, 190, 349, 355, 394, 639, 686, 689
 Pike, Nicholas, 303
 Pintard, John, 303
 Pitt, William, 226, 460
 Pius II, 104, 138
 Pius VI, 498
 Plato, 51, 56 f., 64, 137, 242, 588
 Pliny, 67
 Plutarch, 59, 203, 505
 Poland, 110, 252 f., 255 ff., 342, 518 ff., 605 f., 618
 Polis, ideal of, 57, 242, 249
 Pombal, *Marquez de*, 493, 495 f.
 Poniatowski, Józef, 525
 Poniatowski, Stanisław, 521
 Poniatowski, Stanisław August, 522, 525
 Pope, Alexander, 209, 368
 Popular sovereignty, 3, 220 f., 237, 246, 248 ff., 454
 Porthan, Henrik Gabriel, 512
 Portugal, 149, 487, 493 ff., 623
 Pososhkov, Ivan Tikhonovich, 563
 Postel, Guillaume, 194
 Pot, Philippe, 220
 Poynings, Sir Edward, 466
 Pratt, Charles, Earl of Camden, 273
 Press and periodicals, 210, 232 f., 313, 377, 690
 Prévost d'Exiles, Antoine François, 233, 235
 Price, Richard, 228, 274, 281, 454, 480
 Priestley, Joseph, 274, 281, 290, 460, 463
 Prussia, 110, 203, 333 f., 355 ff., 358 ff., 364 f., 367 f., 372, 376, 396, 430, 499, 525, 652, 681, 687, 717
 Puchmajer, Antonín Jaroslav, 556
 Pufendorf, Samuel, 198, 203, 335 f., 682
 Puritans, 166, 168 ff., 174 ff., 177, 241, 269 f., 272, 278 f., 355 f., 664
 Pütter, Johann Stephan, 372
 Pynet, John, 625

 Quakers, 266
 Quesnay, François, 222, 654

 Racism, 13, 36, 37, 51, 52, 54 f., 275, 449, 581, 588, 623, 645 f.

- Rabener, Gottlieb Wilhelm, 348
 Radishchev, Alexander Nikolaevich, 568 f.
 Rac, John, 322
 Raison d'état, 128, 188, 459, 639
 Rajić, Jovan, 549
 Rákóczi, Francis II, 528 f.
 Rákóczi, George I, 529
 Rákóczi, George II, 528
 Rationalism and rational order, 23, 57, 161, 170, 188, 193 ff., 196, 198, 215 ff., 234, 357, 370, 399, 592 f.
 Raymond, Daniel, 322
 Raynal, Guillaume Thomas François, 265 f., 275, 663, 667
 Reformation, 19, 111, 123 f., 135 f., 158, 166, 331, 349, 350, 545, 551, 553, 559, 618
 Religion, 15, 23, 79, 82, 124, 174, 188 ff., 259, 300, 312, 349, 370, 449 f., 574, 662
 Reljković, Matija Antun, 549
 Renaissance, 19, 82, 115, 120 ff., 158, 331, 545, 551, 609, 625
 Renan, Ernest, 103, 581 f.
 Rhigas, 537 ff.
 Rhode Island, 191, 270
 Ribnyi, John, 532
 Richardson, Samuel, 352
 Richelieu, Armand Jean du Plessis, 188 ff., 193, 197, 202, 205, 638
 Riemer, Friedrich Wilhelm, 415
 Rienzo, Cola di, 98 f., 129, 601
 Rittenhouse, David, 305
 Rochow, Eberhard, 370
 Rollin, Charles, 230
 Roman Empire, 60, 62 ff., 67 ff., 75, 85, 90, 95, 129, 250, 332, 438, 502. *See also* Byzantine Empire, Holy Roman Empire, Western Roman Empire
 Roman law, 67, 101, 115
 Roman Republic, 121 f., 247, 250, 505, 611 f.
 Romash, 620
 Romanticism, 236, 249, 349, 354, 399, 503, 518, 581
 Ronsard, Pierre, 131, 612
 Rothe, Thyge, 514
 Rousseau, Jean Jaques, 14, 220, 223, 226, 237 ff., 264, 280, 300, 315 ff., 352, 354, 370, 380, 383, 390, 394, 396, 403, 410, 418, 424, 428, 480, 492, 504, 511, 514, 523, 568, 588, 657 ff., 675, 686
 Rumanians, 529, 530, 537, 717 f.
 Rush, Benjamin, 304
 Russia, 95, 331 f., 354, 430, 443, 455, 522 f., 525, 536, 546 f., 548, 557 f., 560 ff.
 Russian imperialism, 561 f., 570
 Russian nationalism, 330 f., 566 f., 571
 Rutilius, Claudius Namatianus, 69
 Sachs, Hans, 138
 Šafařík, Pavel Josef, 558
 Saint Pierre, Charles Irénée Castel, 257 f., 645
 Sanders, Nicholas, 466
 Sandys, Sir Edwin, 268
 Sardinia. *See* Piedmont
 Sarsfield, Patrick, 466
 Savile, George, Marquess of Halifax, 212, 648
 Say, Jean-Baptiste, 226, 316
 Schiller, Friedrich, 16, 396, 399, 402 ff., 506, 693, 697 ff.
 Schlegel, Johann Elias, 346
 Schlözer, August Ludwig von, 377, 380, 553, 691
 Schöningh, Gerhard, 511
 Schottelius, Justus Georg, 339, 683
 Schubart, Christian Friedrich Daniel, 386 f., 390
 Schwendi, Lazarus von, 334
 Scipio Africanus, 63 f., 121
 Scotland, 174, 636 f.
 Sebastiani (Portugal), 494, 711
 Secularism, 35, 105, 120, 181, 187, 197 f., 216 f., 357, 536, 562 f.
 Seibt, Karl Heinrich, 554
 Seneca, 68
 Serbs, 529 f., 548 ff.
 Seven Years' War, 363
 Seyssel, Claude, 130, 131
 Sharp, Granville, 460
 Shcherbatov, Mikhail M., 569
 Sidney, Algernon, 278, 665
 Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, 208
 Simmler, Josias, 137
 Sincai, George, 530
 Skarga, Piotr, 618 f.
 Slavery, 52, 67, 304, 313, 460, 495, 667, 673
 Slavophilism, 354, 443, 546 f.
 Slavs, 110, 432, 437 f., 543 ff., 604 f.
 Slovaks, 558, 721
 Slovenes, 545 f., 620
 Smith, Adam, 221, 225 f., 654

- Smith, Samuel Harrison, 303
 Smith, Sir Thomas, 159
 Smith, William, 277
 Sofronii of Vratsa, 544 f.
 Solon, 137, 411 f.
 Sonnenfels, Joseph von, 365, 376 f., 554
 Sorbs, 553
 Sorel, Albert, 710, 712, 717, 722
 Spain, 146 ff., 487 ff., 622 f., 710
 Spanish character, 154, 624
 Spanish nationalism, 488
 Sparta, 52, 55 f., 242, 244, 247, 250, 360, 411 f., 640, 659, 660
 Spener, Philip Jakob, 686
 Sprat, Thomas, 164, 629
 Starowolski, Szymon, 606
 Staszic, Stanisław, 523, 526
 Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl Baron vom und zum, 357
 Stephen I (Hungary), 527, 605, 717
 Stephenson, Magnus, 513
 Steuben, Frederick Baron von, 379, 690
 Stiles, Ezra, 279, 293, 297, 306, 668, 675
 Stoic philosophy, 59 f., 64, 67 f., 196, 593, 609
 Stollberg, Friedrich Leopold Count, 422
 Storm and Stress, 236, 352, 354, 402, 418, 506, 518, 686
 Struensee, Johann Frederick, 512
 Sturz, Helfrich Peter, 369 f.
 Suarez, Francisco, 615
 Suhm, Peter Frederik, 511
 Sullivan, James, 307
 Sully, Maximilien de Béthune, 193, 194
 Sweden, 335, 342, 509 ff., 515 ff., 715
 Swift, Jonathan, 186, 211, 468
 Swildens, J. H., 480
 Swiss nationalism, 16, 135, 382 ff., 582
 Switzerland, 264 f., 371, 373 f., 381 ff., 386
 Széchenyi, Stephen, 533 f.
 Tacitus, 77, 139, 141, 145, 207
 Tatishchev, Vasily Nikitich, 566
 Tegnér, Esaias, 518
 Tertullian, 72
 Teutonic Knights, 110, 356, 357
 Theocracy, 39, 89, 137
 Thierry, Augustin, 646
 Thirty Years' War, 335, 336
 Thomasius, Christian, 344
 Thomson, James, 209
 Thorild, Thomas, 518
 Thucydides, 55, 56
 Tolerance, 181 ff., 191, 275
 Tolstoy, Leo Nikolaevich, 259
 Tone, Theobald Wolfe, 468, 474
 Torláksson, Jón, 513
 Tory, Geoffroy, 131
 Traditionalism, 3
 Transylvania, 528, 529, 530
 Treitschke, Heinrich von, 343, 372, 582, 617, 717
 Tribalism, 27
 Troeltsch, Ernst, 619, 614, 629, 632
 Trubar, Primož, 545, 620
 Tucker, Josiah, 283
 Tullin, Christian Braunmann, 514
 Tupac-Amaru II, 491
 Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, 221 f., 228 f., 232, 653 f.
 Turkey, 187, 194, 527 f., 534 f., 543 f., 548 f., 662, 718
 Tuscany, 499
 Ukraine, 519, 606, 715
 United States of America. *See* America
 Universalism, 22 f., 49, 47 ff., 62, 66, 70, 79, 82, 91, 93, 172, 187, 192 ff., 198, 217, 228, 233, 332, 343, 585, 590, 641, 696
 University, medieval, 108
 University of Göttingen, 377
 University of Halle, 229, 344
 University, Harvard, 665
 University of Leipzig, 108, 344
 University of Moscow, 566
 University of Nagyszombat, 717, 721
 University of Paris, 230
 University of Prague, 108, 555
 Uz, Johann Peter, 363
 Velbruk, Francis Charles de, 485
 Vergil, Polydor, 625
 Verri, Alessandro, 713
 Verri, Pietro, 504, 508
 Vico, Giambattista, 502
 Victor Amadeus II (Sardinia), 499
 Victor Amadeus III (Sardinia), 500
 Virgil, 65, 67, 368, 505
 Virginia, 311 f., 313, 314
 Viscardo y Guzmán, Juan Pablo, 492
 Vodník, Valentin, 546
 Voigt, Nikolaus Adaukt, 554 f.
 Voltaire, Vincent, 202
 Volksgeist and folklore, 13, 249, 331,

- 334, 351, 354 f., 374 f., 428, 442, 445,
497, 512, 548, 551
Volney, Constantin François, 303
Voltaire, François Marie Arouet, 8,
186, 218 f., 228, 234, 239 f., 266, 368,
455, 511, 516, 645, 653
Vonck, Jean François, 485
Vondel, Joost van den, 479, 635
Voss, Johann Heinrich, 422
- Wagenaar, Jan, 479
Wales, 158, 461 ff.
Wallenstein, Albrecht von, 203, 335
Waller, Edmund, 169
Walther von der Vogelweide, 89, 94,
598
War of Liberation (German), 413 f.
Warren, Mercy Otis, 674
Wars and nationalism, 17, 51, 185, 298,
379, 542, 575
Washington, Bushrod, 671
Washington, George, 285, 287, 312,
320, 568, 671
Webster, Noah, 176, 186, 187, 290, 291,
293, 295 f., 300 ff., 305 f., 313, 655, 675,
677
Weckherlin, Wilhelm Ludwig, 387
Werbőczy, István, 527
Wergeland, Nicolai, 514
Wesley, John, 461
Wessel, Herman, 513
Western civilization, 20, 27, 60, 63, 82,
177, 187, 215, 397 f., 575 f., 590
Western Roman Empire, 78, 85, 594
Westphalia, Treaty of, 188 ff., 203, 333,
401, 681
White Russians, 716
Widukind, 86, 597 f., 684
Wieland, Christoph Martin, 372, 377,
393 ff., 694
Wilberforce, William, 461
William I (Orange), 476
William IV (Orange), 478
Williams, Roger, 24, 191, 312
Williams, William, 464
Winpheling, Jakob, 140
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, 235,
365, 392, 656, 692
Winkopp, P. A., 366
Winthrop, John, 269, 270
Wise, John, 270
Witherspoon, John, 184, 677
World-state, *See* Universalism
Wujek, Jakob, 618, 620
Wybicki, Josef, 526
Wycliffe, John, 109, 110, 625
- Xenophobia, 5, 605
- Young, Arthur, 25
Young, Edward, 209, 236, 352
- Zesen, Philipp von, 683
Zimmermann, Johann Georg, 371
Zrinyi, Nicholas, 528
Zwingli, Ulrich, 135 ff.